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8th October 1950

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No. 355. B. Subbairya Road.







# HARIJAN

Editor: MAHADEV DESAI

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[FIVE PICE

## THE MONTH IN BARDOLI

### I Sardar's Garden-Home

When Gandhiji consented to spend a month in Bardoli in accordance with his promise to spend a month there every year, he did not know what an atmosphere the Sardar had kept ready there to receive him. He was ready, he said, to accommodate the members of the Working Committee in the Ashram, he was ready to make all arrangements for a session of the A. I. C. C., if it was decided to hold it there, and he was ready to accommodate all the workers in the various constructive departments that came for talks and consultations with Gandhiji. The month was, therefore, full to overflowing with activity, and on an average about two hundred people a day received comfortable board and lodging. Elaborate arrangements had to be made for all this, but thanks to the Sardar's hold on Gujarat, everyone in Gujarat, rich and poor, co-operated with him in making Gandhiji's stay as full of repose as it was bound to be full of work.

And in giving him the needed response and a constant sense of well-being not a small part was played by the Sardar's garden-farm. Close to the lovely little flower-garden was a beautiful banana garden in place of the grass-land that it was three years ago when we went there. To say that it was a banana-garden is to say the least about it. For into the making of it had gone the Sardar's exquisite skill as an economic and expert agriculturist and his devoted care about every little detail. "I knew the Sardar's power of organisation," said Gandhiji on his return to Sevagram, "but I discovered for the first time that the Sardar was a skilled agriculturist. Every inch of space, in the banana-garden and every drop of water that was being given to it had been made careful use of. The banana yielded a yearly crop, but in between the plants at convenient distances were fruit trees like the mango and the *lichhi* and the *chiku*, and grape fruit, and on the ridges were various vegetables. Surrounding the garden had been planted permanent trees, and inside the garden were walks making it easy for the field-worker to take care of the trees and also providing enough space with velvety earth for those who desired to have their morning and evening constitutional. All this was enough to rest and please the eyes and the mind. The Sardar's labour had yielded the Ashram several thousand rupees and set an example to others. As a result dozens of people had taken to banana-growing."

### The Working Committee's Decision

The Working Committee of the Congress met for days — unconscionably long as the carping critics said,

but not too long for those who wanted to put themselves right with one another and with the world. From that point of view not a day was wasted, and Gandhiji had enough time to commune with himself and with his colleagues. I shall say nothing about the deliberations in the Working Committee — I have in fact neither the competence nor the right to do so. But I shall make an attempt to indicate broadly a few things that emerged from the discussions inside as well as outside and the talks that followed the decision of the Working Committee. Though the actual decision came to be made on the basis of the interpretation of the Bombay Resolution, what was of vital importance was the actual feeling in the minds of men. No matter how the Bombay Resolution was interpreted, were we clear about certain fundamentals? Were we clear that the policy of non-violence that we had followed, to the best of our ability, for twenty years was no religious creed or for no religious purpose, but a wholly political method for the achievement of the political independence of India? Gandhiji had no doubt on the question. The next question was — could we at this critical hour in our nation's history give up that policy even for the sake of proffered freedom? "So far as I am concerned," says Gandhiji, "even if I was given the utmost power conceivable, even if I was made the Viceroy of India today, would I ask the people of India to take up the sword to keep the Empire alive? I for one should feel that I was committing moral suicide in that I would be abandoning the faith of a lifetime, the faith which I had persuaded the Congress to accept for twenty years as a policy. The steady unflinching pursuit of that policy has brought us quite close to the achievement of the objective. Am I to abandon the very boat which has brought me quite close to the shore? Yudhishtira would not forsake his faithful dog and enter the gates of Heaven without him. For he knew that the Kingdom of Heaven would be as naught to him without the dog, i.e. his faith. Would the Arab (i.e. the Congress) give up towards the end of the journey the faithful steed (i.e. non-violence) that had made it possible for it to make that journey? It would be an act of betrayal or faithlessness on my part."

There is another question also. In his open letter to every Briton Gandhiji had advised him not to fight the enemy with the weapons of the enemy but to set an example to the world by abandoning violence and adopting intensive non-cooperation. He had advised the same course to the Abyssinians and the Czechs and the Poles. "Could I, when the war is at my door and when I am in the same predicament as they, forget the sovereign remedy I suggested to them and



clutch at the method I have denounced and discarded? No matter what the country would say, what should be the attitude of individual Congressmen who had sworn by the method of non-violence?"

He was clear that, if it was felt that we had committed a mistake, that it was worth while bargaining a principle for what seemed to be a richer gain, they should declare their conviction, and if and when the objective was gained, they should convert the whole of India into a recruiting ground, ask every man and woman to contribute his or her share in the war effort, and even extinguish themselves in so doing. What was needed was downright honesty. He at any rate had never conceived this possibility. If he knew that some day India would have to engage in a violent war in order to win Independence, he would long ago have addressed every youth to go in for military discipline, and he would not have placed tireless emphasis, day in and day out, on the various items of the constructive programme.

### An Eye-opener

The Sardar had called a meeting of the Provincial Congress Committee. Gandhiji was invited to address it. He first asked everyone if he had understood all the implications of the Bardoli Resolution. Several people did not raise their hands. "Then," he said, "let me put it to you in a nutshell. The resolution means that, if the Government gave a guarantee that full freedom would be given after the war, the Congress would help in keeping this Empire alive. It was not that the bargain had been actually made, but the terms had been agreed upon, whereas, if I did not want to enter into any bargain at all, I should plainly say so. If you feel that on your agreeing to offer full co-operation in the war effort, India will have complete independence after the war, that the British will thereafter remain in India at your mercy and sufferance, that even during the war you will run your own affairs provided of course that your Defence Minister will carry on the war to victory, you must confirm the Bardoli Resolution. The temptation is very great indeed. If for that sake you are ready to reverse the Congress policy and purchase Swaraj and pay as price thereof Ahimsa, you must confirm the resolution. Remember that the very greatest of our leaders are party to the resolution and they have not chosen to do so lightly. As against this there are those who think that Ahimsa is a pearl of great price and that it cannot be given up, that it can never be the price of Swaraj, then their position is different. But if you are in doubt, if you feel that in sticking to Ahimsa you lose both Ahimsa — because you are incapable of it — and Swaraj, that Gandhi is a good man but it would be prudent not to go the whole length with him, then you must accept the resolution. Only those will express their disapproval of it who are sure in their heart of hearts that prudence, political insight, policy, every consideration, demands that Ahimsa may not be sacrificed for Swaraj. Now let those who will vote for the Bardoli Resolution raise their hands." 36 raised their hands. "Good," said he. "Now let the *acharyas* (masters) of Ahimsa raise their hands." It was a perplexing challenge, but 27 plumped for Ahimsa. There were about ten neutrals who wanted to

put questions, but Gandhiji said as the vote was quite informal the neutrals need not trouble themselves.

I am tempted to comment on the whole proceedings, but I must resist the temptation. Events that followed will be better understood in the light of them.

### Khadi Vidyalaya

There were various other meetings. On the eve of our departure the A. I. S. A. opened the Gujarat Branch of the Khadi Vidyalaya — the opening ceremony being performed by Gandhiji. It is a small beginning, with only 15 students, but with willing work and faith it may grow into a big tree. Gandhiji in declaring it open said:

"Needless to say that it gives me pleasure to declare this Khadi Vidyalaya open. There should be many such Vidyalayas in Gujarat. As a matter of fact Khadi Vidyalaya may be said to have been opened when in 1921 we decided to prepare for launching Satyagraha. I had not then discovered the word 'Vidyalaya' and had at any rate not associated it with khadi, though I knew that khadi was a Vidya (Science), and a most important of sciences. But I had then not the courage to say it. But the beginning was made here, anything that was invented in the line took the name of Bardoli — as for instance, the 'Bardoli *Pinjan*' (Carding Bow). Then we had a big depot here for the manufacture of all our implements. Whilst, therefore, it is a pleasure to me to open the Vidyalaya, it is a matter of sorrow that we should be opening it at this late day.

"It needs no argument today to prove that the charkha is bound up with Ahimsa and therefore with Swaraj. What is going to be the part that crores of our people will play during the deadly carnage that is going on? We know the part that Government are playing, we know the part that some of us are playing at their behest, and to satisfy the pangs of hunger and starvation. They are rushing headlong to take part in the work of destruction. Millions are being collected from the rich and the poor, and yet the Government coffers are ever empty. But barring those that are thus directly and indirectly helping in the work of destruction, what are the rest going to do, what *can* they do? How are they to carry on? There is starvation and poverty everywhere. There is scarcity of water, and unlike in South Africa where there is every provision against droughts, there is none here, and we and our cattle die like flies for want of water. Those that go to war do so in the hope of returning alive after killing others, some may not return at all. But we? Shall we be content to die like flies? We have sworn by Ahimsa and pledged ourselves to win Swaraj by Ahimsa. What then is the thing that can enable us to work for Swaraj, and to stand erect and strong in face of this conflagration? It is the charkha and all it means. Land we have, but the land system, uneconomic holdings and methods have reduced us to the level of beasts of burden, it does not yield us enough to eat all the year round, and we are workless for almost half the year. We have, therefore, to be up and doing and fill our time with productive work. That work is the production of khadi, etc.



"I do not want to repeat the argument or go into the implications of the science of khadi. Let this Vidyalaya generate a force that may universalise the charkha in Gujarat. There are, I am told, seventy thousand Congress members in Ahmedabad. If all these were regular spinners, and if they gave their quota of yarn to the Congress? Congress soldiers should not forget that their arms are the charkhas and spinning regularly is their 'military' discipline. The military weapons and munitions today have proved futile. They have failed to keep Czechoslovakia, Poland and France free or alive, though they boasted of renowned soldiers. President Roosevelt says he and the Allied Powers are fighting the Axis Powers to make the nations of the world free, and that the Axis Powers are fighting to enslave the world. But to me both the parties seem to be tarred with the same brush.

"What shall we do in the midst of this mutual destruction which spells freedom for none? The charkha and all it means is the only thing that can enable us to live and to make us stand in honour and self-respect. This we can do if we can combine faith with understanding, for un-understanding faith will not carry us far.

"Don't think that you have come here just to learn the art of khadi. You have come here to bear the burden of the work for Swaraj. It is a tremendous burden to bear, and the very first lesson you have to learn is to know the qualifications of the soldiers of Swaraj. The very first is Restraint and Patient Labour. That is what the charkha will teach you. The renowned cities of the world are crumbling unto dust. London is changed out of recognition, the edifices which the builders thought would stand the ravages of time are no more, and our cities like Rangoon will share the same fate. The age of cities is thus coming to an end. The slogan of 'Back to the villages' was never so true as today. The mills will not be of any avail. They are producing cloth for the belligerents and may ere long cease even to do that work, and may have solely to engage in producing munition. We have therefore to produce all our cloth and to make our villages self-sufficient in all respects. That you cannot do without a life of Restraint and Patient Toil. The course you have to prepare for is not simple. It will require all your energies and your faculties, for it is an all-comprehensive one. Every one of us, men and women, have to lend their hands and their minds and their hearts to the work of building our nation and Swaraj."

M. D.

(To be continued)

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## THE NEXT PHASE

Gandhiji issued the following statement from Bardoli on the 7th inst. :

My being relieved of the direction of Congress Civil Disobedience does not reduce my responsibility but increases it manifold. For one thing, my official disconnection with the Congress itself increases my detachment; but since detachment never means indifference, my attachment to every Congressman increases and I must speak to him more than before. The voice of silence was enough to direct the campaign of Civil Disobedience, but it is not enough to explain and interpret in terms of non-violence the day-to-day puzzles that arise in the minds of Congressmen and others by reason of the overwhelming events happening near us.

Rangoon was naturally and culturally part of us before Burma years ago became part of British India and, therefore, it remains part of us though now sundered. What has happened there, has had its repercussions all over India.

So far as I can see, Civil Disobedience in the sense in which it was launched is not likely to be revived on behalf of the Congress till the war has ended. In a purely symbolic manner it may have to be kept up not in the name of the Congress but on behalf of resisters of all war on the pure ground of non-violence, no matter how few they are. It will be kept up for the sake of asserting the right of resisters to carry on propaganda against all war. They dare not keep still in the midst of the unhuman slaughter that is going on. They must not only speak and write against it, they must, if need be, sacrifice themselves in the attempt to stop the torrent of blood. Whether they are a few or many they have to live their mission.

Before taking any step in the direction of Civil Disobedience I propose to restart the three weeklies and understand the reaction of Government to the new orientation. I hope that they will have no objection to propaganda, naturally non-violent, against all war. It would be non-embarrassing in the sense that there cannot be, as there never was, any idea of surrounding or picketing munition factories or recruiting offices.

If the right is not conceded, there must be token Civil Disobedience by the fewest possible, even one or two known believers in resistance to all war. I must not select many, because every worker is wanted to educate the people in the art of non-violent behaviour in the face of impending danger.

Strange as it may appear, I suggest that ceaseless occupation in constructive programme is the best preparation to face danger. For it means concentration in villages of the city people and their being occupied and occupying the villagers in productive and educative work.

This removes unemployment and with it fear. Such movement on a large scale at once inaugurates a new social order. It will constitute the greatest contribution to internal peace, and should render nugatory formidable panicky ordinances just issued.



# HARIJAN

Jan. 18

1942

## PEACE ORGANISATION

(By M. K. Gandhi)

If the Congress were an organisation with a military bias, there is no doubt that today it would be a full-fledged military unit, every member becoming trained to be an efficient soldier. Fortunately for India and humanity, the Congress is not such an organisation. No other purely national organisation is or can be in the India of today. Fortunately again for India and humanity, the Congress has pledged itself since 1920 to win India's freedom through non-violent means. But up to now it has been largely a debating society, offering Civil Disobedience at intervals and all the time only playing with its vital programme of construction. At one time every Congressman was expected to create something for the nation. He or she was to spin for the nation. Congressmen would not respond, and the clause about spinning was dropped. There were other items too which every Congressman was to work. But he has not done so to the extent expected. The moment has now come for him to make a definite choice. The only programme before him is to become a servant or soldier of peace. A soldier of peace, unlike the one of the sword, has to give all his spare time to the promotion of peace alike in war time as in peace time. His work in peace time is both a measure of prevention of, as also that of preparation for, war time.

If then I was a Congressman with a vote, I would vote, as an emergency measure, for requiring every Congressman now on the Congress register or to come hereafter to possess the minimum qualifications for working the constructive programme. It would be wrong to remind me that the Congress should retain its democratic character. It will not lose it because, of its own motion, it becomes an efficient working body which anybody undertaking to obey its discipline and conditions of membership may join. The Congress will cease to be popular, if it cannot deserve popularity in times of stress. If it cannot provide work for the workless and hungry, if it cannot protect the people from depredations or teach them how to face them, if it cannot help them in the face of danger, it will lose its prestige and popularity. No person or corporation can live long on his or its capital. The latter has to circulate and multiply itself.

The Congress has become popular because it has been foremost in fighting imperialism. Today the old way is of no avail. Nobody thinks of mass revolt at the present moment. The best, quickest, and most efficient way is to build up from the bottom. The psychological moment has come. "Back to the villages!" has become a necessity from every point of view. Now is the time to decentralise production and distribution. Every village has to become a self-sufficient republic. This does not require brave resolutions. It requires brave, corporate, intelligent work. As far

as I know at the present moment this is common ground between the rulers and the people.

Let every Congressman answer for himself whether he will be a soldier or servant of peace or whether he will become a nonentity unwilling to take his place in building up Swaraj.

On train Bardoli-Wardha, 9-1-42

## WHY?

(By M. K. Gandhi)

While I was engaged in organising and conducting the Civil Disobedience movement on behalf of the Congress I could not issue the three weeklies without noticing the doings of civil resisters and the general progress of the movement. That would have been to turn the weeklies into Civil Disobedience organs and to challenge the Government to suppress them. The Government in their turn could not but have accepted the challenge and suppressed the papers and even prosecuted me. Whilst I must always be ready to welcome imprisonment, I was not then ready to court it. Nor was it my plan to invite suppression when my avowed object was to organise strictly and only individual Civil Disobedience. Therefore, even at the price of sacrificing the pleasure of serving the people in various ways through the weeklies, duty demanded their stoppage. I feel that the step taken was correct in every way.

The reason for suspension now no longer exists. On the contrary I should fail in my duty, if I did not resume publication. As I have repeatedly said I am no enemy of Britain. I have many dear and personal friends among Britishers. I cannot wish ill to Britain. My resistance to war does not carry me to the point of thwarting those who wish to take part in it. I reason with them. I put before them the better way and leave them to make the choice.

But we have arrived at a stage where it is no longer merely a question of resisting war effort. There are questions which confront war-resisters as much as they confront war-mongers. And they can be decided only one way by both, though the approach must vary. Such are questions of dealing with scarcity of food and clothing, looting, and bread riots, etc. I have views on all these and like questions. Resumption of the weeklies is needed for the dissemination of my views on these and like matters. In the ability of the people to deal with them without fuss and even without Government effort lies the way to Swaraj whose basis is non-violence. Mere Government effort cannot deal with crises affecting millions of people unless there is voluntary response from them.

If we wish to achieve Swaraj through truth and non-violence, gradual but steady building up from the bottom upwards by constructive effort is the only way. This rules out the deliberate creation of an anarchical state for the overthrow of the established order in the hope of throwing up from within a dictator who would rule with a rod of iron and produce order out of disorder.

These columns will then deal with the day-to-day problems that face the people.

On train Bardoli-Wardha, 9-1-42



## Notes

### Sir Akbar Hydari

The late Sir Akbar Hydari was a rare combination. He was a great scholar, philosopher and reformer. He was a devout Muslim, but he saw nothing antagonistic to Islam in Hinduism. He was a student of various religions. He was catholic in the choice of his friends. On the return voyage from the second Round Table Conference we found ourselves in the same boat. He was a regular attendant at the evening prayers I used to have on board. He was so interested in the Gita verses and the bhajans we sang that he had got them all translated for him by Mahadev Desai. He had made me promise that we should tour together in India in the interest of communal unity. But God had willed otherwise. The late Lord Willingdon had a different programme for me. I was plunged into the Civil Disobedience fight. Sir Akbar and I could never carry out the programme. He had come under the influence of Shri Aurobindo Ghose. He was almost invariably in Pondicherry during the days when the sage of Pondicherry gave the quarterly darshan to his devotees. Sir Akbar's death is a great loss to the country. My respectful condolences to the deceased's family.

Sevagram, 14-1-42

### To the Subscribers

The Manager tells me that the subscribers of *Harijan* have appreciated the unavoidable suspension and exercised extraordinary patience. With a few understandable exceptions they have not recalled the balance of the unused subscription due to them. I am glad to be able now to say that they will have their copy again regularly. It will not be possible to retain the old rate for reasons they know. The subscriptions left over will be credited to the subscribers who will be notified when they are to be exhausted. I hope that the three editions will retain their old popularity. I expect even a visible increase, for I believe in the intrinsic value of the menu that will be served to the reader from week to week. The three weeklies are purely and simply media of service. Never have they been a business enterprise.

### "Violence Is Disastrous"

Shri S. V. Thakar, the quiet but efficient worker in the Harijan and other causes, sends me a note drawing attention to a violent feud between two parties of Bhils which his intervention with Government assistance has just prevented. The late Gula Maharaj, himself a Bhil reformer, had by his earnestness and simplicity appealed to the Bhil imagination, and thousands of them inspired by him had abandoned drink and other evil habits. He died a year ago leaving a successor. There was a social boycott proclaimed by the reform party against those who would not give up bad habits. This bred bad blood. Violence seemed imminent. Shri Thakar's timely intervention referred to above stopped bloodshed. But the reform has suffered a set-back. The party of opposition is in the ascendant, and unless the pure ethical spirit again pervades the movement, it may collapse. Shri Thakar rightly wishes to draw the

moral that violence even in a good cause will not answer, and that every reform must be broadbased on the willing and enlightened association of the people concerned. They cannot be coerced into good habits.

### Adibasi

Thakkar Bapa complains that, whilst he likes the pamphlet dealing with the constructive programme, he misses in it mention of Adibasis or the so-called aboriginals, such as Sonthals, Bhils, etc. The complaint is just. Many other causes are included in the constructive programme by implication. But that cannot and should not satisfy such a humanitarian as Thakkar Bapa. The Adibasis are the original inhabitants whose material position is perhaps no better than that of Harijans and who have long been victims of neglect on the part of the so-called high classes. The Adibasis should have found a special place in the constructive programme. Non-mention was an oversight. They provide a vast field of service for Congressmen. The Christian missionary has been more or less in sole occupation of the field. Great as his labour has been, it has not prospered as it might have, because of his ultimate aim being the Adibasis' conversion to his fold and their becoming de-Indianised. Anyway no one who hopes to construct Swaraj on the foundation of non-violence can afford to neglect even the least of India's sons. Adibasis are too numerous to be counted among the least.

On the train Bardoli-Wardha, 9-1-42

### Hand-spun as Measure of Value

In my part of India shells and seedless dried almonds were used as coins accepted by the people and the State treasury. They had no intrinsic value. They were a measure of people's deep poverty. They could not afford the lowest metal coin. Five shells would buy them a little vegetable or a needle. I have suggested a measure which will not be a mere token but which will have always an intrinsic value which will also be its market value. In that sense it will be an ideal measure. For the present and by way of experiment I have suggested a warp length of a single thread of yarn as the lowest measure and to be used in dealings principally with the spinners and generally with khadi lovers. The spinners can have all their daily wants supplied as against fixed quantity of yarn. Stores will need to be maintained by the A. I. S. A. in combination with the A. I. V. I. A. and ultimately with those who will give their co-operation. As I conceive it the system can be worked only if it is decentralised. This is not its demerit but merit. The end to be sought is human happiness combined with full mental and moral development. I use the adjective moral as synonymous with spiritual. This end can be achieved under decentralisation. Centralisation as a system is inconsistent with non-violent structure of society. I have presented to khadi workers and those who are interested in the solution of the problem of India's poverty, the idea of a measure of value in its barest outline. Let them work it out and find for themselves flaws, if any, in the conception, and if they do not, let them enforce it where they can.

Sevagram, 13-1-42

M. K. G.



## ON THE PATH OF AHIMSA

### Physical Training and Ahimsa

About the time the *Harijan* had to cease, Gandhiji wrote a long article discussing the relation between physical training and Ahimsa. If that exhaustive article needed any elucidation, it is to be had from the lives of those who suffered and even laid down their life for a cherished mission. I was reading the other day the life of Dr. Pennel, the surgeon who worked among the frontier tribes for several years. Dr. Pennel's work, in my opinion, was weakened (to use a very mild word) by his proselytising zeal. He regarded medical missions as "the language of the church militant", and believed that part of the treatment of his patients consisted in preaching to them the gospel. Wherever he went he went with "an Afghan convert", and used all kinds of occasions (e.g. a horse-fair) for preaching the gospel, "undeterred by the hail-storm of stones and clods of earth which greeted him and his assistants." "At Hawed," says his biographer, "they at first encountered some opposition, for the people utterly refused all intercourse or medicine if there was also to be preaching. However, by dint of firmness and persuasion, they were induced to listen to a short non-controversial address and, afterwards later in the day, Dr. Pennel was able to preach three times without let or hindrance." On occasions one wonders which to admire more—Dr. Pennel's pathetic zeal in pouring his preaching down his patients' throats along with his medicines, or his patients who, in spite of terrible suffering, "refused to listen to a word more of our wicked religion and left us"; which to admire more—the surgeon who preached the gospel to unwilling patients, or the patients who "heard the gospel time after time but remained untouched, saying, as, alas, so many do, 'your medicine is very good, but your religion is very wicked.'"

But that is about the way the missionary spoils his good work. These prefatory remarks were necessary before I proceeded to describe the fearlessness of Dr. Pennel—the fearlessness which no physical training in the use of the sword or firearms gave him, but which came from his passion for his work. Indeed a reading of the various ways in which Gandhiji says a Satyagrahi should physically fit himself put me forcibly in mind of Dr. Pennel. He had certainly built up his body in his youth by gymnastic exercises, swimming, taking long treks, and so on, but never by sword-play or rifle-practice. But see what a wonderful example he has left for all Satyagrahis:

"After a treacherous attack on a British force by the Waziris, the officer in command of the troops at Bannu wished the Mission to have a guard of soldiers, a precaution of which Dr. Pennel distinctly disapproved as he maintained that the surest way of calling forth the kindness and protection of the tribes, was by showing them that he did not rely upon material arms for his defence. For this reason he never carried arms of any description himself, and on more than one occasion it was this fact which saved him from assassins who deemed it cowardly to attack an unarmed man."

He had trained himself by hard discipline. Starvation, he thought, was part of the daily lot of a missionary, and he used to collect crusts of bread till they were dry enough to satisfy his Spartan taste. He gave up most of the comforts that one may lawfully enjoy; he had none of the "petty vices"; never smoked; walked miles on end without tiring; travelled all night in tongas, ekkas, and on horseback; "in a tonga he generally slept sitting upright, with his long legs curled over the luggage; in a tum-tum he found it less risky to sleep in the net under the seats, his head at the driver's feet and his feet sticking out over the footboard at the back; and as the driver generally kept the horses' grass in this net, he found it a very comfortable bed! An ekka did not afford such good sleeping accommodation, so he would unwind his turban, and plaiting it about the poles of the awning, would draw his knees up to his chin, and thus leaning against the back-rest made by his puggri or turban would sleep peacefully until his journey's end." Once while paying a visit to Esa Khel District, he found the river Kurram very much swollen, "so, dismounting from his riding camel he swam across and got some men to go back for the beast. On reaching mid-stream the animal lost its footing and turned over and over in the river. With great difficulty they got the saddle off, and with the help of some more men pulled it to the land half-drowned." Again, while on his pilgrimage as a *sadhu* on a cycle, "we had to ford the river several times. We lost ourselves in a jungle of tamarisk bushes. These grew denser and denser till we had to lift our machines at arm's length and over our heads and struggle through, while our lower garments got torn to shreds and our legs badly scratched."

He had thus learnt to accustom himself to physical endurance, but what made him an utter stranger to fear was his passion for his mission.

"When he heard that a certain Mullah had preached of his murder as a sure road to Paradise for the Ghazi who accomplished it, he forthwith set out unarmed and unescorted to visit the house of his adversary. If a road were known to be beset by raiders, his intrepid spirit would find exhilaration in traversing just that way. It was this spirit of fearlessness that not only won him friends among the manly Pathans but more than once was the means of saving his life."

As I write this I am reminded of Shri Ravishanker Vyas, the life and soul of the reform movement among the 'criminal tribes' of the Kheda district. No physical drill or sword-play has given him the remarkable capacity for physical endurance and fearlessness that he has. He can walk miles on end, dare death and devilry, and when in jail he used to grind 45 seers of *ata* (the maximum hard task) in less than the time ordinary criminals used to take over it.

### The Minimum Test

And as for the concrete test of belief in Ahimsa. I am reminded of a conversation between Gandhiji and a would-be Satyagrahi in an Indian State. It indicated that Gandhiji expected a much higher standard of qualification from the would-be Satyagrahis in Indian States than from those in British India; but it also indicates the minimum test of belief in the



charkha as the pivot of constructive work. The would-be Satyagrahi said he was a believer in Ahimsa.

"How much do you spin—5 yards or 50 yards?" Gandhiji asked him.

"Never more than 50, and sometimes even less than 5," was the answer.

"Do you spin every day, or once every week, or every month?"

"I don't spin more than 50 or 100 yards in a month."

"Do you make your own slivers?"

This last question was hardly justified after the answers the previous questions had elicited, but Gandhiji went on in an almost ruthless way.

"No, Mahatmaji," was the reply.

"Then where do you get them from? Get them by post?"

"No, I get from the khadi bhandar, and when I do not get them there, I get them through friends coming from places where slivers can be had." I have a suspicion that the reply was prompted by the question which indicated a rebuke if the slivers were got by post. Poor man! He might have said: "I spin so precious little that I have my year's supply at a time from the bhandar."

"Do you make your *mal* (string) yourself or do you purchase a reel from the market?"

It was no use pursuing this inquiry, and more questions would have landed him into more scrapes. His friend, therefore, intervened and said: "Mahatmaji, he is a believer in Ahimsa, and that, I thought, was the essential qualification. According to the test you now apply we are all likely to fail."

"Well then," said Gandhiji rather sternly, "it is better that none of you takes part in Satyagraha than that you should go without being properly qualified. My standard is inexorable. I want you to spin not only regularly but intelligently. I want you to know how to test your yarn, how to draw fine yarn and coarse yarn, to know the economics of khadi and so on. And when you will say to me, 'I know all these things,' I will ask you: 'What about your life?' Do you observe non-violence in your relations with the members of your family and in your daily affairs? Where is the good of your saying you accept non-violence in theory? Supposing you said you accepted the theory of khadi, but purchased and used foreign cloth, how would your acceptance of the theory help me? And please understand that, while in British India I am prepared to reconcile myself to belief in Ahimsa as a policy, I want you in the States to believe in it as a creed. Violence in many Indian States is greater than in British India, and we want the supreme purity and sacrifice of a Prahlad to meet the violence there. Give me a Prahlad, and I shall give him my blessings."

#### Begin at Home

In this connection let me reproduce here a part of a letter addressed by Gandhiji to Khan Saheb Abdul Ghaffar Khan. It will be remembered that the Khan Saheb believes in Ahimsa as a creed as he has unequivocally stated once again in his recent statement on the Bardoli decision, and he desires to train those who will follow him also as cent per cent non-violent

Satyagrahis. It is necessary to know this in order to understand the letter:

"I hope that all the conversation we had in Bombay has soaked into you. If it has, every problem could be solved by reference to those fundamentals which I tried to put before you. Our non-violence has to begin at home with our children, elders, neighbours and friends. We have to overlook the so-called blemishes of our friends and neighbours and never forgive our own. Then only shall we be able to right ourselves, and as we ascend higher, our non-violence has to be practised among our political associates. We have to see and approach the viewpoints of those who differ from us. We have to be patient with them and convince them of their errors and be convinced of our own. Then proceeding further we have to deal patiently and gently with political parties that have different policies and different principles. We have to look at their criticism from their own standpoint, always remembering that the greater the distance between ourselves and others, the greater the scope for the play of our non-violence; and it is only when we have passed our examination or test in these fields that we can deal with those against whom we are fighting and who have grievously wronged us.

This was one thing we talked about. The other thing I said was that a non-violent man has to keep himself engaged usefully during all waking hours, and therefore constructive work is for him what arms are for the violent man."

This last sentence sums up in the vividest manner the essential difference between a believer in violence and non-violence.

M. D.

#### WAR AGAINST DESTRUCTION

In one of his speeches Shri Vinoba contrasted the obvious expressions of violence and non-violence. "Constructive work is the obvious expression of non-violence, destructive work that of violence. Violence expresses itself in bombing, destroying buildings, hospitals, churches, and innocent women and children. Non-violence creates where violence destroys; it creates the wherewithal to clothe the naked and feed the hungry. Violence expresses itself in incendiarism; non-violence extinguishes not only physical fires but the fires of hatred and vengeance." It is this conviction that made him throw himself heart and soul into the movement for the spread of education through crafts, and even in his statement before the court he mentioned it as a principal item of the constructive programme.

In the present turmoil when our intellects are clouded by ever-increasing war propaganda and our vision blurred by the smoke-screen of passion and hate, we may not see the part education through crafts has to play in the future. But wise people in all lands know what is in store for us if we do not stem the tide of destruction. In an editorial article of the Holidays Number of the American *School Arts* the editor deplores the prospect and emphasises the increasing need for craft-education. "The world is witnessing today the supposedly greatest nations in cultural development, bending all their



manhood and materials into building greater and better engines and transports for mass destruction of all that other men have built," says he, and adds: "Now as never before we should use all our energies towards creating more creative minds for building a new world for tomorrow's men, that they may have more creative minds and hands for creating the beautiful, rather than the destructive. This great art appreciation can only be established through actual doing, the actual handwork, rather than the mere book learning that has impeded for years our proper art growth." And this is how he inweighs against the wrong education with which we have clogged and corrupted the minds of our children: "For many years a false ideal has persisted that culture or genteelness consisted largely of not working with one's hands. Men with calloused hands were something uncouth, and the greatest desire of many a mother was to see her son capably placed in a 'white collar' job where he could accumulate wealth with a brain that would work only at a desk. This belief has brought its penalties upon each nation who made it an ideal, in lower standards of health, lesser art achievements, and social difficulties, and many leaders of our nation today are urging a greater return to the use of hands through many avenues of creative work. The seeming trend of the human minds, even evident in the mere child, is that of destroying or the breaking up of constructed objects. The tendency of destruction in the child mind will not grow as a trait in the adult, if he learns to use his hands in constructive art. He will too greatly respect all that goes into handicraft to ever approve the urge for destroying any part of the art crafts of his fellow men."

The editor also cites the statements of prominent American public men in support of "the learning which comes of doing things with the hands". William Knudsen, President of the General Motors Corporation, says:

"In pioneer days when book learning was rare, the man who made his living sitting at a desk was envied. But the pioneer's legitimate aspiration for learning has decayed into a kind of snobbery which considers it more honorable to handle a telephone than a wrench, more socially desirable to dictate to a stenographer than to direct a crew of skilled mechanics. In the years from 14 to 20, when the creative urge ought to be developing and flowering, most of a youngster's energy is devoted to cramming theories out of books. The young man then finds himself all dressed up with theoretical knowledge and no place to go. Psychiatrists in recent years have been treating nervous breakdowns by occupational therapy. Possibly, if these people originally had a useful sideline involving manual skill, the breakdowns never would have occurred. And brain training is likewise an essential part of hand training. The best man is one who combines the learning of books with the learning which comes of doing things with the hands."

Boris Blai, Director of Fine Arts, Temple University, says:

"During twelve years of teaching young people in arts, I have not found one student who

did not possess a latent creative instinct that yearned for expression. I am convinced that every human being possesses a creative urge to make beautiful things, that this urge can be brought out and put to work with proper encouragement, and that suppression of it results in maladjustment of life. Furthermore, it is actually dangerous *not* to use your hands. Tests by neurologists at the Temple and other universities show that mental ability increases as the ability to use the hand increases. Manual work demands clear thinking, the working out of your own solutions to problems."

What can be a stronger argument than this last in support of our national plan of education through crafts? Against the training for the art of efficient destruction, the training which puts the musket on the shoulder of the child who has compulsorily to join the junior branch of the Hitler Jugend (youth) at the age of seven, there is the education which begins with a good grounding in creative work. Education through creative basic crafts can alone stem the tide of destruction that militarist education helps to swell every day.

Sevagram, 27-3-41

M. D.

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# HARIJAN

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[FIVE PICE

## THE MONTH IN BARDOLI

I

### Sardar's Garden-Home

When Gandhiji consented to spend a month in Bardoli in accordance with his promise to spend a month there every year, he did not know what an atmosphere the Sardar had kept ready there to receive him. He was ready, he said, to accommodate the members of the Working Committee in the Ashram, he was ready to make all arrangements for a session of the A. I. C. C., if it was decided to hold it there, and he was ready to accommodate all the workers in the various constructive departments that came for talks and consultations with Gandhiji. The month was, therefore, full to overflowing with activity, and on an average about two hundred people a day received comfortable board and lodging. Elaborate arrangements had to be made for all this, but thanks to the Sardar's hold on Gujarat, everyone in Gujarat, rich and poor, co-operated with him in making Gandhiji's stay as full of repose as it was bound to be full of work.

And in giving him the needed repose and a constant sense of well-being not a small part was played by the Sardar's garden-farm. Close to the lovely little flower-garden was a beautiful banana garden in place of the grass-land that it was three years ago when we went there. To say that it was a banana-garden is to say the least about it. For into the making of it had gone the Sardar's exquisite skill as an economic and expert agriculturist and his devoted care about every little detail. "I knew the Sardar's power of organisation," said Gandhiji on his return to Sevagram, "but I discovered for the first time that the Sardar was a skilled agriculturist. Every inch of space in the banana-garden and every drop of water that was being given to it had been made careful use of. The banana yielded a yearly crop, but in between the plants at convenient distances were fruit trees like the mango and the *lich* and the *chiku* and grape fruit, and on the ridges were various vegetables. Surrounding the garden had been planted permanent trees, and inside the garden were walks making it easy for the field-worker to take care of the trees and also providing enough space with velvety earth for those who desired to have their morning and evening constitutional. All this was enough to rest and please the eyes and the mind. The Sardar's labour had yielded the Ashram several thousand rupees and set an example to others. As a result dozens of people had taken to banana-growing."

### The Working Committee's Decision

The Working Committee of the Congress met for days — unconscionably long as the carping critics said,

but not too long for those who wanted to put themselves right with one another and with the world. From that point of view not a day was wasted, and Gandhiji had enough time to commune with himself and with his colleagues. I shall say nothing about the deliberations in the Working Committee—I have in fact neither the competence nor the right to do so. But I shall make an attempt to indicate broadly a few things that emerged from the discussions inside as well as outside and the talks that followed the decision of the Working Committee. Though the actual decision came to be made on the basis of the interpretation of the Bombay Resolution, what was of vital importance was the actual feeling in the minds of men. No matter how the Bombay Resolution was interpreted, were we clear about certain fundamentals? Were we clear that the policy of non-violence that we had followed, to the best of our ability, for twenty years was no religious creed or for no religious purpose, but a wholly political method for the achievement of the political independence of India? Gandhiji had no doubt on the question. The next question was — could we at this critical hour in our nation's history give up that policy even for the sake of proffered freedom? "So far as I am concerned," says Gandhiji, "even if I was given the utmost power conceivable, even if I was made the Viceroy of India today, would I ask the people of India to take up the sword to keep the Empire alive? I for one should feel that I was committing moral suicide in that I would be abandoning the faith of a lifetime, the faith which I had persuaded the Congress to accept for twenty years as a policy. The steady unflinching pursuit of that policy has brought us quite close to the achievement of the objective. Am I to abandon the very boat which has brought me quite close to the shore? Yudhishtira would not forsake his faithful dog and enter the gates of Heaven without him. For he knew that the Kingdom of Heaven would be as naught to him without the dog, i.e. his faith. Would the Arab (i.e. the Congress) give up towards the end of the journey the faithful steed (i.e. non-violence) that had made it possible for it to make that journey? It would be an act of betrayal or faithlessness on my part."

There is another question also. In his open letter to every Briton Gandhiji had advised him not to fight the enemy with the weapons of the enemy but to set an example to the world by abandoning violence and adopting intensive non-cooperation. He had advised the same course to the Abyssinians and the Czechs and the Poles. "Could I, when the war is at my door and when I am in the same predicament as they, forget the sovereign remedy I suggested to them and



clutch at the method I have denounced and discarded? No matter what the country would say, what should be the attitude of individual Congressmen who had sworn by the method of non-violence?"

He was clear that, if it was felt that we had committed a mistake, that it was worth while bargaining a principle for what seemed to be a richer gain, they should declare their conviction, and if and when the objective was gained, they should convert the whole of India into a recruiting ground, ask every man and woman to contribute his or her share in the war effort, and even extinguish themselves in so doing. What was needed was downright honesty. He at any rate had never conceived this possibility. If he knew that some day India would have to engage in a violent war in order to win Independence, he would long ago have addressed every youth to go in for military discipline, and he would not have placed tireless emphasis, day in and day out, on the various items of the constructive programme.

### An Eye-opener

The Sardar had called a meeting of the Provincial Congress Committee. Gandhiji was invited to address it. He first asked everyone if he had understood all the implications of the Bardoli Resolution. Several people did not raise their hands. "Then," he said, "let me put it to you in a nutshell. The resolution means that, if the Government gave a guarantee that full freedom would be given after the war, the Congress would help in keeping this Empire alive. It was not that the bargain had been actually made, but the terms had been agreed upon, whereas, if I did not want to enter into any bargain at all, I should plainly say so. If you feel that on your agreeing to offer full co-operation in the war effort, India will have complete independence after the war, that the British will thereafter remain in India at your mercy and sufferance, that even during the war you will run your own affairs provided of course that your Defence Minister will carry on the war to victory, you must confirm the Bardoli Resolution. The temptation is very great indeed. If for that sake you are ready to reverse the Congress policy and purchase Swaraj and pay as price thereof Ahimsa, you must confirm the resolution. Remember that the very greatest of our leaders are party to the resolution and they have not chosen to do so lightly. As against this there are those who think that Ahimsa is a pearl of great price and that it cannot be given up, that it can never be the price of Swaraj, then their position is different. But if you are in doubt, if you feel that in sticking to Ahimsa you lose both Ahimsa — because you are incapable of it — and Swaraj, that Gandhi is a good man but it would be prudent not to go the whole length with him, then you must accept the resolution. Only those will express their disapproval of it who are sure in their heart of hearts that prudence, political insight, policy, every consideration, demands that Ahimsa may not be sacrificed for Swaraj. Now let those who will vote for the Bardoli Resolution raise their hands." 36 raised their hands. "Good," said he. "Now let the *acharyas* (masters) of Ahimsa raise their hands." It was a perplexing challenge, but 27 plumped for Ahimsa. There were about ten neutrals who wanted to

put questions, but Gandhiji said as the vote was quite informal the neutrals need not trouble themselves.

I am tempted to comment on the whole proceedings, but I must resist the temptation. Events that followed will be better understood in the light of them.

### Khadi Vidyalaya

There were various other meetings. On the eve of our departure the A. I. S. A. opened the Gujarat Branch of the Khadi Vidyalaya — the opening ceremony being performed by Gandhiji. It is a small beginning, with only 15 students, but with willing work and faith it may grow into a big tree. Gandhiji in declaring it open said:

"Needless to say that it gives me pleasure to declare this Khadi Vidyalaya open. There should be many such Vidyalayas in Gujarat. As a matter of fact Khadi Vidyalaya may be said to have been opened when in 1921 we decided to prepare for launching Satyagraha. I had not then discovered the word 'Vidyalaya' and had at any rate not associated it with khadi, though I knew that khadi was a Vidya (Science), and a most important of sciences. But I had then not the courage to say it. But the beginning was made here, anything that was invented in the line took the name of Bardoli — as for instance, the 'Bardoli *Pinjan*' (Carding Bow). Then we had a big depot here for the manufacture of all our implements. Whilst, therefore, it is a pleasure to me to open the Vidyalaya, it is a matter of sorrow that we should be opening it at this late day.

"It needs no argument today to prove that the charkha is bound up with Ahimsa and therefore with Swaraj. What is going to be the part that crores of our people will play during the deadly carnage that is going on? We know the part that Government are playing, we know the part that some of us are playing at their behest, and to satisfy the pangs of hunger and starvation. They are rushing headlong to take part in the work of destruction. Millions are being collected from the rich and the poor, and yet the Government coffers are ever empty. But barring those that are thus directly and indirectly helping in the work of destruction, what are the rest going to do, what *can* they do? How are they to carry on? There is starvation and poverty everywhere. There is scarcity of water, and unlike in South Africa where there is every provision against droughts, there is none here, and we and our cattle die like flies for want of water. Those that go to war do so in the hope of returning alive after killing others, some may not return at all. But we? Shall we be content to die like flies? We have sworn by Ahimsa and pledged ourselves to win Swaraj by Ahimsa. What then is the thing that can enable us to work for Swaraj, and to stand erect and strong in face of this conflagration? It is the charkha and all it means. Land we have, but the land system, uneconomic holdings and methods have reduced us to the level of beasts of burden, it does not yield us enough to eat all the year round, and we are workless for almost half the year. We have, therefore, to be up and doing and fill our time with productive work. That work is the production of khadi, etc.



"I do not want to repeat the argument or go into the implications of the science of khadi. Let this Vidyalaya generate a force that may universalise the charkha in Gujarat. There are, I am told, seventy thousand Congress members in Ahmedabad. If all these were regular spinners, and if they gave their quota of yarn to the Congress? Congress soldiers should not forget that their arms are the charkhas and spinning regularly is their 'military' discipline. The military weapons and munitions today have proved futile. They have failed to keep Czechoslovakia, Poland and France free or alive, though they boasted of renowned soldiers. President Roosevelt says he and the Allied Powers are fighting the Axis Powers to make the nations of the world free, and that the Axis Powers are fighting to enslave the world. But to me both the parties seem to be tarred with the same brush.

"What shall we do in the midst of this mutual destruction which spells freedom for none? The charkha and all it means is the only thing that can enable us to live and to make us stand in honour and self-respect. This we can do if we can combine faith with understanding, for un-understanding faith will not carry us far.

"Don't think that you have come here just to learn the art of khadi. You have come here to bear the burden of the work for Swaraj. It is a tremendous burden to bear, and the very first lesson you have to learn is to know the qualifications of the soldiers of Swaraj. The very first is Restraint and Patient Labour. That is what the charkha will teach you. The renowned cities of the world are crumbling unto dust. London is changed out of recognition, the edifices which the builders thought would stand the ravages of time are no more, and our cities like Rangoon will share the same fate. The age of cities is thus coming to an end. The slogan of 'Back to the villages' was never so true as today. The mills will not be of any avail. They are producing cloth for the belligerents and may ere long cease even to do that work, and may have solely to engage in producing munition. We have therefore to produce all our cloth and to make our villages self-sufficient in all respects. That you cannot do without a life of Restraint and Patient Toil. The course you have to prepare for is not simple. It will require all your energies and your faculties, for it is an all-comprehensive one. Every one of us, men and women, have to lend their hands and their minds and their hearts to the work of building our nation and Swaraj."

M. D.

(To be continued)

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### THE NEXT PHASE

Gandhiji issued the following statement from Bardoli on the 7th inst. :

My being relieved of the direction of Congress Civil Disobedience does not reduce my responsibility but increases it manifold. For one thing, my official disconnection with the Congress itself increases my detachment; but since detachment never means indifference, my attachment to every Congressman increases and I must speak to him more than before. The voice of silence was enough to direct the campaign of Civil Disobedience, but it is not enough to explain and interpret in terms of non-violence the day-to-day puzzles that arise in the minds of Congressmen and others by reason of the overwhelming events happening near us.

Rangoon was naturally and culturally part of us before Burma years ago became part of British India and, therefore, it remains part of us though now sundered. What has happened there, has had its repercussions all over India.

So far as I can see, Civil Disobedience in the sense in which it was launched is not likely to be revived on behalf of the Congress till the war has ended. In a purely symbolic manner it may have to be kept up not in the name of the Congress but on behalf of resisters of all war on the pure ground of non-violence, no matter how few they are. It will be kept up for the sake of asserting the right of resisters to carry on propaganda against all war. They dare not keep still in the midst of the unhuman slaughter that is going on. They must not only speak and write against it, they must, if need be, sacrifice themselves in the attempt to stop the torrent of blood. Whether they are a few or many they have to live their mission.

Before taking any step in the direction of Civil Disobedience I propose to restart the three weeklies and understand the reaction of Government to the new orientation. I hope that they will have no objection to propaganda, naturally non-violent, against all war. It would be non-embarrassing in the sense that there cannot be, as there never was, any idea of surrounding or picketing munition factories or recruiting offices.

If the right is not conceded, there must be token Civil Disobedience by the fewest possible, even one or two known believers in resistance to all war. I must not select many, because every worker is wanted to educate the people in the art of non-violent behaviour in the face of impending danger.

Strange as it may appear, I suggest that ceaseless occupation in constructive programme is the best preparation to face danger. For it means concentration in villages of the city people and their being occupied and occupying the villagers in productive and educative work.

This removes unemployment and with it fear. Such movement on a large scale at once inaugurates a new social order. It will constitute the greatest contribution to internal peace, and should render nugatory formidable panicky ordinances just issued.



# HARIJAN

Jan. 18

1942

## PEACE ORGANISATION

(By M. K. Gandhi)

If the Congress were an organisation with a military bias, there is no doubt that today it would be a full-fledged military unit, every member becoming trained to be an efficient soldier. Fortunately for India and humanity, the Congress is not such an organisation. No other purely national organisation is or can be in the India of today. Fortunately again for India and humanity, the Congress has pledged itself since 1920 to win India's freedom through non-violent means. But up to now it has been largely a debating society, offering Civil Disobedience at intervals and all the time only playing with its vital programme of construction. At one time every Congressman was expected to create something for the nation. He or she was to spin for the nation. Congressmen would not respond, and the clause about spinning was dropped. There were other items too which every Congressman was to work. But he has not done so to the extent expected. The moment has now come for him to make a definite choice. The only programme before him is to become a servant or soldier of peace. A soldier of peace, unlike the one of the sword, has to give all his spare time to the promotion of peace alike in war time as in peace time. His work in peace time is both a measure of prevention of, as also that of preparation for, war time.

If then I was a Congressman with a vote, I would vote, as an emergency measure, for requiring every Congressman now on the Congress register or to come hereafter to possess the minimum qualifications for working the constructive programme. It would be wrong to remind me that the Congress should retain its democratic character. It will not lose it because, of its own motion, it becomes an efficient working body which anybody undertaking to obey its discipline and conditions of membership may join. The Congress will cease to be popular, if it cannot deserve popularity in times of stress. If it cannot provide work for the workless and hungry, if it cannot protect the people from depredations or teach them how to face them, if it cannot help them in the face of danger, it will lose its prestige and popularity. No person or corporation can live long on his or its capital. The latter has to circulate and multiply itself.

The Congress has become popular because it has been foremost in fighting imperialism. Today the old way is of no avail. Nobody thinks of mass revolt at the present moment. The best, quickest, and most efficient way is to build up from the bottom. The psychological moment has come. "Back to the villages!" has become a necessity from every point of view. Now is the time to decentralise production and distribution. Every village has to become a self-sufficient republic. This does not require brave resolutions. It requires brave, corporate, intelligent work. As far

as I know at the present moment this is common ground between the rulers and the people.

Let every Congressman answer for himself whether he will be a soldier or servant of peace or whether he will become a nonentity unwilling to take his place in building up Swaraj.

On train Bardoli-Wardha, 9-1-42

## WHY?

(By M. K. Gandhi)

While I was engaged in organising and conducting the Civil Disobedience movement on behalf of the Congress I could not issue the three weeklies without noticing the doings of civil resisters and the general progress of the movement. That would have been to turn the weeklies into Civil Disobedience organs and to challenge the Government to suppress them. The Government in their turn could not but have accepted the challenge and suppressed the papers and even prosecuted me. Whilst I must always be ready to welcome imprisonment, I was not then ready to court it. Nor was it my plan to invite suppression when my avowed object was to organise strictly and only individual Civil Disobedience. Therefore, even at the price of sacrificing the pleasure of serving the people in various ways through the weeklies, duty demanded their stoppage. I feel that the step taken was correct in every way.

The reason for suspension now no longer exists. On the contrary I should fail in my duty, if I did not resume publication. As I have repeatedly said I am no enemy of Britain. I have many dear and personal friends among Britishers. I cannot wish ill to Britain. My resistance to war does not carry me to the point of thwarting those who wish to take part in it. I reason with them. I put before them the better way and leave them to make the choice.

But we have arrived at a stage where it is no longer merely a question of resisting war effort. There are questions which confront war-resisters as much as they confront war-mongers. And they can be decided only one way by both, though the approach must vary. Such are questions of dealing with scarcity of food and clothing, looting, and bread riots, etc. I have views on all these and like questions. Resumption of the weeklies is needed for the dissemination of my views on these and like matters. In the ability of the people to deal with them without fuss and even without Government effort lies the way to Swaraj whose basis is non-violence. Mere Government effort cannot deal with crises affecting millions of people unless there is voluntary response from them.

If we wish to achieve Swaraj through truth and non-violence, gradual but steady building up from the bottom upwards by constructive effort is the only way. This rules out the deliberate creation of an anarchical state for the overthrow of the established order in the hope of throwing up from within a dictator who would rule with a rod of iron and produce order out of disorder.

These columns will then deal with the day-to-day problems that face the people.

On train Bardoli-Wardha, 9-1-42



## Notes

### Sir Akbar Hydari

The late Sir Akbar Hydari was a rare combination. He was a great scholar, philosopher and reformer. He was a devout Muslim, but he saw nothing antagonistic to Islam in Hinduism. He was a student of various religions. He was catholic in the choice of his friends. On the return voyage from the second Round Table Conference we found ourselves in the same boat. He was a regular attendant at the evening prayers I used to have on board. He was so interested in the Gita verses and the bhajans we sang that he had got them all translated for him by Mahadev Desai. He had made me promise that we should tour together in India in the interest of communal unity. But God had willed otherwise. The late Lord Willingdon had a different programme for me. I was plunged into the Civil Disobedience fight. Sir Akbar and I could never carry out the programme. He had come under the influence of Shri Aurobindo Ghose. He was almost invariably in Pondicherry during the days when the sage of Pondicherry gave the quarterly darshan to his devotees. Sir Akbar's death is a great loss to the country. My respectful condolences to the deceased's family.

Sevagram, 14-1-42

### To the Subscribers

The Manager tells me that the subscribers of *Harijan* have appreciated the unavoidable suspension and exercised extraordinary patience. With a few understandable exceptions they have not recalled the balance of the unused subscription due to them. I am glad to be able now to say that they will have their copy again regularly. It will not be possible to retain the old rate for reasons they know. The subscriptions left over will be credited to the subscribers who will be notified when they are to be exhausted. I hope that the three editions will retain their old popularity. I expect even a visible increase, for I believe in the intrinsic value of the menu that will be served to the reader from week to week. The three weeklies are purely and simply media of service. Never have they been a business enterprise.

### "Violence Is Disastrous"

Shri S. V. Thakar, the quiet but efficient worker in the *Harijan* and other causes, sends me a note drawing attention to a violent feud between two parties of Bhils which his intervention with Government assistance has just prevented. The late Gula Maharaj, himself a Bhil reformer, had by his earnestness and simplicity appealed to the Bhil imagination, and thousands of them inspired by him had abandoned drink and other evil habits. He died a year ago leaving a successor. There was a social boycott proclaimed by the reform party against those who would not give up bad habits. This bred bad blood. Violence seemed imminent. Shri Thakar's timely intervention referred to above stopped bloodshed. But the reform has suffered a set-back. The party of opposition is in the ascendant, and unless the pure ethical spirit again pervades the movement, it may collapse. Shri Thakar rightly wishes to draw the

moral that violence even in a good cause will not answer, and that every reform must be broadbased on the willing and enlightened association of the people concerned. They cannot be coerced into good habits.

### Adibasi

Thakkar Bapa complains that, whilst he likes the pamphlet dealing with the constructive programme, he misses in it mention of Adibasis or the so-called aboriginals, such as Sonthals, Bhils, etc. The complaint is just. Many other causes are included in the constructive programme by implication. But that cannot and should not satisfy such a humanitarian as Thakkar Bapa. The Adibasis are the original inhabitants whose material position is perhaps no better than that of Harijans and who have long been victims of neglect on the part of the so-called high classes. The Adibasis should have found a special place in the constructive programme. Non-mention was an oversight. They provide a vast field of service for Congressmen. The Christian missionary has been more or less in sole occupation of the field. Great as his labour has been, it has not prospered as it might have, because of his ultimate aim being the Adibasis' conversion to his fold and their becoming de-Indianised. Anyway no one who hopes to construct Swaraj on the foundation of non-violence can afford to neglect even the least of India's sons. Adibasis are too numerous to be counted among the least.

On the train Bardoli-Wardha, 9-1-42

### Hand-spun as Measure of Value

In my part of India shells and seedless dried almonds were used as coins accepted by the people and the State treasury. They had no intrinsic value. They were a measure of people's deep poverty. They could not afford the lowest metal coin. Five shells would buy them a little vegetable or a needle. I have suggested a measure which will not be a mere token but which will have always an intrinsic value which will also be its market value. In that sense it will be an ideal measure. For the present and by way of experiment I have suggested a warp length of a single thread of yarn as the lowest measure and to be used in dealings principally with the spinners and generally with khadi lovers. The spinners can have all their daily wants supplied as against fixed quantity of yarn. Stores will need to be maintained by the A. I. S. A. in combination with the A. I. V. I. A. and ultimately with those who will give their co-operation. As I conceive it the system can be worked only if it is decentralised. This is not its demerit but merit. The end to be sought is human happiness combined with full mental and moral development. I use the adjective moral as synonymous with spiritual. This end can be achieved under decentralisation. Centralisation as a system is inconsistent with non-violent structure of society. I have presented to khadi workers and those who are interested in the solution of the problem of India's poverty, the idea of a measure of value in its barest outline. Let them work it out and find for themselves flaws, if any, in the conception, and if they do not, let them enforce it where they can.

Sevagram, 13-1-42

M. K. G.



## ON THE PATH OF AHIMSA

### Physical Training and Ahimsa

About the time the *Harijan* had to cease, Gandhiji wrote a long article discussing the relation between physical training and Ahimsa. If that exhaustive article needed any elucidation, it is to be had from the lives of those who suffered and even laid down their life for a cherished mission. I was reading the other day the life of Dr. Pennel, the surgeon who worked among the frontier tribes for several years. Dr. Pennel's work, in my opinion, was weakened (to use a very mild word) by his proselytising zeal. He regarded medical missions as "the language of the church militant", and believed that part of the treatment of his patients consisted in preaching to them the gospel. Wherever he went he went with "an Afghan convert", and used all kinds of occasions (e.g. a horse-fair) for preaching the gospel, "undeterred by the hailstorm of stones and clods of earth which greeted him and his assistants." "At Hawed," says his biographer, "they at first encountered some opposition, for the people utterly refused all intercourse or medicine if there was also to be preaching. However, by dint of firmness and persuasion, they were induced to listen to a short non-controversial address and, afterwards later in the day, Dr. Pennel was able to preach three times without let or hindrance." On occasions one wonders which to admire more—Dr. Pennel's pathetic zeal in pouring his preaching down his patients' throats along with his medicines, or his patients who, in spite of terrible suffering, "refused to listen to a word more of our wicked religion and left us"; which to admire more—the surgeon who preached the gospel to unwilling patients, or the patients who "heard the gospel time after time but remained untouched, saying, as, alas, so many do, 'your medicine is very good, but your religion is very wicked.'"

But that is about the way the missionary spoils his good work. These prefatory remarks were necessary before I proceeded to describe the fearlessness of Dr. Pennel—the fearlessness which no physical training in the use of the sword or firearms gave him, but which came from his passion for his work. Indeed a reading of the various ways in which Gandhiji says a Satyagrahi should physically fit himself put me forcibly in mind of Dr. Pennel. He had certainly built up his body in his youth by gymnastic exercises, swimming, taking long treks, and so on, but never by sword-play or rifle-practice. But see what a wonderful example he has left for all Satyagrahis:

"After a treacherous attack on a British force by the Waziris, the officer in command of the troops at Bannu wished the Mission to have a guard of soldiers, a precaution of which Dr. Pennel distinctly disapproved as he maintained that the surest way of calling forth the kindness and protection of the tribes, was by showing them that he did not rely upon material arms for his defence. For this reason he never carried arms of any description himself, and on more than one occasion it was this fact which saved him from assassins who deemed it cowardly to attack an unarmed man."

He had trained himself by hard discipline. Starvation, he thought, was part of the daily lot of a missionary, and he used to collect crusts of bread till they were dry enough to satisfy his Spartan taste. He gave up most of the comforts that one may lawfully enjoy; he had none of the "petty vices"; never smoked; walked miles on end without tiring; travelled all night in tongas, ekkas, and on horseback; "in a tonga he generally slept sitting upright, with his long legs curled over the luggage; in a tum-tum he found it less risky to sleep in the net under the seats, his head at the driver's feet and his feet sticking out over the footboard at the back; and as the driver generally kept the horses' grass in this net, he found it a very comfortable bed! An ekka did not afford such good sleeping accommodation, so he would unwind his turban, and plaiting it about the poles of the awning would draw his knees up to his chin, and thus leaning against the back-rest made by his puggri or turban would sleep peacefully until his journey's end." Once while paying a visit to Esa Khel District, he found the river Kurram very much swollen, "so, dismounting from his riding camel he swam across and got some men to go back for the beast. On reaching mid-stream the animal lost its footing and turned over and over in the river. With great difficulty they got the saddle off, and with the help of some more men pulled it to the land half-drowned." Again, while on his pilgrimage as a *sadhu* on a cycle, "we had to ford the river several times. We lost ourselves in a jungle of tamarisk bushes. These grew denser and denser till we had to lift our machines at arm's length and over our heads and struggle through, while our lower garments got torn to shreds and our legs badly scratched."

He had thus learnt to accustom himself to physical endurance, but what made him an utter stranger to fear was his passion for his mission.

"When he heard that a certain Mullah had preached of his murder as a sure road to Paradise for the Ghazi who accomplished it, he forthwith set out unarmed and unescorted to visit the house of his adversary. If a road were known to be beset by raiders, his intrepid spirit would find exhilaration in traversing just that way. It was this spirit of fearlessness that not only won him friends among the manly Pathans but more than once was the means of saving his life."

As I write this I am reminded of Shri Ravishanker Vyas, the life and soul of the reform movement among the 'criminal tribes' of the Kheda district. No physical drill or sword-play has given him the remarkable capacity for physical endurance and fearlessness that he has. He can walk miles on end, dare death and devilry, and when in jail he used to grind 45 seers of *ata* (the maximum hard task) in less than the time ordinary criminals used to take over it.

### The Minimum Test

And as for the concrete test of belief in Ahimsa. I am reminded of a conversation between Gandhiji and a would-be Satyagrahi in an Indian State. It indicated that Gandhiji expected a much higher standard of qualification from the would-be Satyagrahis in Indian States than from those in British India; but it also indicates the minimum test of belief in the



charkha as the pivot of constructive work. The would-be Satyagrahi said he was a believer in Ahimsa.

"How much do you spin—5 yards or 50 yards?" Gandhiji asked him.

"Never more than 50, and sometimes even less than 5," was the answer.

"Do you spin every day, or once every week, or every month?"

"I don't spin more than 50 or 100 yards in a month."

"Do you make your own slivers?"

This last question was hardly justified after the answers the previous questions had elicited, but Gandhiji went on in an almost ruthless way.

"No, Mahatmaji," was the reply.

"Then where do you get them from? Get them by post?"

"No, I get from the khadi bhandar, and when I do not get them there, I get them through friends coming from places where slivers can be had." I have a suspicion that the reply was prompted by the question which indicated a rebuke if the slivers were got by post. Poor man! He might have said: "I spin so precious little that I have my year's supply at a time from the bhandar."

"Do you make your *mal* (string) yourself or do you purchase a reel from the market?"

It was no use pursuing this inquiry, and more questions would have landed him into more scrapes. His friend, therefore, intervened and said: "Mahatmaji, he is a believer in Ahimsa, and that, I thought, was the essential qualification. According to the test you now apply we are all likely to fail."

"Well then," said Gandhiji rather sternly, "it is better that none of you takes part in Satyagraha than that you should go without being properly qualified. My standard is inexorable. I want you to spin not only regularly but intelligently. I want you to know how to test your yarn, how to draw fine yarn and coarse yarn, to know the economics of khadi and so on. And when you will say to me, 'I know all these things,' I will ask you: 'What about your life?' Do you observe non-violence in your relations with the members of your family and in your daily affairs? Where is the good of your saying you accept non-violence in theory? Supposing you said you accepted the theory of khadi, but purchased and used foreign cloth, how would your acceptance of the theory help me? And please understand that, while in British India I am prepared to reconcile myself to belief in Ahimsa as a policy, I want you in the States to believe in it as a creed. Violence in many Indian States is greater than in British India, and we want the supreme purity and sacrifice of a Prahlad to meet the violence there. Give me a Prahlad, and I shall give him my blessings."

#### Begin at Home

In this connection let me reproduce here a part of a letter addressed by Gandhiji to Khan Saheb Abdul Ghaffar Khan. It will be remembered that the Khan Saheb believes in Ahimsa as a creed as he has unequivocally stated once again in his recent statement on the Bardoli decision, and he desires to train those who will follow him also as cent per cent non-violent

Satyagrahis. It is necessary to know this in order to understand the letter:

"I hope that all the conversation we had in Bombay has soaked into you. If it has, every problem could be solved by reference to those fundamentals which I tried to put before you. Our non-violence has to begin at home with our children, elders, neighbours and friends. We have to overlook the so-called blemishes of our friends and neighbours and never forgive our own. Then only shall we be able to right ourselves, and as we ascend higher, our non-violence has to be practised among our political associates. We have to see and approach the viewpoints of those who differ from us. We have to be patient with them and convince them of their errors and be convinced of our own. Then proceeding further we have to deal patiently and gently with political parties that have different policies and different principles. We have to look at their criticism from their own standpoint, always remembering that the greater the distance between ourselves and others, the greater the scope for the play of our non-violence; and it is only when we have passed our examination or test in these fields that we can deal with those against whom we are fighting and who have grievously wronged us.

This was one thing we talked about. The other thing I said was that a non-violent man has to keep himself engaged usefully during all waking hours, and therefore *constructive work is for him what arms are for the violent man.*"

This last sentence sums up in the vividest manner the essential difference between a believer in violence and non-violence.

M. D.

#### WAR AGAINST DESTRUCTION

In one of his speeches Shri Vinoba contrasted the obvious expressions of violence and non-violence. "Constructive work is the obvious expression of non-violence, destructive work that of violence. Violence expresses itself in bombing, destroying buildings, hospitals, churches, and innocent women and children. Non-violence creates where violence destroys; it creates the wherewithal to clothe the naked and feed the hungry. Violence expresses itself in incendiarism; non-violence extinguishes not only physical fires but the fires of hatred and vengeance." It is this conviction that made him throw himself heart and soul into the movement for the spread of education through crafts, and even in his statement before the court he mentioned it as a principal item of the constructive programme.

In the present turmoil when our intellects are clouded by ever-increasing war propaganda and our vision blurred by the smoke-screen of passion and hate, we may not see the part education through crafts has to play in the future. But wise people in all lands know what is in store for us if we do not stem the tide of destruction. In an editorial article of the Holidays Number of the American *School Arts* the editor deplors the prospect and emphasises the increasing need for craft-education. "The world is witnessing today the supposedly greatest nations in cultural development, bending all their



manhood and materials into building greater and better engines and transports for mass destruction of all that other men have built," says he, and adds: "Now as never before we should use all our energies towards creating more creative minds for building a new world for tomorrow's men, that they may have more creative minds and hands for creating the beautiful, rather than the destructive. This great art appreciation can only be established through actual doing, the actual handwork, rather than the mere book learning that has impeded for years our proper art growth." And this is how he inweighs against the wrong education with which we have clogged and corrupted the minds of our children: "For many years a false ideal has persisted that culture or genteelness consisted largely of not working with one's hands. Men with calloused hands were something uncouth, and the greatest desire of many a mother was to see her son capably placed in a 'white collar' job where he could accumulate wealth with a brain that would work only at a desk. This belief has brought its penalties upon each nation who made it an ideal, in lower standards of health, lesser art achievements, and social difficulties, and many leaders of our nation today are urging a greater return to the use of hands through many avenues of creative work. The seeming trend of the human minds, even evident in the mere child, is that of destroying or the breaking up of constructed objects. The tendency of destruction in the child mind will not grow as a trait in the adult, if he learns to use his hands in constructive art. He will too greatly respect all that goes into handicraft to ever approve the urge for destroying any part of the art crafts of his fellow men."

The editor also cites the statements of prominent American public men in support of "the learning which comes of doing things with the hands". William Knudsen, President of the General Motors Corporation, says:

"In pioneer days when book learning was rare, the man who made his living sitting at a desk was envied. But the pioneer's legitimate aspiration for learning has decayed into a kind of snobbery which considers it more honorable to handle a telephone than a wrench, more socially desirable to dictate to a stenographer than to direct a crew of skilled mechanics. In the years from 14 to 20, when the creative urge ought to be developing and flowering, most of a youngster's energy is devoted to cramming theories out of books. The young man then finds himself all dressed up with theoretical knowledge and no place to go. Psychiatrists in recent years have been treating nervous breakdowns by occupational therapy. Possibly, if these people originally had a useful sideline involving manual skill, the breakdowns never would have occurred. And brain training is likewise an essential part of hand training. The best man is one who combines the learning of books with the learning which comes of doing things with the hands."

Boris Blai, Director of Fine Arts, Temple University, says:

"During twelve years of teaching young people in arts, I have not found one student who

did not possess a latent creative instinct that yearned for expression. I am convinced that every human being possesses a creative urge to make beautiful things, that this urge can be brought out and put to work with proper encouragement, and that suppression of it results in maladjustment of life. Furthermore, it is actually dangerous *not* to use your hands. Tests by neurologists at the Temple and other universities show that mental ability increases as the ability to use the hand increases. Manual work demands clear thinking, the working out of your own solutions to problems."

What can be a stronger argument than this last in support of our national plan of education through crafts? Against the training for the art of efficient destruction, the training which puts the musket on the shoulder of the child who has compulsorily to join the junior branch of the Hitler Jugend (youth) at the age of seven, there is the education which begins with a good grounding in creative work. Education through creative basic crafts can alone stem the tide of destruction that militarist education helps to swell every day.

Sevagram, 27-3-41

M. D.

#### TO SUBSCRIBERS AND AGENTS

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The Manager, HARIJAN, Ahmedabad

Cheques and postal orders should be drawn in favour of the Manager, *Harijan*, and not of any individual, and postal orders should be made payable at the Ahmedabad Post Office.

Correspondents will please note that the offices of the *Harijan* weeklies have been transferred from Poona to Ahmedabad, and communications or remittances sent to the former place will be delayed in reaching their proper destination. The subscriber number should be quoted in all communications.

A letter has been addressed to the agents stating the terms of agency, etc. Would-be agents will please communicate with the manager.

No individual or organisation or agent, except our own branch in Bombay (130. Princess Street), has been authorised to receive subscriptions on our behalf.

A specimen copy will be supplied on receipt of postal stamps worth one and half annas.

Manager

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# HARIJAN

Editor : MAHADEV DESAI

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[ FIVE PICE

## DON'T DIVIDE THE HOUSE

[The following is a summary of Gandhiji's Hindi speech at the A. I. C. C. meeting introducing the Bardoli Resolution.

M. D.

### An Ordinary Mortal

I was not a little perturbed when the Maulana raised me sky-high. I do not live up in the air. I am of the earth, earthy. I have never seen an aeroplane. I am like you, an ordinary mortal made of common clay.

The question of ahimsa would not have come up before you, had it not come up before the Working Committee in Bardoli. And it was well that it came up. The result has been good, not bad. But before I say anything on this question, let me make one or two things clear.

### A Political Method

I am, as I have said, an ordinary mortal like you. Had that not been the case, we should not have been able to work together these twenty years. Ahimsa with me is a creed, the breath of my life. But it is never as a creed that I placed it before India, or for the matter of that before anyone except in casual informal talks. I placed it before the Congress as a political method, to be employed for the solution of political questions. It may be it is a novel method, but it does not on that account lose its political character. I tried it for the first time in South Africa — after I found that all the so-called constitutional remedies, with which Congress work in India had made me familiar, had failed. The question there was exclusively of the political existence of Indians who had settled in South Africa as merchants, petty hawkers, etc. It was for them a question of life and death, and it was in dealing with it that this method of non-violence came to me. The various measures that I adopted there were not the work of a visionary or a dreamer. They were the work of an essentially practical man dealing with practical political questions. As a political method, it can always be changed, modified, altered, even given up in preference to another. If, therefore, I say to you that our policy should not be given up today, I am talking political wisdom. It is political insight. It has served us in the past, it has enabled us to cover many stages towards Independence, and it is as a politician that I suggest to you that it is a grave mistake to contemplate its abandonment. If I have carried the Congress with me all these years, it is in my capacity as a politician. It is hardly fair to describe my method as religious because it is new.

The Maulana has affectionately used high words of praise for me, but I cannot accept them. I have

been taunted as a Bania. I regard that as a certificate of merit. The article in my possession is an invaluable pearl. It has to be weighed in the proper scales, and those who can pay the price for it can have it. It cannot be bartered away even for Independence.

Non-violence has brought us near to Swaraj as never before. We dare not exchange it even for Swaraj. For Swaraj thus got will be no true Swaraj. The question is *not* what we will do after Swaraj. It is whether under given conditions we can give up non-violence to win Swaraj. Again, do you expect to win real Independence by abandoning non-violence? Independence for me means the Independence of the humblest and poorest amongst us. It cannot be obtained by joining the war. For the Congress to join any war before the attainment of Complete Independence is to undo the work of the past twenty years.

### Inexpedient to Divide House

And yet why is it that I stand before you to plead with you to accept the resolution, and not even to divide the house? The reason is that the resolution reflects the Congress mind. It undoubtedly is a step backward. We have not a clean slate to write on. Our elders have taken a step which has produced world-wide reactions. To alter the resolution out of shape is to ignore these. It would be unwise to change the policy adopted by the Working Committee. The world had a right to think that the Working Committee's policy would be endorsed by you. At one time I had thought of dividing the A. I. C. C., but I saw that it would be a mistake. It would be almost violence. Non-violence does not act in the ordinary way.

Sometimes a step back is a prelude to a step forward. It is highly likely that our step will be of that character.

The resolution is a mirror in which all groups can see themselves. The original was Jawaharlalji's draft, but it was referred to a sub-committee at whose hands it has undergone material changes. The original had left no room for Rajaji to work. The sub-committee opened a tiny window for him to squeeze in. Jawaharlalji's opposition to participation in the war effort is almost as strong as mine, though his reasons are different. Rajaji would participate, if certain conditions acceptable to the Congress were fulfilled. The non-violent non-cooperators like Rajendra Babu have certainly a place, for, until the remote event takes place, non-violence rules supreme.

It is no longer open to the Government and the Congress critics to say that the Congress has banged the door to negotiation on the impossible or unpolitical ground of non-violence. The resolution throws the



burden on the Government of wooing the Congress on the basis of participation in the war effort. That nothing is to be expected from the Government is probably too true. Only the resolution puts the Congress right with the expectant world. And since there is a party in the Congress who will welcome an honourable offer that will satisfy the rigidest test, it is as well that the resolution has accommodated this party. It is likely in the end to make all of one mind. Out and out believers in non-violence of the political type have the whole field open to them.

When there was a talk of the A. I. C. C. being possibly divided, several people contemplated the prospect with trepidation, lest the Congress should again listen to mad Gandhi's advice in order to retain his leadership, and become a religious organisation instead of the political organisation that it has been all these years. Let me disabuse them of their fear, and say that the Congress can do no such thing, that we have not wasted the past twenty years. All that the Congress has decided to do is that it will allow the world to deal with it in terms that the world can understand, and if the terms are good enough, it will accept them. But you may be also sure that the Congress will not be easily satisfied. It will go on repeating 'Not this', 'Not this', until it wins the real commodity it wants. You will, therefore, say exactly what you want, and I will also say all I want. That is why I have decided to issue the three weeklies, and I will go on venting my views therein with the fullest freedom, as long as I am allowed to do so. In the meanwhile, if you can get what you want, you will strike the bargain, and you may be sure that I will not shed a single tear. I therefore do not want to cheat the world of its jubilation over the resolution. I do not want the Congress to look ridiculous in the eyes of the world. I do not want it to be said that in order to retain my leadership you bade good-bye to your convictions.

### Operative Part

Some friends have complained that the resolution has no operative clause. The complaint is true so far as the resolution is concerned. The resolution had to be merely explanatory. It is addressed less to Congressmen, it is addressed to the world. It is not even addressed to the Government.

But there are the instructions about the constructive programme for Congressmen. They form the operative part. It is a substitute for civil disobedience and the parliamentary programme. Civil disobedience has been wisely reserved for me as an expert. It is good that, so long as I am alive and well in mind; it is so reserved. And so far as I am concerned, there will be none, if the Government do not interfere with *Harijan*. For this weekly will constitute enough propaganda against all war. I have no ill-will against Britishers, and for that matter against Germans, Italians or Japanese. I can have none against the Russians who have done great things for the proletariat. The Chinese sail in the same boat with us. I would like all these nations to be at peace with one another. I would like to think that India will, through her non-violence, be a messenger of peace to the whole world. Even political non-violence has potency of which we have no

conception. *Harijan* will deliver the message of peace from week to week. But if this is not permitted, then will be the time for civil disobedience as a token. I want every worker to be out for constructive work. And if I am rendered penless, I may become the sole resister. But I have no fixed plan. Events will show the way.

So much for civil disobedience.

### Parliamentary Programme

Though the parliamentary mentality has come to stay, in my opinion the parliamentary programme can have no place in Congress work so long as the war lasts. The Congress cannot handle it without identifying itself with the war effort. I have always held that at all times it is the least part of a nation's activity. The most important and permanent work is done outside. Legislators are not the masters but servants of their electors — the nation. The less, therefore, we look at and depend upon parliaments the better. Power resides in the people either through their arms or through their civil disobedience, more comprehensively described as non-violent non-cooperation. But the power of non-cooperation comes only through solid, incessant constructive work. Non-violent strength comes from construction, not destruction. Hence today the constructive programme is the only thing before the Congress. And in this all parties are at one.

### No Split

Do not please go away with the idea that there is a rift in the Congress lute. The Working Committee has worked like members of a happy family. Somebody suggested that Pandit Jawaharlal and I were estranged. It will require much more than differences of opinion to estrange us. We have had differences from the moment we became co-workers, and yet I have said for some years and say now that not Rajaji but Jawaharlal will be my successor. He says he does not understand my language, and that he speaks a language foreign to me. This may or may not be true. But language is no bar to a union of hearts. And I know this that when I am gone he will speak my language.

Let there be no lack of understanding or zeal among Congressmen. Neither Jawaharlal nor Rajaji will let you be idle. I certainly will not. Lastly, let those who think the constructive programme is insipid know that there is nothing in the Working Committee's resolutions to prevent a Congressman at his own risk from leading civil disobedience — individual or mass. If he succeeds, he will win nothing but praise from all. But let me warn enthusiasts that they will not handle the weapon with any success. They will only damage themselves and the cause by any hasty or ignorant action. And let me say as your expert that those who regard the constructive programme as insipid do not know what non-violence is and how it works.

Some Congressmen are sorry because I have relinquished the leadership of the Congress. You have not lost me. You would lose me only if I ceased to be loyal to the Congress, only if I became a visionary, only if I ceased to be a practical man. It is not at Bardoli that I left the Congress; I did so seven years



ago at Bombay, and I did so in order to be able to render greater service to the country and the Congress. Colleagues like the Sardar and Rajendra Babu are not happy over the resolution, but I am asking them not to leave the Working Committee. But even if they leave the Congress, the Congress is not going to cease to function. Its work will go on, whether they are there or not. No man, however great, is indispensable to the Congress. Those who built up the Congress like Dadabhai, Pherozeshah and Tilak are no more, but the Congress still functions. For they have left for us an edifice to work upon and expand. And if the passing away of these leaders has not made any difference, why should the withdrawal of other leaders make any?

Sevagram, 19-1-42

### WORKING COMMITTEE'S INSTRUCTIONS

This meeting of the A. I. C. C. endorses the following instructions issued by the Working Committee and calls upon all Provincial and other Subordinate Congress Committees to give effect to them within their respective areas. The Provincial Congress Committees are authorised to supplement them wherever necessary. The Committee expects every member of an elective Congress Committee to devote himself actively to the execution of some item of this programme, and to send periodical reports of the work done by him to his Committee:

Recent developments in the world situation have brought war near to India's frontiers. This may lead to internal dislocation in certain parts of the country and there is a possibility of some cities being subjected to aerial attack. Whatever dangers and difficulties might arise, the real antidote to them is to remain cool and collected and on no account to give way to nervousness and excitement. Congressmen must remain at their posts and continue their service of the people; wherever necessity arises they should yield places of safety to those in greater need and be ready to render aid to those who may require it.

The Congress can help and serve the people in the difficult times ahead only if its organisation is strong and disciplined and Congressmen individually and Congress Committees are able to command confidence in their respective localities. Congress Committees and Congressmen should therefore address themselves immediately to the task of strengthening the organisation and reviving and maintaining contacts with the people in the villages and towns. Every village should, as far as possible, receive the message of the Congress and be prepared to face such difficulties as might arise.

The constructive programme adopted by the Congress, and explained from time to time by Gandhiji, is of particular importance at this juncture. It is meant not only to bring about unity among various groups, to remove disabilities which keep sections of the community backward and depressed, to promote self-reliance and the co-operative spirit among the people, to increase production and have fairer distribution, but it also furnishes the best opportunity and means of contacts with the people

and service to them which are necessary for winning their confidence. The Working Committee therefore call upon Congress Committees and workers to further this programme intensively, and thus exercise a steadying and strengthening influence in times of dislocation and uneasiness.

During such times there is always a possibility of trouble being created by unsocial elements in the country. To avoid the emergence of such a situation and to meet it when it arises, volunteers should be organised in both the urban and rural areas. Such organisations should be formed on the basis of strict non-violence, and it should always be remembered that the Congress adheres to this principle. These volunteers may co-operate with other organisations working for similar ends. This volunteer organisation is meant for rendering service to the people both normally and in the event of possible internal commotion. It should therefore avoid conflict with the authorities.

Prices of commodities have already risen and are causing distress among the people and no adequate steps have so far been taken by the authorities to meet this situation. These tendencies are likely to be accentuated in the future, and dislocation of trade and transport, due to stress of war, may lead to scarcity of the necessities of life as well as of many other things which are of everyday use. Big scale industries in other countries have suffered heavily on account of the war, and transport of goods has become difficult on account of military requirements. China has largely overcome these difficulties by a wide-spread development of village industries. India may have to face similar problems, and village and cottage industries afford a solution, desirable in itself, and more particularly, suited to the needs of the moment. Such industries can escape to a large extent the effects of dislocation of trade and transport. It is therefore necessary that this item of the constructive programme should be widely taken up and worked up with vigour and earnestness so that the countryside may be rendered, as far as possible, self-sufficient in regard to the necessities of life. The Committee would especially recommend to the villagers the growing of food crops at least to cover the needs of the village and appeal to the grain dealers not to hold up stores for profit but to release them for consumption at fair prices.

In cases of emergency, when instructions are issued to the public by the authorities for the preservation of life and property and the maintenance of public order, Congressmen should avoid conflict with the authorities. They should carry out such instructions, unless they are contrary to Congress directions.

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# HARIJAN

Jan. 25

1942

## REAL WAR EFFORT

(By M. K. Gandhi)

The greatest need of the immediate present is to feed the hungry and clothe the naked. There is already scarcity in the land both of food and clothing. As the war progresses, both the scarcities must increase. There are no imports from outside, either of food-stuff or of cloth. The well-to-do may not feel the pinch as yet or at all, but the poor are feeling it now. The well-to-do live on the poor. There is no other way. What is then their duty? He who saves gains as much, that is to say he produces as much. Hence those who feel for the poor, those who would be one with them must curtail their wants. There are many ways. I shall only mention some here. There is much, too much food eaten and wasted by the well-to-do.

Use one grain at a time. Chapati, rice, and pulses, milk, ghee, *gud*, and oil are used in ordinary households besides vegetables and fruit. I regard this as an unhealthy combination. Those who get animal protein in the shape of milk, cheese, eggs or meat need not use pulses at all. The poor people get only vegetable protein. If the well-to-do give up pulses and oils, they set free these two essentials for the poor who get neither animal protein nor animal fat. Then the grain eaten should not be sloppy. Half the quantity suffices when it is eaten dry and not dipped in any gravy. It is well to eat it with raw salads such as onion, carrot, radish, salad leaves, tomatoes. An ounce or two of salads serves the purpose of eight ounces of cooked vegetables. Chapatis or bread should not be eaten with milk. To begin with, one meal may be raw vegetables and chapati or bread, and the other cooked vegetables with milk or curds.

Sweet dishes should be eliminated altogether. Instead *gud* or sugar in small quantities may be taken with milk or bread or by itself.

Fresh fruit is good to eat, but only a little is necessary to give tone to the system. It is an expensive article, and an over-indulgence by the well-to-do has deprived the poor and the ailing of an article which they need much more than the well-to-do.

Any medical man who has studied the science of dietetics will certify that what I have suggested can do no harm to the body, on the contrary it must conduce to better health.

This is only one way of saving food-stuff. It is obvious. But by itself it cannot produce much visible effect.

Grain-dealers have to shed their greed and the habit of making as much profit as possible. They must be satisfied with as little as possible. They run the risk of being looted, if they do not gain the credit of being keepers of grain for the sake of the poor. They should be in touch with the people in their neighbourhood. Congressmen have to visit grain-dealers within their beat and give them the message of the time.

By far the most important part of the work consists in educating the villagers to keep what they have and to induce cultivation of fresh crops wherever water is available. This requires wide-spread and intelligent propaganda. It is not generally known that bananas, potatoes, beetroot, yam and *suran*, and in a measure pumpkin are a food crop easily grown. They can take the place of bread in time of need.

There is too scarcity of money. There may be grain available but no money to buy it with. There is no money because there is no employment. This has to be found. Spinning is the readiest and the handiest. But local needs may supply other sources of labour. Every available source has to be tapped so that there is no want of employment. Only the lazy ones need and must starve. Patient handling will induce even this class to shed their laziness.

The problem of clothing is much easier than feeding, if it is handled well and in time. The mills may not be relied on in these times. There is ample cotton to be had in India. It is a problem for cotton cultivators how to dispose of their stock. The outside market is closed to them. Our mills cannot absorb the whole of the crop. It can be utilised, if the nation takes to spinning not for wages but for the sake of clothing the naked. Of course those who need employment will spin for profit. This number must be limited. They need organising. Much money will be needed for the purpose. But national spinning does not need so much organising. Profit motive being eliminated and willingness being assumed, organisation is reduced to simplest terms.

This is no time for multiplying wheels. They take time to manufacture. Raw material is daily becoming dearer. Wheels cannot be manufactured everywhere. Places where they are can be counted by the fingers of one hand.

Therefore I suggest the plying of the dhanush takli and even the simple takli. The former should be manufactured locally. Indeed it is difficult to manufacture the simple takli at once in lacs. The dhanush takli is the only thing which can be the easiest manufactured. Slivers cannot be supplied to spinners. Each one should get some cotton for himself or herself, and card it as well as may be with the hand or with a home-made small bow such as the children in the Bihar basic schools have. All this can be done because no one is expected to manufacture a large quantity of yarn. If every one of our available millions span for one hour daily, there would be enough yarn to keep every hand-loom going. The reader should know that there are lacs of hand-loom weavers in the land. There is danger of their starving for want of yarn.

Here is a great task for every Congressman to undertake. He has to become a good spinner and carder and know how to manufacture the dhanush takli. Let every Congressman begin with himself and his family and neighbours, and he will find that the life-giving contagion spreads like wild fire which envelops you before you hardly know what you are witnessing.

Any organisation that tackles these two problems successfully will command the love and confidence of



the people. I hope that all will join in this real war effort. It is none the less effective because it is peaceful and constructive.

Will the Princes let their people do this work without let or hindrance? Will Qaide Azam Jinnah allow the members of the Muslim League to co-operate with the Congress workers in this truly national but non-political work which is also humanitarian? There are 23,000 Muslim spinners, carders and weavers earning their daily bread through the A. I. S. A.

On the way to Kashi, 19-1-42

## COMMUNAL UNITY

(By M. K. Gandhi)

Freedom will not come through parliamentary effort. Therefore communal pacts, whilst they are good if they can be had, are valueless unless they are backed by the union of hearts. Without it there can be no peace in the land. Even Pakistan can bring no peace, if there is no union of hearts. This union can come only by mutual service and co-operative work.

Separate electorates have resulted in the separation of hearts. They presupposed mutual distrust and conflict of interests. They have tended to perpetuate differences and deepen the distrust.

How to get out of the tangle is the question. I want just now to confine myself to the four Muslim majority provinces. In them there is natural Pakistan in the sense that the permanent majority can rule the minority. I hold it to be utterly wrong thus to divide man from man by reason of religion which is liable to change. What conflict of interest can there be between Hindus and Muslims in the matter of revenue, sanitation, police, justice, or the use of public conveniences? The difference can only be in religious usage and observances with which a secular State has no concern.

Congressmen, if they are not to merge in the Hindus as Hindus, must rigidly abstain from the legislatures and local bodies governed by separate electorates. In these provinces the separate electorates must be taken to have come from the Hindu demand and in the supposed Hindu interest. But a Congress Hindu has no interest apart from his Muslim brother. Therefore he must not enter the electoral bodies where Hindu and Muslim interests are falsely regarded as separate and even antagonistic. If he enters these bodies, he can do so only to divide the majority members, i. e. to take sides with one Muslim Party or another. If I could make all Hindus Congress-minded, I would withdraw every Hindu member from these bodies and put the Muslim members on their honour. I would seek to influence them from outside these bodies by being friends with them and rendering disinterested service. I would be indifferent to their manning all the services. At the most an infinitesimal percentage can have a share in them. And it is a superstition to suppose that these services can oppress a people who have become conscious of human dignity and human rights and know how to enforce them. Since the vast majority of Congressmen are Hindus in at least three Muslim majority provinces, they have a rare opportunity of showing their non-violent strength; their disinterestedness, their utter freedom from the communal taint, and their ability to

submit to the rule of their Muslim fellow countrymen. They will do this not in a huff but as true nationalists and friends of the Muslims. Remaining outside they will probably better protect the just interests of Hindus as citizens. For a Congress Hindu is not any the less a Hindu because he claims to represent equally, as he must, all the other faiths in himself. For as I have said, so far as the State is concerned, its capacity for service stops short of the service of the different faiths, and the services it can render apply to all irrespective of their faiths. Therefore Congressmen have a rare opportunity of showing undefiled nationalism in these provinces. They will incidentally show the other minorities that they have nothing to fear from the majorities if they know the true way. We must get out of the miasma of religious majorities and minorities. Why is a Parsi's interest different from a Hindu's or Muslim's so far as the State is concerned? Did not Dadabhai and Pherozeshah rule the Congress while they lived, not by Congress grace or patronage, but by right of service and merit? Did their rule injure any Hindu or Muslim interest? Were these interests ever in conflict on the Congress platform? And is not the Congress a voluntary State?

On the way to Kashi, 20-1-42

## Constructive Programme and Government

Will not the working of the constructive programme bring Congressmen into conflict with the Government? This was one of the many questions asked at the meeting of the principal members of the A. I. C. C. I addressed in Wardha on the 17th. My answer was that the whole programme was so conceived as to avoid conflict. Of course the most innocent activity may be so manipulated as to provoke conflict. I expect every Congress worker to do his best to avoid it. But there is no help for it, if the Government prohibit such activities because they are undertaken by Congressmen who believe that the working of the constructive programme will bring Swaraj. That is the only non-violent way to achieve the end. Swaraj by non-violent means must come from the creative effort of those who desire it. The Government should welcome every such effort, unless they want to prevent even cent per cent non-violent movement. In that case conflict will become unavoidable. But I am of opinion that no conflict is possible, at any rate while the war lasts, unless Congress workers want or provoke it. They have to work, work and work. They will make no speeches or demonstrations in doing their constructive work. As I have already said, today most of the items of constructive work happen to be—like feeding and clothing—common cause between the Government and the people.

On the way to Kashi, 19-1-42

M. K. G.

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## TRIUMPH OF NON-VIOLENCE

### History Repeats Itself

The ratification of the Bardoli decision by the A. I. C. C. which met at Wardha on the 15th and 16th of this month is a triumph not of violence but of non-violence. On the other hand, if a bare majority had rejected the Bardoli resolution and adopted one declaring all opposition to war predominantly on the ground of non-violence, it might well have been a triumph of violence. I propose to place before the reader a few facts in order to help him to understand my meaning. When the Working Committee met at Bardoli Gandhiji had drafted for them a resolution reiterating the Congress policy and programme of complete non-participation in the war under all circumstances. A couple of days' discussion with the members was an eye-opener to him. He did not even place the draft before the members. Then came the draft prepared by a committee appointed by the Working Committee. It was a compromise resolution which, as the statements by some members of the Working Committee showed, was not acceptable to at least half the members of the Committee. "Should these members seek to divide the A. I. C. C.?" was the question. The first impulse was in the affirmative. Then came the reactions to the resolution in India and outside. Gandhiji's mind was almost made up before he returned to Sevagram that the first impulse was wrong, and that there should be no attempt to divide the A. I. C. C. Rather than leave it to any of the members of the Working Committee to give the lead to the house, Gandhiji himself in a speech packed with argument commended the resolution on the very ground of non-violence.

History here repeated itself. After the Chauri Chaura decision in 1922 there was the meeting of the A. I. C. C. in Delhi where Gandhiji found such an "under-current of violence, both conscious and unconscious", that he "was actually and literally praying for a disastrous defeat." A similar disillusionment came at Ahmedabad in 1924 where the four resolutions he moved were passed by a bare majority. He decided that the majority must be regarded as a minority, and rejected ultimately the fruit of the majority vote. "Majorities," he declared, "cannot deceive me," and within a few months he signed an agreement with the late Pandit Motilal Nehru and Deshbandhu Das declaring suspension of the non-cooperation movement and a "total surrender on my part". And in a fervent appeal to the so-called No-changers he said: "I have often said, and I repeat for the millionth time, that, if you do not believe in the charkha, you must go to the councils. . . . My appeal to you is to cleanse your hearts and to have charity. Make your hearts as broad as the ocean. That is the teaching of the Koran and the Gita. . . . Why should you say that their politics are corrupt? Heaven protect us from any such calumny of human nature. So long as the world lasts, so long will there be so many differences of opinion, and the greatest achievement of No-changers will be when they make their so-called opponents their truest friends and convert them to the creed of the charkha."

The result of the seeds of non-violence so assiduously sown was the Satyagraha movement of 1930-31, which made India's fight for freedom known throughout the world.

### Misplaced Zeal

If some of those who opposed the resolution, *after* Gandhiji had made a fervent appeal to them not to divide the house, had remembered this past history, they would have held their souls in peace and not advanced arguments which were correct but which lacked reality. Thus when one knew that even the acceptance of the Bardoli resolution was due to Gandhiji's appeal, it was hardly proper to remind them of Simon who betrayed his Master thrice before the cock crew and to tell them that they had thrown their Pilot overboard. When a questioner asked one of the speakers who opposed the resolution whether he preferred non-violence to Independence, he might have said, "Independence won at the expense of non-violence is no Independence at all." Instead he said: "You do not know the great implications of non-violence!" C. R. would have put the case for non-violence in an unassailable way, had he chosen to do so.

### A Dexterous Speech

But he chose to play a different part. It did one's soul good to watch the whole house listen to his dispassionate, closely-reasoned, compact speech with patient and respectful attention. If the advocates of non-violence gave an illustration of bad lawyers spoiling a good case, Rajaji's was an instance of an able lawyer apparently winning a bad case. Born teacher he is a lover of parables and similes. But he used a simile which, though at the moment applauded, was really at his own expense. "Do you think, if I go a hunting, I should hunt for rats and rabbits? I should go in for big game." "Two strings to the bow", or "killing two birds with one stone" may suit the genius of the English language, but the Indian language has *ek panth do kaj* (two errands in one journey). But Rajaji triumphantly used a simile which I should have hesitated ever to associate with the mild Brahman that he is. And then one would like to ask him: "Which is the bigger game of the two—leading a non-violent India to victory, or a violent India to a doubtful victory and a possible humiliating defeat?"

Then he said: "It is thought that I am advising the Congress to throw away the weapon of non-violence"—the weapon he described as "our only weapon"—"and some even go further and say I have actually taken up the weapon of violence. But it is all wrong." This was perfectly correct. But not quite so correct as what followed: "So far as the attainment of Swaraj goes and my general outlook on life goes, I adhere to the principle of non-violence. I have not suddenly changed my attitude. But in certain extensions of the principle I do not share Gandhiji's confidence. For him there is no question of extension—for it is a creed with him, applicable to all circumstances, but it is not a creed with us." There can be no question about the honesty of the argument. But is it correct? Can one who contemplates participation in violent war for purposes of defence against an aggressor or in return for a promise of full freedom claim to adhere to the



principle of non-violence for the attainment of freedom? And has Gandhiji ever asked for an extension of his creed to all circumstances? I have gone over several files of *Young India* to make myself sure if ever Gandhiji ran into that error. Again and again I find him talking of *limited* non-violence. "I have not the capacity for preaching universal non-violence," he wrote in 1925, "I preach, therefore, non-violence restricted strictly to the purpose of winning our freedom and, therefore, perhaps for preaching the regulation of international relations by non-violent means. Before I can preach universal non-violence, I must be wholly free from passions, I must be wholly incapable of sin. Let the revolutionary pray with and for me that I may soon become that. But meanwhile let him take with me the one step to it which I see as clearly as day-light, viz. to win India's freedom with strictly non-violent means. And then under Swaraj you and I shall have a disciplined, intelligent police force that would keep order within and fight raiders from without, if by that time I or someone else does not show a better way of dealing with either."

And this thought has been repeated times without number right up to now.

Rajaji had quite a number of weapons in his armoury. With apparently devastating effect he quoted the General Secretary against himself: "India has often declared its opposition to Nazism and Fascism. Its sympathies have all along been with the Democratic countries. It was therefore prepared to help. It was not, however, possible for it to do this unless its shackles were removed. The Working Committee, therefore, on September 14th issued a statement..... 'If, therefore, England wanted the free and willing help of India, it must declare its war aims,'" and so on. But Rajaji was really not quoting the General Secretary against himself,—for in that paragraph Acharya Kripalani was only summarising the argument leading up to the Working Committee's statement of September 14th and summarising the statement itself—but he was quoting the Working Committee's statement in support of the stand he has consistently taken since the Poona resolution. In doing so, however, he forgot two very vital facts: one—that ever since the framing of that statement there had been a controversy going on amongst the members of the Working Committee regarding the connotation of the words "free and willing help", Gandhiji always meaning thereby moral support; two—that Acharya Kripalani was always of the same view as Gandhiji. In Poona the things came to a head, the Working Committee decided that not moral but material help was meant, and also decided that India pledged to non-violence for the attainment of Independence could give it. That compelled Gandhiji to withdraw. The Poona resolution was bad not, as he explained later and during his recent Wardha speech, because of the position taken up, but because he was wrong in having abdicated his function and having allowed the Working Committee to interpret non-violence.

He came back in Bombay, not because he discovered any new political points of contact with the sponsors of the Poona resolution, but because he believed he had discovered that he had succeeded in weaning them from the idea of violent participation in

the war, and that they had come into line with him in opposing participation on *among other grounds* non-violence also, to which the Congress creed had pledged them.

### Another Fallacy

In this connection I would like to refer to an argument used by Pandit Jawaharlal with the same apparently devastating effect. "If," he said, (I am paraphrasing his Hindustani) "we say we cannot participate on the sole ground of non-violence, what would the world think of us? They would feel that we were opposing the war as mere pacifists and that we had no political grounds, and Britain would successfully delude the world into believing that beyond pacifism we had no case at all." I wonder how Panditji could say this in face of the fact that Gandhiji had made it abundantly clear in his letter to the Maulana that the opposition was *principally* on the ground of non-violence. The world knows that all responsible people in India—whether pacifists or non-pacifists—are sworn enemies of India's slavery, and Britain cannot possibly delude the world.

"Then," it may be argued, "the principal ground is political and the non-violence ground is subsidiary. Why should Gandhiji describe the ground of non-violence as the principal one?" Well, there's the rub. What Gandhiji has been trying to explain, and has for the time being failed to explain to many of his colleagues, is that the principal ground is non-violence, *because* we are pledged to win India's Independence by peaceful and legitimate means. That is an overwhelmingly political ground and no religious or ethical one. It is impossible to lay too much emphasis on this point, if one honestly wants to understand the meaning of the present controversy.

There was another argument in Panditji's speech that I would like to advert to. He explained most eloquently how the present war and the two "years of horror" had strengthened his predilection for non-violence. "But," he said, "we have to choose between two evils. Gandhiji has himself taught us that violence is any day preferable to abject cowardice. How can we therefore bind ourselves as regards the future?" There is no question as regards the future. And Gandhiji would be the first man to advise violent defence in preference to cowardly abandonment of hearths and homes and women and children.

### The Same Language

And when one comes to think of it, the consistency of argument and even the identity of language used by Gandhiji nearly twenty years ago with that of today is striking indeed. Take these two or three extracts which might have been written or spoken only the other day: "Cowardice, whether philosophical or otherwise, I abhor. And if I can be persuaded that revolutionary activity has dispelled cowardice, it will go a long way to soften my abhorrence of the method, however much I may still oppose it on principle."

And this: "I would not hesitate to turn the Congress into an exclusively khaddar-producing and khaddar propaganda organisation till the attainment of Swaraj, just as I would not hesitate, if I believed in



the use of arms and giving violent battle to England, to make the Congress an organisation exclusively devoted to training the nation in the use of arms." Also: "I have recognised that the nation has the right, if it so wills, to vindicate her freedom even by actual violence. Only then India ceases to be the land of my love, though she be the land of my birth, even as I should take no pride in my mother if she went astray."

### Why

Gandhiji in his speech did make it clear that the resolution was taking us back, he also made it clear that in substance it repeated the Poona resolution, and he might even have said that so long as the Congress creed was there the resolution was unconstitutional. But his non-violence would not let him use that argument, unassailable as it would have been. Never was the precept of 'agreeing with thine adversary quickly', and 'going twain with him who asks you to go a mile' practised with such thorough-going deliberation. And he put the whole burden of the future on those who were for out and out non-violence. It was for them to employ all the twentyfour hours in the constructive programme, it was for them to show that the constructive programme meant the construction of Swaraj. "The whole key to the situation lies in the hands of No-changers," as he used to say in 1924.

And what he said then applies with greater force today in that we are faced with a much greater danger. "If we are few," he said, "we must perish in the attempt to quench the conflagration raging about us. If there are such No-changers, they cannot quarrel with the agreement (with the Swarajists). For it is but a method of finding out the number of unbending and unbendable No-changers — No-changers whose love will stand the severest test and whose faith in the triple constructive programme will, if necessary, outlast the faithlessness of the rest of India." The only difference is that the programme is not threefold, nor even thirteenfold, it is thirtyfold today.

As he said it in his brief English speech in reply to a question by Shri Prakasam: "The suspension of satyagraha has connection only with the present condition of the country, and I want every single man who thinks with me to remain outside and do work rather than go to jail and read the Koran and the Gita and lead an easy life there. I won't let them lead an easy life. Jawaharlal will ask for diaries from thousands of men. He is not going to sleep. Therefore, if you will go away with the real message to the country, do not criticise this resolution. Nobody is rendered incapable of giving the fullest possible service, in fact he is made capable of the fullest growth, by reason of this resolution. Civil disobedience remains under my control, and the reason for its suspension is wholly extraneous to my retirement from office. Every one of you has to give a good account of yourself. If all will pull your full weight in the fulfilment of the constructive programme, you will find a different India in six months' time."

Sevagram, 19-1-42

M. D.

## QUESTION BOX

(By M. K. Gandhi)

### Congress and A. R. P.

Q. Can a Congressman belong to A. R. P. and such other committees connected with the war?

A. I think not. But this does not mean that he will render no help in caring for those who may be injured by bombs or otherwise. On the contrary he will be expected to be most assiduous in rendering such help.

### Economic Equality

Q. While working the constructive programme can a Congressman preach economic equality? How can working the civil disobedience programme bring it about?

A. You can certainly preach it, if your speech is strictly non-violent and not in the manner of some who, I know, have preached forcible dispossession of land-owners and capitalists. But I have shown a better way than preaching. The constructive programme takes the country a long way towards the goal. This is the most auspicious time for it. The charkha and the allied industries, if fully successful, practically abolish all inequalities, both social and economic. The rising consciousness of the strength which non-violence gives to the people, and their intelligent refusal to co-operate in their slavery must bring about equality.

### Strengthen the Organisation

Q. What is the meaning of strengthening the Congress organisation?

A. You can strengthen it no doubt by enlisting members who know the meaning of the fundamental article of the Congress, namely attainment of Poorna Swaraj by peaceful and legitimate means. Enlisting of bogus members and members for seizing power in the Congress is vicious and harmful.

There is no room for power politics within the Congress, if the Congress is to end the power or the system that grinds the people and be itself in power. Therefore real strengthening of the organisation consists in every Congressman working the constructive programme to its fullest capacity. Enlisting bona fide members without much effort provides running expense of the Congress, only if the enlisting itself does not eat up the subscriptions you collect from members.

On the way to Kashi, 20-1-42

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# HARIJAN

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[ FIVE PICE

## DON'T DIVIDE THE HOUSE

[ The following is a summary of Gandhiji's Hindi speech at the A. I. C. C. meeting introducing the Bardoli Resolution.

M. D.

### An Ordinary Mortal

I was not a little perturbed when the Maulana raised me sky-high. I do not live up in the air. I am of the earth, earthy. I have never seen an aeroplane. I am like you, an ordinary mortal made of common clay.

The question of ahimsa would not have come up before you, had it not come up before the Working Committee in Bardoli. And it was well that it came up. The result has been good, not bad. But before I say anything on this question, let me make one or two things clear.

### A Political Method

I am, as I have said, an ordinary mortal like you. Had that not been the case, we should not have been able to work together these twenty years. Ahimsa with me is a creed, the breath of my life. But it is never as a creed that I placed it before India, or for the matter of that before anyone except in casual informal talks. I placed it before the Congress as a political method, to be employed for the solution of political questions. It may be it is a novel method, but it does not on that account lose its political character. I tried it for the first time in South Africa — after I found that all the so-called constitutional remedies, with which Congress work in India had made me familiar, had failed. The question there was exclusively of the political existence of Indians who had settled in South Africa as merchants, petty hawkers, etc. It was for them a question of life and death, and it was in dealing with it that this method of non-violence came to me. The various measures that I adopted there were not the work of a visionary or a dreamer. They were the work of an essentially practical man dealing with practical political questions. As a political method, it can always be changed, modified, altered, even given up in preference to another. If, therefore, I say to you that our policy should not be given up today, I am talking political wisdom. It is political insight. It has served us in the past, it has enabled us to cover many stages towards Independence, and it is as a politician that I suggest to you that it is a grave mistake to contemplate its abandonment. If I have carried the Congress with me all these years, it is in my capacity as a politician. It is hardly fair to describe my method as religious because it is new.

The Maulana has affectionately used high words of praise for me, but I cannot accept them. I have

been taunted as a Bania. I regard that as a certificate of merit. The article in my possession is an invaluable pearl. It has to be weighed in the proper scales, and those who can pay the price for it can have it. It cannot be bartered away even for Independence.

Non-violence has brought us near to Swaraj as never before. We dare not exchange it even for Swaraj. For Swaraj thus got will be no true Swaraj. The question is *not* what we will do after Swaraj. It is whether under given conditions we can give up non-violence to win Swaraj. Again, do you expect to win real Independence by abandoning non-violence? Independence for me means the Independence of the humblest and poorest amongst us. It cannot be obtained by joining the war. For the Congress to join any war before the attainment of Complete Independence is to undo the work of the past twenty years.

### Inexpedient to Divide House

And yet why is it that I stand before you to plead with you to accept the resolution, and not even to divide the house? The reason is that the resolution reflects the Congress mind. It undoubtedly is a step backward. We have not a clean slate to write on. Our elders have taken a step which has produced world-wide reactions. To alter the resolution out of shape is to ignore these. It would be unwise to change the policy adopted by the Working Committee. The world had a right to think that the Working Committee's policy would be endorsed by you. At one time I had thought of dividing the A. I. C. C., but I saw that it would be a mistake. It would be almost violence. Non-violence does not act in the ordinary way.

Sometimes a step back is a prelude to a step forward. It is highly likely that our step will be of that character.

The resolution is a mirror in which all groups can see themselves. The original was Jawaharlalji's draft, but it was referred to a sub-committee at whose hands it has undergone material changes. The original had left no room for Rajaji to work. The sub-committee opened a tiny window for him to squeeze in. Jawaharlalji's opposition to participation in the war effort is almost as strong as mine, though his reasons are different. Rajaji would participate, if certain conditions acceptable to the Congress were fulfilled. The non-violent non-cooperators like Rajendra Babu have certainly a place, for, until the remote event takes place, non-violence rules supreme.

It is no longer open to the Government and the Congress critics to say that the Congress has banged the door to negotiation on the impossible or unpolitical ground of non-violence. The resolution throws the



burden on the Government of wooing the Congress on the basis of participation in the war effort. That nothing is to be expected from the Government is probably too true. Only the resolution puts the Congress right with the expectant world. And since there is a party in the Congress who will welcome an honourable offer that will satisfy the rigidest test, it is as well that the resolution has accommodated this party. It is likely in the end to make all of one mind. Out and out believers in non-violence of the political type have the whole field open to them.

When there was a talk of the A. I. C. C. being possibly divided, several people contemplated the prospect with trepidation, lest the Congress should again listen to mad Gandhi's advice in order to retain his leadership, and become a religious organisation instead of the political organisation that it has been all these years. Let me disabuse them of their fear, and say that the Congress can do no such thing, that we have not wasted the past twenty years. All that the Congress has decided to do is that it will allow the world to deal with it in terms that the world can understand, and if the terms are good enough, it will accept them. But you may be also sure that the Congress will not be easily satisfied. It will go on repeating 'Not this', 'Not this', until it wins the real commodity it wants. You will, therefore, say exactly what you want, and I will also say all I want. That is why I have decided to issue the three weeklies, and I will go on venting my views therein with the fullest freedom, as long as I am allowed to do so. In the meanwhile, if you can get what you want, you will strike the bargain, and you may be sure that I will not shed a single tear. I therefore do not want to cheat the world of its jubilation over the resolution. I do not want the Congress to look ridiculous in the eyes of the world. I do not want it to be said that in order to retain my leadership you bade good-bye to your convictions.

#### Operative Part

Some friends have complained that the resolution has no operative clause. The complaint is true so far as the resolution is concerned. The resolution had to be merely explanatory. It is addressed less to Congressmen, it is addressed to the world. It is not even addressed to the Government.

But there are the instructions about the constructive programme for Congressmen. They form the operative part. It is a substitute for civil disobedience and the parliamentary programme. Civil disobedience has been wisely reserved for me as an expert. It is good that, so long as I am alive and well in mind, it is so reserved. And so far as I am concerned, there will be none, if the Government do not interfere with *Harijan*. For this weekly will constitute enough propaganda against all war. I have no ill-will against Britishers, and for that matter against Germans, Italians or Japanese. I can have none against the Russians who have done great things for the proletariat. The Chinese sail in the same boat with us. I would like all these nations to be at peace with one another. I would like to think that India will, through her non-violence, be a messenger of peace to the whole world. Even political non-violence has potency of which we have no

conception. *Harijan* will deliver the message of peace from week to week. But if this is not permitted, then will be the time for civil disobedience as a token. I want every worker to be out for constructive work. And if I am rendered penless, I may become the sole resister. But I have no fixed plan. Events will show the way.

So much for civil disobedience.

#### Parliamentary Programme

Though the parliamentary mentality has come to stay, in my opinion the parliamentary programme can have no place in Congress work so long as the war lasts. The Congress cannot handle it without identifying itself with the war effort. I have always held that at all times it is the least part of a nation's activity. The most important and permanent work is done outside. Legislators are not the masters but servants of their electors — the nation. The less, therefore, we look at and depend upon parliaments the better. Power resides in the people either through their arms or through their civil disobedience, more comprehensively described as non-violent non-cooperation. But the power of non-cooperation comes only through solid, incessant constructive work. Non-violent strength comes from construction, not destruction. Hence today the constructive programme is the only thing before the Congress. And in this all parties are at one.

#### No Split

Do not please go away with the idea that there is a rift in the Congress lute. The Working Committee has worked like members of a happy family. Somebody suggested that Pandit Jawaharlal and I were estranged. It will require much more than differences of opinion to estrange us. We have had differences from the moment we became co-workers, and yet I have said for some years and say now that not Rajaji but Jawaharlal will be my successor. He says he does not understand my language, and that he speaks a language foreign to me. This may or may not be true. But language is no bar to a union of hearts. And I know this that when I am gone he will speak my language.

Let there be no lack of understanding or zeal among Congressmen. Neither Jawaharlal nor Rajaji will let you be idle. I certainly will not. Lastly, let those who think the constructive programme is insipid know that there is nothing in the Working Committee's resolutions to prevent a Congressman at his own risk from leading civil disobedience — individual or mass. If he succeeds, he will win nothing but praise from all. But let me warn enthusiasts that they will not handle the weapon with any success. They will only damage themselves and the cause by any hasty or ignorant action. And let me say as your expert that those who regard the constructive programme as insipid do not know what non-violence is and how it works.

Some Congressmen are sorry because I have relinquished the leadership of the Congress. You have not lost me. You would lose me only if I ceased to be loyal to the Congress, only if I became a visionary, only if I ceased to be a practical man. It is not at Bardoli that I left the Congress; I did so seven years



ago at Bombay, and I did so in order to be able to render greater service to the country and the Congress. Colleagues like the Sardar and Rajendra Babu are not happy over the resolution, but I am asking them not to leave the Working Committee. But even if they leave the Congress, the Congress is not going to cease to function. Its work will go on, whether they are there or not. No man, however great, is indispensable to the Congress. Those who built up the Congress like Dadabhai, Pherozeshah and Tilak are no more, but the Congress still functions. For they have left for us an edifice to work upon and expand. And if the passing away of these leaders has not made any difference, why should the withdrawal of other leaders make any?

Sevagram, 19-1-42

### WORKING COMMITTEE'S INSTRUCTIONS

This meeting of the A. I. C. C. endorses the following instructions issued by the Working Committee and calls upon all Provincial and other Subordinate Congress Committees to give effect to them within their respective areas. The Provincial Congress Committees are authorised to supplement them wherever necessary. The Committee expects every member of an elective Congress Committee to devote himself actively to the execution of some item of this programme, and to send periodical reports of the work done by him to his Committee:

Recent developments in the world situation have brought war near to India's frontiers. This may lead to internal dislocation in certain parts of the country and there is a possibility of some cities being subjected to aerial attack. Whatever dangers and difficulties might arise, the real antidote to them is to remain cool and collected and on no account to give way to nervousness and excitement. Congressmen must remain at their posts and continue their service of the people; wherever necessity arises they should yield places of safety to those in greater need and be ready to render aid to those who may require it.

The Congress can help and serve the people in the difficult times ahead only if its organisation is strong and disciplined and Congressmen individually and Congress Committees are able to command confidence in their respective localities. Congress Committees and Congressmen should therefore address themselves immediately to the task of strengthening the organisation and reviving and maintaining contacts with the people in the villages and towns. Every village should, as far as possible, receive the message of the Congress and be prepared to face such difficulties as might arise.

The constructive programme adopted by the Congress, and explained from time to time by Gandhiji, is of particular importance at this juncture. It is meant not only to bring about unity among various groups, to remove disabilities which keep sections of the community backward and depressed, to promote self-reliance and the co-operative spirit among the people, to increase production and have fairer distribution, but it also furnishes the best opportunity and means of contacts with the people

and service to them which are necessary for winning their confidence. The Working Committee therefore call upon Congress Committees and workers to further this programme intensively, and thus exercise a steadying and strengthening influence in times of dislocation and uneasiness.

During such times there is always a possibility of trouble being created by unsocial elements in the country. To avoid the emergence of such a situation and to meet it when it arises, volunteers should be organised in both the urban and rural areas. Such organisations should be formed on the basis of strict non-violence, and it should always be remembered that the Congress adheres to this principle. These volunteers may co-operate with other organisations working for similar ends. This volunteer organisation is meant for rendering service to the people both normally and in the event of possible internal commotion. It should therefore avoid conflict with the authorities.

Prices of commodities have already risen and are causing distress among the people and no adequate steps have so far been taken by the authorities to meet this situation. These tendencies are likely to be accentuated in the future, and dislocation of trade and transport, due to stress of war, may lead to scarcity of the necessities of life as well as of many other things which are of everyday use. Big scale industries in other countries have suffered heavily on account of the war, and transport of goods has become difficult on account of military requirements. China has largely overcome these difficulties by a wide-spread development of village industries. India may have to face similar problems, and village and cottage industries afford a solution, desirable in itself, and more particularly, suited to the needs of the moment. Such industries can escape to a large extent the effects of dislocation of trade and transport. It is therefore necessary that this item of the constructive programme should be widely taken up and worked up with vigour and earnestness so that the countryside may be rendered, as far as possible, self-sufficient in regard to the necessities of life. The Committee would especially recommend to the villagers the growing of food crops at least to cover the needs of the village and appeal to the grain dealers not to hold up stores for profit but to release them for consumption at fair prices.

In cases of emergency, when instructions are issued to the public by the authorities for the preservation of life and property and the maintenance of public order, Congressmen should avoid conflict with the authorities. They should carry out such instructions, unless they are contrary to Congress directions.

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# HARIJAN

Jan. 25

1942

## REAL WAR EFFORT

(By M. K. Gandhi)

The greatest need of the immediate present is to feed the hungry and clothe the naked. There is already scarcity in the land both of food and clothing. As the war progresses, both the scarcities must increase. There are no imports from outside, either of food-stuff or of cloth. The well-to-do may not feel the pinch as yet or at all, but the poor are feeling it now. The well-to-do live on the poor. There is no other way. What is then their duty? He who saves gains as much, that is to say he produces as much. Hence those who feel for the poor, those who would be one with them must curtail their wants. There are many ways. I shall only mention some here. There is much, too much food eaten and wasted by the well-to-do.

Use one grain at a time. Chapati, rice, and pulses, milk, ghee, *gud*, and oil are used in ordinary households besides vegetables and fruit. I regard this as an unhealthy combination. Those who get animal protein in the shape of milk, cheese, eggs or meat need not use pulses at all. The poor people get only vegetable protein. If the well-to-do give up pulses and oils, they set free these two essentials for the poor who get neither animal protein nor animal fat. Then the grain eaten should not be sloppy. Half the quantity suffices when it is eaten dry and not dipped in any gravy. It is well to eat it with raw salads such as onion, carrot, radish, salad leaves, tomatoes. An ounce or two of salads serves the purpose of eight ounces of cooked vegetables. Chapatis or bread should not be eaten with milk. To begin with, one meal may be raw vegetables and chapati or bread, and the other cooked vegetables with milk or curds.

Sweet dishes should be eliminated altogether. Instead *gud* or sugar in small quantities may be taken with milk or bread or by itself.

Fresh fruit is good to eat, but only a little is necessary to give tone to the system. It is an expensive article, and an over-indulgence by the well-to-do has deprived the poor and the ailing of an article which they need much more than the well-to-do.

Any medical man who has studied the science of dietetics will certify that what I have suggested can do no harm to the body, on the contrary it must conduce to better health.

This is only one way of saving food-stuff. It is obvious. But by itself it cannot produce much visible effect.

Grain-dealers have to shed their greed and the habit of making as much profit as possible. They must be satisfied with as little as possible. They run the risk of being looted, if they do not gain the credit of being keepers of grain for the sake of the poor. They should be in touch with the people in their neighbourhood. Congressmen have to visit grain-dealers within their beat and give them the message of the time.

By far the most important part of the work consists in educating the villagers to keep what they have and to induce cultivation of fresh crops wherever water is available. This requires wide-spread and intelligent propaganda. It is not generally known that bananas, potatoes, beetroot, yam and *suran*, and in a measure pumpkin are a food crop easily grown. They can take the place of bread in time of need.

There is too scarcity of money. There may be grain available but no money to buy it with. There is no money because there is no employment. This has to be found. Spinning is the readiest and the handiest. But local needs may supply other sources of labour. Every available source has to be tapped so that there is no want of employment. Only the lazy ones need and must starve. Patient handling will induce even this class to shed their laziness.

The problem of clothing is much easier than feeding, if it is handled well and in time. The mills may not be relied on in these times. There is ample cotton to be had in India. It is a problem for cotton cultivators how to dispose of their stock. The outside market is closed to them. Our mills cannot absorb the whole of the crop. It can be utilised, if the nation takes to spinning not for wages but for the sake of clothing the naked. Of course those who need employment will spin for profit. This number must be limited. They need organising. Much money will be needed for the purpose. But national spinning does not need so much organising. Profit motive being eliminated and willingness being assumed, organisation is reduced to simplest terms.

This is no time for multiplying wheels. They take time to manufacture. Raw material is daily becoming dearer. Wheels cannot be manufactured everywhere. Places where they are can be counted by the fingers of one hand.

Therefore I suggest the plying of the dhanush takli and even the simple takli. The former should be manufactured locally. Indeed it is difficult to manufacture the simple takli at once in lacs. The dhanush takli is the only thing which can be the easiest manufactured. Slivers cannot be supplied to spinners. Each one should get some cotton for himself or herself, and card it as well as may be with the hand or with a home-made small bow such as the children in the Bihar basic schools have. All this can be done because no one is expected to manufacture a large quantity of yarn. If every one of our available millions span for one hour daily, there would be enough yarn to keep every hand-loom going. The reader should know that there are lacs of hand-loom weavers in the land. There is danger of their starving for want of yarn.

Here is a great task for every Congressman to undertake. He has to become a good spinner and carder and know how to manufacture the dhanush takli. Let every Congressman begin with himself and his family and neighbours, and he will find that the life-giving contagion spreads like wild fire which envelops you before you hardly know what you are witnessing.

Any organisation that tackles these two problems successfully will command the love and confidence of



the people. I hope that all will join in this real war effort. It is none the less effective because it is peaceful and constructive.

Will the Princes let their people do this work without let or hindrance? Will Quaid Azam Jinnah allow the members of the Muslim League to co-operate with the Congress workers in this truly national but non-political work which is also humanitarian? There are 23,000 Muslim spinners, carders and weavers earning their daily bread through the A. I. S. A.

On the way to Kashi, 19-1-42

## COMMUNAL UNITY

(By M. K. Gandhi)

Freedom will not come through parliamentary effort. Therefore communal pacts, whilst they are good if they can be had, are valueless unless they are backed by the union of hearts. Without it there can be no peace in the land. Even Pakistan can bring no peace, if there is no union of hearts. This union can come only by mutual service and co-operative work.

Separate electorates have resulted in the separation of hearts. They presupposed mutual distrust and conflict of interests. They have tended to perpetuate differences and deepen the distrust.

How to get out of the tangle is the question. I want just now to confine myself to the four Muslim majority provinces. In them there is natural Pakistan in the sense that the permanent majority can rule the minority. I hold it to be utterly wrong thus to divide man from man by reason of religion which is liable to change. What conflict of interest can there be between Hindus and Muslims in the matter of revenue, sanitation, police, justice, or the use of public conveniences? The difference can only be in religious usage and observances with which a secular State has no concern.

Congressmen, if they are not to merge in the Hindus as Hindus, must rigidly abstain from the legislatures and local bodies governed by separate electorates. In these provinces the separate electorates must be taken to have come from the Hindu demand and in the supposed Hindu interest. But a Congress Hindu has no interest apart from his Muslim brother. Therefore he must not enter the electoral bodies where Hindu and Muslim interests are falsely regarded as separate and even antagonistic. If he enters these bodies, he can do so only to divide the majority members, i. e. to take sides with one Muslim Party or another. If I could make all Hindus Congress-minded, I would withdraw every Hindu member from these bodies and put the Muslim members on their honour. I would seek to influence them from outside these bodies by being friends with them and rendering disinterested service. I would be indifferent to their manning all the services. At the most an infinitesimal percentage can have a share in them. And it is a superstition to suppose that these services can oppress a people who have become conscious of human dignity and human rights and know how to enforce them. Since the vast majority of Congressmen are Hindus in at least three Muslim majority provinces, they have a rare opportunity of showing their non-violent strength, their disinterestedness, their utter freedom from the communal taint, and their ability to

submit to the rule of their Muslim fellow countrymen. They will do this not in a huff but as true nationalists and friends of the Muslims. Remaining outside they will probably better protect the just interests of Hindus as citizens. For a Congress Hindu is not any the less a Hindu because he claims to represent equally, as he must, all the other faiths in himself. For as I have said, so far as the State is concerned, its capacity for service stops short of the service of the different faiths, and the services it can render apply to all irrespective of their faiths. Therefore Congressmen have a rare opportunity of showing undefiled nationalism in these provinces. They will incidentally show the other minorities that they have nothing to fear from the majorities if they know the true way. We must get out of the miasma of religious majorities and minorities. Why is a Parsi's interest different from a Hindu's or Muslim's so far as the State is concerned? Did not Dadabhai and Pherozeshah rule the Congress while they lived, not by Congress grace or patronage, but by right of service and merit? Did their rule injure any Hindu or Muslim interest? Were these interests ever in conflict on the Congress platform? And is not the Congress a voluntary State?

On the way to Kashi, 20-1-42

## Constructive Programme and Government

Will not the working of the constructive programme bring Congressmen into conflict with the Government? This was one of the many questions asked at the meeting of the principal members of the A. I. C. C. I addressed in Wardha on the 17th. My answer was that the whole programme was so conceived as to avoid conflict. Of course the most innocent activity may be so manipulated as to provoke conflict. I expect every Congress worker to do his best to avoid it. But there is no help for it, if the Government prohibit such activities because they are undertaken by Congressmen who believe that the working of the constructive programme will bring Swaraj. That is the only non-violent way to achieve the end. Swaraj by non-violent means must come from the creative effort of those who desire it. The Government should welcome every such effort, unless they want to prevent even cent per cent non-violent movement. In that case conflict will become unavoidable. But I am of opinion that no conflict is possible, at any rate while the war lasts, unless Congress workers want or provoke it. They have to work, work and work. They will make no speeches or demonstrations in doing their constructive work. As I have already said, today most of the items of constructive work happen to be—like feeding and clothing—common cause between the Government and the people.

On the way to Kashi, 19-1-42

M. K. G.

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## TRIUMPH OF NON-VIOLENCE

### History Repeats Itself

The ratification of the Bardoli decision by the A. I. C. C. which met at Wardha on the 15th and 16th of this month is a triumph not of violence but of non-violence. On the other hand, if a bare majority had rejected the Bardoli resolution and adopted one declaring all opposition to war predominantly on the ground of non-violence, it might well have been a triumph of violence. I propose to place before the reader a few facts in order to help him to understand my meaning. When the Working Committee met at Bardoli Gandhiji had drafted for them a resolution reiterating the Congress policy and programme of complete non-participation in the war under all circumstances. A couple of days' discussion with the members was an eye-opener to him. He did not even place the draft before the members. Then came the draft prepared by a committee appointed by the Working Committee. It was a compromise resolution which, as the statements by some members of the Working Committee showed, was not acceptable to at least half the members of the Committee. "Should these members seek to divide the A. I. C. C.?" was the question. The first impulse was in the affirmative. Then came the reactions to the resolution in India and outside. Gandhiji's mind was almost made up before he returned to Sevagram that the first impulse was wrong, and that there should be no attempt to divide the A. I. C. C. Rather than leave it to any of the members of the Working Committee to give the lead to the house, Gandhiji himself in a speech packed with argument commended the resolution on the very ground of non-violence.

History here repeated itself. After the Chauri Chaura decision in 1922 there was the meeting of the A. I. C. C. in Delhi where Gandhiji found such an "under-current of violence, both conscious and unconscious", that he "was actually and literally praying for a disastrous defeat." A similar disillusionment came at Ahmedabad in 1924 where the four resolutions he moved were passed by a bare majority. He decided that the majority must be regarded as a minority, and rejected ultimately the fruit of the majority vote. "Majorities," he declared, "cannot deceive me," and within a few months he signed an agreement with the late Pandit Motilal Nehru and Deshbandhu Das declaring suspension of the non-cooperation movement and a "total surrender on my part". And in a fervent appeal to the so-called No-changers he said: "I have often said, and I repeat for the millionth time, that, if you do not believe in the charkha, you must go to the councils. . . . My appeal to you is to cleanse your hearts and to have charity. Make your hearts as broad as the ocean: That is the teaching of the Koran and the Gita. . . . Why should you say that their politics are corrupt? Heaven protect us from any such calumny of human nature. So long as the world lasts, so long will there be so many differences of opinion, and the greatest achievement of No-changers will be when they make their so-called opponents their truest friends and convert them to the creed of the charkha."

The result of the seeds of non-violence so assiduously sown was the Satyagraha movement of 1930-31, which made India's fight for freedom known throughout the world.

### Misplaced Zeal

If some of those who opposed the resolution, *after* Gandhiji had made a fervent appeal to them not to divide the house, had remembered this past history, they would have held their souls in peace and not advanced arguments which were correct but which lacked reality. Thus when one knew that even the acceptance of the Bardoli resolution was due to Gandhiji's appeal, it was hardly proper to remind them of Simon who betrayed his Master thrice before the cock crew and to tell them that they had thrown their Pilot overboard. When a questioner asked one of the speakers who opposed the resolution whether he preferred non-violence to Independence, he might have said, "Independence won at the expense of non-violence is no Independence at all." Instead he said: "You do not know the great implications of non-violence!" C. R. would have put the case for non-violence in an unassailable way, had he chosen to do so.

### A Dexterous Speech

But he chose to play a different part. It did one's soul good to watch the whole house listen to his dispassionate, closely-reasoned, compact speech with patient and respectful attention. If the advocates of non-violence gave an illustration of bad lawyers spoiling a good case, Rajaji's was an instance of an able lawyer apparently winning a bad case. Born teacher he is a lover of parables and similes. But he used a simile which, though at the moment applauded, was really at his own expense. "Do you think, if I go ahunting, I should hunt for rats and rabbits? I should go in for big game." "Two strings to the bow", or "killing two birds with one stone" may suit the genius of the English language, but the Indian language has *ek panth do kaj* (two errands in one journey). But Rajaji triumphantly used a simile which I should have hesitated ever to associate with the mild Brahman that he is. And then one would like to ask him: "Which is the bigger game of the two—leading a non-violent India to victory, or a violent India to a doubtful victory and a possible humiliating defeat?"

Then he said: "It is thought that I am advising the Congress to throw away the weapon of non-violence"—the weapon he described as "our only weapon"—"and some even go further and say I have actually taken up the weapon of violence. But it is all wrong." This was perfectly correct. But not quite so correct as what followed: "So far as the attainment of Swaraj goes and my general outlook on life goes, I adhere to the principle of non-violence. I have not suddenly changed my attitude. But in certain extensions of the principle I do not share Gandhiji's confidence. For him there is no question of extension—for it is a creed with him, applicable to all circumstances, but it is not a creed with us." There can be no question about the honesty of the argument. But is it correct? Can one who contemplates participation in violent war for purposes of defence against an aggressor or in return for a promise of full freedom claim to adhere to the



principle of non-violence for the attainment of freedom? And has Gandhiji ever asked for an extension of his creed to all circumstances? I have gone over several files of *Young India* to make myself sure if ever Gandhiji ran into that error. Again and again I find him talking of *limited* non-violence. "I have not the capacity for preaching universal non-violence," he wrote in 1925, "I preach, therefore, non-violence restricted strictly to the purpose of winning our freedom and, therefore, perhaps for preaching the regulation of international relations by non-violent means. Before I can preach universal non-violence, I must be wholly free from passions, I must be wholly incapable of sin. Let the revolutionary pray with and for me that I may soon become that. But meanwhile let him take with me the one step to it which I see as clearly as day-light, viz. to win India's freedom with strictly non-violent means. And then under Swaraj you and I shall have a disciplined, intelligent police force that would keep order within and fight raiders from without, if by that time I or someone else does not show a better way of dealing with either."

And this thought has been repeated times without number right up to now.

Rajaji had quite a number of weapons in his armoury. With apparently devastating effect he quoted the General Secretary against himself: "India has often declared its opposition to Nazism and Fascism. Its sympathies have all along been with the Democratic countries. It was therefore prepared to help. It was not, however, possible for it to do this unless its shackles were removed. The Working Committee, therefore, on September 14th issued a statement..... 'If, therefore, England wanted the free and willing help of India, it must declare its war aims,' " and so on. But Rajaji was really not quoting the General Secretary against himself, — for in that paragraph Acharya Kripalani was only summarising the argument leading up to the Working Committee's statement of September 14th and summarising the statement itself — but he was quoting the Working Committee's statement in support of the stand he has consistently taken since the Poona resolution. In doing so, however, he forgot two very vital facts: one — that ever since the framing of that statement there had been a controversy going on amongst the members of the Working Committee regarding the connotation of the words "free and willing help", Gandhiji always meaning thereby moral support; two — that Acharya Kripalani was always of the same view as Gandhiji. In Poona the things came to a head, the Working Committee decided that not moral but material help was meant, and also decided that India pledged to non-violence for the attainment of Independence could give it. That compelled Gandhiji to withdraw. The Poona resolution was bad not, as he explained later and during his recent Wardha speech, because of the position taken up, but because he was wrong in having abdicated his function and having allowed the Working Committee to interpret non-violence.

He came back in Bombay, not because he discovered any new political points of contact with the sponsors of the Poona resolution, but because he believed he had discovered that he had succeeded in weaning them from the idea of violent participation in

the war, and that they had come into line with him in opposing participation on *among other grounds* non-violence also, to which the Congress creed had pledged them.

### Another Fallacy

In this connection I would like to refer to an argument used by Pandit Jawaharlal with the same apparently devastating effect. "If," he said, (I am paraphrasing his Hindustani) "we say we cannot participate on the sole ground of non-violence, what would the world think of us? They would feel that we were opposing the war as mere pacifists and that we had no political grounds, and Britain would successfully delude the world into believing that beyond pacifism we had no case at all." I wonder how Panditji could say this in face of the fact that Gandhiji had made it abundantly clear in his letter to the Maulana that the opposition was *principally* on the ground of non-violence. The world knows that all responsible people in India — whether pacifists or non-pacifists — are sworn enemies of India's slavery, and Britain cannot possibly delude the world.

"Then," it may be argued, "the principal ground is political and the non-violence ground is subsidiary. Why should Gandhiji describe the ground of non-violence as the principal one?" Well, there's the rub. What Gandhiji has been trying to explain, and has for the time being failed to explain to many of his colleagues, is that the principal ground is non-violence, *because* we are pledged to win India's Independence by peaceful and legitimate means. That is an overwhelmingly political ground and no religious or ethical one. It is impossible to lay too much emphasis on this point, if one honestly wants to understand the meaning of the present controversy.

There was another argument in Panditji's speech that I would like to advert to. He explained most eloquently how the present war and the two "years of horror" had strengthened his predilection for non-violence. "But," he said, "we have to choose between two evils. Gandhiji has himself taught us that violence is any day preferable to abject cowardice. How can we therefore bind ourselves as regards the future?" There is no question as regards the future. And Gandhiji would be the first man to advise violent defence in preference to cowardly abandonment of hearths and homes and women and children.

### The Same Language

And when one comes to think of it, the consistency of argument and even the identity of language used by Gandhiji nearly twenty years ago with that of today is striking indeed. Take these two or three extracts which might have been written or spoken only the other day: "Cowardice, whether philosophical or otherwise, I abhor. And if I can be persuaded that revolutionary activity has dispelled cowardice, it will go a long way to soften my abhorrence of the method, however much I may still oppose it on principle."

And this: "I would not hesitate to turn the Congress into an exclusively khaddar-producing and khaddar propaganda organisation till the attainment of Swaraj, just as I would not hesitate, if I believed in



the use of arms and giving violent battle to England, to make the Congress an organisation exclusively devoted to training the nation in the use of arms." Also: "I have recognised that the nation has the right, if it so-wills, to vindicate her freedom even by actual violence. Only then India ceases to be the land of my love, though she be the land of my birth, even as I should take no pride in my mother if she went astray."

### Why

Gandhiji in his speech did make it clear that the resolution was taking us back, he also made it clear that in substance it repeated the Poona resolution, and he might even have said that so long as the Congress creed was there the resolution was unconstitutional. But his non-violence would not let him use that argument, unassailable as it would have been. Never was the precept of 'agreeing with thine adversary quickly', and 'going twain with him who asks you to go a mile' practised with such thorough-going deliberation. And he put the whole burden of the future on those who were for out and out non-violence. It was for them to employ all the twentyfour hours in the constructive programme, it was for them to show that the constructive programme meant the construction of Swaraj. "The whole key to the situation lies in the hands of No-changers," as he used to say in 1924.

And what he said then applies with greater force today in that we are faced with a much greater danger. "If we are few," he said, "we must perish in the attempt to quench the conflagration raging about us. If there are such No-changers, they cannot quarrel with the agreement (with the Swarajists). For it is but a method of finding out the number of unbending and unbendable No-changers — No-changers whose love will stand the severest test and whose faith in the triple constructive programme will, if necessary, outlast the faithlessness of the rest of India." The only difference is that the programme is not threefold, nor even thirteenfold, it is thirtyfold today.

As he said it in his brief English speech in reply to a question by Shri Prakasam: "The suspension of satyagraha has connection only with the present condition of the country, and I want every single man who thinks with me to remain outside and do work rather than go to jail and read the Koran and the Gita and lead an easy life there. I won't let them lead an easy life. Jawaharlal will ask for diaries from thousands of men. He is not going to sleep. Therefore, if you will go away with the real message to the country, do not criticise this resolution. Nobody is rendered incapable of giving the fullest possible service, in fact he is made capable of the fullest growth, by reason of this resolution. Civil disobedience remains under my control, and the reason for its suspension is wholly extraneous to my retirement from office. Every one of you has to give a good account of yourself. If all will pull your full weight in the fulfilment of the constructive programme, you will find a different India in six months' time."

Sevagram, 19-1-42

M. D.

## QUESTION BOX

(By M. K. Gandhi)

### Congress and A. R. P.

Q. Can a Congressman belong to A. R. P. and such other committees connected with the war?

A. I think not. But this does not mean that he will render no help in caring for those who may be injured by bombs or otherwise. On the contrary he will be expected to be most assiduous in rendering such help.

### Economic Equality

Q. While working the constructive programme can a Congressman preach economic equality? How can working the civil disobedience programme bring it about?

A. You can certainly preach it, if your speech is strictly non-violent and not in the manner of some who, I know, have preached forcible dispossession of land-owners and capitalists. But I have shown a better way than preaching. The constructive programme takes the country a long way towards the goal. This is the most auspicious time for it. The charkha and the allied industries, if fully successful, practically abolish all inequalities, both social and economic. The rising consciousness of the strength which non-violence gives to the people, and their intelligent refusal to co-operate in their slavery must bring about equality.

### Strengthen the Organisation

Q. What is the meaning of strengthening the Congress organisation?

A. You can strengthen it no doubt by enlisting members who know the meaning of the fundamental article of the Congress, namely attainment of Poorna Swaraj by peaceful and legitimate means. Enlisting of bogus members and members for seizing power in the Congress is vicious and harmful.

There is no room for power politics within the Congress, if the Congress is to end the power or the system that grinds the people and be itself in power. Therefore real strengthening of the organisation consists in every Congressman working the constructive programme to its fullest capacity. Enlisting bona fide members without much effort provides running expense of the Congress, only if the enlisting itself does not eat up the subscriptions you collect from members.

On the way to Kashi, 20-1-42

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# HARIJAN

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[TWO ANNAS

## AN UNEXPECTED EXPERIENCE

### Chokhamela

When Gandhiji consented to address the boys in the Chokhamela Boarding House at Nagpur on the occasion of the Silver Jubilee of the House he had no idea of the trouble he was inviting on himself. Chokhamela was one of the Harijan saints in Maharashtra whose name is still revered, who kept the torch of true religion and right living and devotion to God burning when there was darkness in the land, and who has been honourably mentioned by the late Mahadev Govind Ranade in his *Rise of the Maratha Power*. He was a Mahar, but as he revealed the light of self-realisation in his life he was canonised by the people and is revered by Brahmins and non-Brahmins alike. To associate an institution of Harijan boys with his name is in the fitness of things. When the boys of the Boarding House came to invite Gandhiji to address them he had not the slightest notion that, although the boys had unanimously invited him, one of the members of the Committee was opposed to the proposal. Much against his will he agreed to give a few minutes on his way back from Benares by breaking journey at Nagpur.

### What Awaited Him?

But what awaited him? When he was told that a few Mahar youths were going to stage a black flag demonstration he simply smiled and said, 'I do not mind it.' As our car approached the quarter, a number of youths rushed towards the car shouting, 'Gandhi go back, Gandhi boycott.' Among them was no boy from the hostel, but only rowdies from the neighbourhood. In the compound was a large meeting of the hostel boys, and thousands of men and women from the city who had come for the celebration. Pandit Ravishanker Shukla, who was presiding over the function, was distributing the prizes as we went in. Within a minute or two he finished the function and Gandhiji began to address the gathering. There was noise. In a moment a youth sprang to his feet and said: "This is not the ordinary noise. We are protesting against your coming." Gandhiji invited him to come to the rostrum and say what he wanted to say. He had nothing more to say than this: "We do not want you here. Those who invited you here had no right to do so." "But why don't you want me here?" asked Gandhiji of him. "Because you have done nothing for the Harijans." "That's all? Have you anything more to say?" "Nothing more," he said, and after a while disappeared. No sooner than Gandhiji had uttered a few sentences a shower of stones came upon the audience from the rowdies, some of whom had now got upon the walls of the compound. They

were, it seems, bent on breaking the meeting. They continued to pelt stones from outside in great fury. Two little children and a young man were hurt and two of them began to bleed profusely. Pandit Ravishanker Shukla and Gandhiji asked the audience to be quiet and to keep sitting no matter what happened. Two boys from the hostel were badly injured and they had to be removed to the hospital. The audience showed exemplary behaviour and listened to Gandhiji, whose address, which would otherwise have been finished in five minutes with a few words of blessings and advice to the boys, took a different turn. It was for him a rich experience and an occasion for further self-introspection and a fresh test of ahimsa, and direction to those who would wipe out the blot on Hinduism with non-violent means.

### A Call to Self-purification

This is what he said in Hindustani:

"I am told by the friend who raised the voice of protest that those who invited me here had no right to do so. The fact is that it was the students of the Chokhamela Boarding House who came to Wardha to invite me. I had begged to be excused, but Shri Chaturbhuj Jasani intervened and told me that, if the work that carried me to Benares was after my heart, this might be even dearer inasmuch as it was the Silver Jubilee of an institution that had served Harijan boys. And since the abolition of untouchability is my life's work and I even toured the country for the same cause for one whole year, I agreed.

"But assuming that those who invited me had no right to do so, it was surely not my fault. These protests do not displease me. The Harijans have suffered all these centuries at the hands of the Savarna Hindus as from no one else, and as I am one of the latter I am participant in their sin. And I am never accustomed to weigh my sins in golden scales. I can atone for them only if I made a mountain of a molehill. The reason is simple. Man can never see his faults in proper perspective, and, if he really did so, he would scarcely survive them. The remedy is, therefore, to magnify one's shortcomings. And the sin of untouchability is so heinous that it is impossible to exaggerate it. Those who suffer from it are naturally liable to be angry with those who are trying to wipe it out. They may well say to me: 'Who are you to remove untouchability? We shall wipe it out with our own strength.' Now the way of demonstrating one's strength is of two kinds: one is the eternal, God-given way of self-purification, where man takes the blame upon himself of all the wrongs he is suffering from; the other is the way of retaliation, the Mosaic law of tooth for a tooth and nail for a nail.



The latter is quite natural in that we have descended from the state of brutes, and some of their qualities may have been exaggerated in us. It is Hitler's way. Because a Jew or many Jews may have wronged the Germans he thinks it is his duty to exterminate the whole Jewish race. To those Harijans who would destroy Caste Hindus and Hinduism I would say that the Hindus deserve it. But the Caste Hindus too owe a duty to themselves and their religion. Let them receive lathis and stones from Harijans, but they should continue to serve them.

"What, however, is to be done, if they will not receive our service? (Shower of stones at this stage, and a slight interruption due to the stones having injured a few from the audience.)

"Let the stones rain on us, we have to keep quiet and to hold this meeting. I had promised to stay here for ten minutes, but I am in no hurry to go now. Send word to the demonstrators that, if they will have a separate meeting, I am prepared to stay and address that meeting and answer the charges they may have to make against me. And what after all is my crime? That I am labouring for them? That I am endeavouring to put a little money into their pockets? That I am telling the Sanatanists day in and day out that they have to purge themselves of their sin? And why rain stones on the innocent audience?

"They wanted to hurt me, but what have they succeeded in doing? They have hurt a few innocent people including two children in the audience. If they wanted to punish me or those who invited me, they should have gone directly for us. Let me tell them that this hooliganism is the opposite of bravery, humanity, civility. Let me tell them they are going about the wrong way. They are injuring their own cause.

"Now a word to those assembled here. Though this is a boarding house, those who receive their board and lodging here are all students. I hope your stay here will be fruitful and give you what is real education. Let today's demonstration be a lesson to you. It should make you neither angry nor afraid, for anger and fear are twin sins. Let the demonstration awake you to your sense of duty and burn the eternal truth indelibly on your minds that only Truth quenches untruth, Love quenches anger, self-suffering quenches violence. This eternal rule is a rule not for saints only but for all. Those who observe it may be few but they are the salt of the earth, it is they who keep the society together, not those who sin against light and truth.

"I ask you not only *not* to punish the demonstrators but not even to have the wish. They are not wicked. It is through them that God works to open our eyes to the wickedness within us. Let, therefore, today's demonstration purify you, as I know it will purify me. True *vidya* (knowledge) is the art of self-purification. Now I want you to stay here until the storm ceases, lest your going out just now should infuriate them. Let us wait until their fury ceases, and then quietly go back to our homes. In the meanwhile let us all recite *Ramdhun* together, let someone give us a hymn, and we shall disperse only when we are told that everything is quiet outside."

## Krishnanand Sokhta

Soon there was demand from the audience for Shri Krishnanand Sokhta who appeared on the rostrum and delivered in a heart-stirring way in impromptu verses the message of truth and ahimsa, and asked the audience to join him in reciting Ramanam. This went on for a good few minutes. It heightened the atmosphere of peace and self-purification that Gandhiji had created, and the meeting peacefully dispersed thereafter. The Silver Jubilee had been celebrated in a manner unexpected by the boys, but it has left them a lesson which some at least will treasure all their lives.

Sevagram, 25-1-42

M. D.

## BENARES NOTES

### I

### A Pilgrimage

The visit to Benares is made doubly sacred by the memories of our ancient spiritual heritage that Benares must wake up in the mind of every Indian and by the *darshan* of Bharatbhushan Pandit Malaviyaji whose life has been a continuous dedication. It is that burning love for the country that is the indissoluble bond of union between Malaviyaji and Gandhiji.

Few people have been able to see their dreams fulfilled in a measure that Malaviyaji has done. For the fulfilment of his dream he laid under tribute each and every one who professed a love for India's ancient culture. The Hindu Rajas and Maharajas and rich men came under his spell. The vision of the University was vouchsafed to him as he sat one day in contemplation, after a bath in holy Ganges, and the story goes that he shared the vision with his father, who parted with a hard-earned sum of Rs. one hundred and one and along with it gave also the blessing that that amount may be multiplied to a crore and one. The blessing was fulfilled, and for five and twenty years Malaviyaji has seen rise before his eyes edifice after edifice, and thousands of youths of the land come and grow under his benign influence. The youths have in turn imparted to him their youth and energy, and old age in one like him has become an object of pride and veneration.

No wonder the Silver Jubilee Convocation, to which flocked thousands from far and near, became a unique festival of thanksgiving, and Dr. Radhakrishnan, on whom Panditji's mantle has fitly fallen, voiced the feelings of all when in a wonderful paean of praise he said that sages like him render holy places real *tirthas* — places of pilgrimage — तीर्थकुर्वन्ति तीर्थानि, and wished him life for a hundred autumns.

### A Dream Unfulfilled

And yet to him the dream is far from fulfilment. A book of memoirs published recently by Pandit Ram Naresh Tripathi — तीस दिन — मालवीजीके साथ (Thirty Days with Malaviyaji) — gives us a glimpse of his days and dreams. Even now he says to his doctor: "I would still like to make a tour of India. There is much yet to be done. I want a magnificent hall of music where the boys may learn music, so that they may go about through life with devotional music inspiring them. I want to see here a Nalanda where ten thousand



students may live and study together in order to revive our ancient glories." One day he goes out in fair moonlight and exclaims: "What a glorious sight! There is enough space here for our sages to come and build their ashrams and be a perpetual source of light and life to our youths. The object of the Vishwavidyalaya will be fulfilled only when we have a Vasishtha, an Atri, a Gautama, an Angiras, each with his ashram to impart his unique message." Again: "I want some of our pandits to do research regarding the works of Tulsidas and other saints. I want absolutely authentic editions of their works." Again: "I want to name some of our roads here after Harishchandra, Yudhishtira, Hanuman, Ashoka, Pratap." Also: "No, no, have as many scholarships here as possible for the poor. Who knows there may be many an unknown Shivaji, Pratap, Harishchandra, Dhruva among them?" One more: "I have deliberately arranged a weekly Gita class here, so that a regular reading of our unique book may be an inspiration to them." /

### The Voice of the Sentinel

Gandhiji was there as a pilgrim no less than others. But he had the mission of a sentinel to fulfil. He was no good for a convocation address. It was not in his line. But lest our festivities should make us lose sight of the fact that those who are to be the heirs of the venerable sage have to work together to bring to a complete fulfilment his dream, he took upon himself the task of sounding a note of warning.

Twentyfive years ago he had performed a similar task. The then Maharaja of Darbhanga, who welcomed him as one "who though born in luxury and affluence had voluntarily chosen to identify himself with the poor", did not know he would prove true to the description. But Malaviyaji knew. He had taken him into his secrets. Gandhiji knew what a Herculean task it had been for Malaviyaji to secure a charter for the University, and also what was Malaviyaji's unfulfilled ambition. Malaviyaji had met Sir Harcourt Butler, who was then a Member of the Viceroy's Executive Council, in charge of education, and told him that education in the University would be imparted through Hindi. But Sir Harcourt knew his business better. He said: "That will not do. You had in that case better go on your own and do without Government's help and support. So long as you conduct your affairs in English we are safe, we know where you are and what you mean; but when you use your own language we are completely at sea." Malaviyaji, who has often agreed with his adversary rather too quickly, had promised not to press the idea. But not so Gandhiji. Malaviyaji knew what Gandhiji would say on the occasion, in fact Gandhiji had warned him beforehand. But Malaviyaji would not take a refusal. He compelled him to speak in English, but also asked him to say whatever he wanted to say. And so he had let himself go. Even today that speech reads as though it was delivered yesterday. It was an impromptu speech as on the present occasion, and Gandhiji perhaps does not recall today the exact words he said. But they have the same authentic ring, and the whole was couched

almost in the same language! "It is a matter of deep humiliation and shame for us that I am compelled this evening, under the shadow of this great college in this sacred city to address my countrymen in a language that is foreign to me." That is how he began, and hoped that "this University will see to it that youths who come to it will receive their instruction through the vernaculars. . . . If we were receiving our education today through our vernaculars, what should we be today? We should have today a free India, we should have our educated men not as if they were foreigners in their own land, but speaking to the heart of the nation; they would be working among the poorest of the poor, and whatever they would have gained during the past fifty years would be a heritage to the nation." He then deplored the thousands of years that were lost to our nation as a result of the terrible handicap under which our youths had to labour, and then took the liberty of "thinking audibly" before them. He turned his eyes about him, and as he did so he sighed at the sight of the gorgeous show of jewellery which "made a splendid feast for the eyes", but which compelled him to say to the bedecked ones: "There is no salvation for India unless you strip yourselves of this jewellery and hold it in trust for your countrymen in India."

I will not summarise the whole of that speech which the curious can read even today with profit. Some of the things that followed, which were really meant to deprecate the cult of the bomb, jarred on an un-understanding audience then, so much so that most of the big people left the meeting in a body. The times are changed. Harder things than he said that day have been said by him, and when on the evening of the 21st January he began to address the audience in Hindustani no one felt that anything unexpected was happening. But the University has still got to be the Vishwavidyalaya of Malaviyaji's and Gandhiji's dream. And it did one's soul good to see the eighty year old Malaviyaji deliver in distinct and chaste Hindi a speech that was heard by the vast concourse that had gathered there, corroborating every one of the sentiments uttered by Gandhiji. "The Sun that radiates light and warmth is there," as Gandhiji said, "we have but to receive and enjoy that light and warmth." His blessing is there given in a Sanskrit verse of his own composition:

सत्येन ब्रह्मचर्येण व्यायामेन विद्यया ।

देशभक्त्याऽऽत्मत्यागेन समानार्हः सदा भव ॥

(May thou be deserving of honour by means of truth, brahmacharya, healthy body, learning, love of thy land, and self-sacrifice.)

Sevagram, 28-1-42

M. D.

(To be continued)

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# HARIJAN

Feb. 1

1942

## A DEPLORABLE INCIDENT

(By M. K. Gandhi)

As Sardar Vallabhbhai was leaving Sevagram the other day he told me of a dacoity in a home in Kheda District. Armed dacoits entered the house, belaboured the inmates, and escaped with the loot. The story was heart-rending. What should I do under similar circumstances, I thought to myself. What should Congressmen do in the circumstances was the next thought; and since then the train of thought arising from the dacoity has taken possession of me. The Congress has been working continuously since 1920 under the policy of non-violence. The province of Gujarat has also had the advantage of a leader of the Sardar's calibre. And yet daring dacoities can take place. How far then can Congress influence be said to have penetrated? People imagine that, if the British Government were to cease to function today, it would be the non-violent Congressmen who would automatically take over. But it is not so. I have been working to this end for the last twenty years, but my dream has not materialised. For the Congress has not had a living faith in the very means which it adopted in 1920. Therefore the non-violence of the Congress has really been non-violence of the weak. But Governments can only be run by the strong. And a non-violent Government can only be run by those who believe that non-violence is the mightiest force on earth. If we had had this strength, there would be no Hindu-Muslim riots, there would be no robbers or dacoits. Some might say that for such strength you need either a Jesus or a Buddha. But this is not so. Neither Jesus nor Buddha tried non-violence in the political sphere, or it would be truer to say that the present-day type of politics did not exist in their day. The Congress experiment is, therefore, a new one. The tragedy is that Congressmen have not tried it with full faith, full understanding and sincerity. If they had had these three essential qualities, the Congress would today have been far taller than it is. But I may not cry over spilt milk. I refer to the past only in order to guide us in the present. Even if we wake up now, the game is ours; if we do not, we shall surely lose. Power invariably elects to go into the hands of the strong. That strength may be physical or of the heart, or, if we do not fight shy of the word, of the spirit. Strength of the heart connotes soul force. If today we decide that we should try to get power by force of arms, we shall have to undo all the work of twenty years among the masses. We shall have to spend a considerable time in giving people a contrary training. We cannot afford to give the required time at this critical juncture. It is certain that today whoever has any strength of any kind will use it for seizing power. It is my firm conviction that, if Congressmen are to get power, it should only be through non-violence or soul force.

We have neither time nor material to do new work even in this line. When we have so far employed non-violence as a weapon of the weak, how can we all of a sudden expect to convert it into a weapon of the strong? But in spite of this I feel that at the present moment this experiment alone is feasible and proper for us. There is no risk involved in it. Even failure in it takes the form of success because, even if the people are not able to go the whole length in the experiment, they cannot possibly be led into a ditch. By following the way of physical force they may not only be proved cowards, but in attempting to follow an untrodden path thousands may also be destroyed.

It is then the duty of Congressmen to seek out dacoits and robbers. They should try to understand and convert them. Such workers cannot be had for the asking; but Congressmen should know that this work is just as important as it is fraught with risk, and a certain number of them have to devote themselves to it.

The second thing requisite is that we should prepare such workers as would, under difficult circumstances, stand up to dacoits and, whilst trying to check or convert them from their evil ways, be prepared to suffer hurt or even death. Perhaps few workers will be forthcoming for this task too, but peace brigades throughout the country are a definite necessity. Or else in times of chaos Congressmen will lose all the reputation they have so far gained.

Thirdly, the rich should ponder well as to what is their duty today. They who employ mercenaries to guard their wealth may find those very guardians turning on them. The monied classes have got to learn how to fight either with arms or with the weapon of non-violence. For those who wish to follow the latter way the best and most effective *mantram* is: तेन त्यक्तेन भुञ्जीथाः (Enjoy thy wealth by renouncing it). Expanded it means: "Earn your crores by all means. But understand that your wealth is not yours; it belongs to the people. Take what you require for your legitimate needs, and use the remainder for society." This truth has hitherto not been acted upon; but, if the monied classes do not even act on it in these times of stress, they will remain the slaves of their riches and passions and consequently of those who overpower them.

But I have visions that the end of this war will mean also the end of the rule of capital. I see coming the day of the rule of the poor, whether that rule be through force of arms or of non-violence. Let it be remembered that physical force is transitory even as the body is transitory. But the power of the spirit is permanent, even as the spirit is everlasting.

Sevagram, 25-1-42

(From *Harijanbandhu*)

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## HINDUSTANI

(By M. K. Gandhi)

"(a) The proceedings of the Congress, the A. I. C. C. and the Working Committee shall ordinarily be conducted in Hindustani. The English Language or any Provincial Language may be used, if the speaker is unable to speak in Hindustani or whenever permitted by the President.

(b) The proceedings of the Provincial Congress Committee shall ordinarily be conducted in the language of the Province concerned. Hindustani may also be used."

## — Article 25 of the Congress Constitution

The Congress has not carried out this resolution to any appreciable extent. It is a sad reflection. The fault is Congressmen's. They will not take the trouble of learning Hindustani. Their effort for learning languages is evidently exhausted with the performance of the impossible task of acquiring a knowledge of the English language equal to a learned Englishman's. The result is tragic. It has meant impoverishment of the provincial languages and displacement of the all-India language described by the Congress as Hindustani. It has also meant a break between the millions and the English-educated few who happen to be the natural leaders for the simple reason that they are the only educated class. There is no education worth the name apart from the schools established by the Government. The Congress has to perform the Herculean task of displacing the English language with Hindustani. With the passing of the resolution it should have created a bureau for fulfilling the purpose as it might do even now. But if it does not, individual Congressmen and those who are interested in evolving an all-India language should do so.

But what is Hindustani? There is no such language apart from Urdu and Hindi. Urdu has sometimes been called Hindustani. Did the Congress mean Urdu in the article quoted? Did it exclude the more extensively known Hindi? Such a meaning would be absurd. It evidently meant, and could only mean, a scientific blend of Hindi and Urdu. There is no such written blend extant. But it is the common speech of the unlettered millions of Hindus and Muslims living in Northern India. Not being written, it is imperfect, and the written language has taken two different turns tending to widen the difference by each running away from the other. Therefore the word Hindustani means Hindi and Urdu. Therefore also Hindi can call itself Hindustani, if it does not exclude Urdu but tries to assimilate Urdu as much as is scientifically possible without damaging the natural structure and music of the original. Urdu can do likewise. There is no separate Hindustani body attempting to blend the two streams which today threaten to run away from each other.

The noble task can be performed by the Hindi Sahitya Sammelan and Anjuman-e-taraqqi-e-Urdu. I have been connected with the former since 1917 when I was invited to preside at its session of that year. I acquainted the audience with my views on the all-India medium. When I presided again at its session in 1935, I was able to persuade the Sammelan to

define Hindi as the language spoken by Hindus and Muslims of the North of India and written either in Devanagari or Persian script. The natural consequence should have been for the members of the Sammelan to expand their knowledge of Hindi by living up to the definition and producing literature that could be read by both Hindus and Muslims. This should have meant the members learning the Persian script. They seem to have denied themselves this proud privilege. But better late than never. Will they bestir themselves now? They need not wait for the Anjuman to respond. It will be a great thing, if the Anjuman does. Each Association can, if it will work in harmony with the other. But I have suggested unitary action independent of the other party. That Association which will adopt my plan will enrich the language it stands for, and will ultimately be responsible for producing a blend which will serve the whole nation.

It is unfortunate that the Hindi-Urdu question has assumed a communal shape. It is possible for either party to undo the mischief by recognising the other and incorporating the acceptable part in a generous spirit. A language that borrows unstintingly from the others without harming its special characteristic will be enriched, even as the English language has become enriched by free borrowings.

On the way to Wardha, 23-1-42

WORKING COMMITTEE'S  
RESOLUTIONS

## 1. Present Situation

[The Working Committee passed the following resolutions at its recent sittings at Bardoli.]

Fourteen months have elapsed since the Working Committee held their last meeting and during this period the world has fallen ever deeper into the abyss of war and rushed headlong towards self-destruction. The members of the Committee have met again on their release from prison and given earnest thought to all the national and international developments during this fateful period of human history. The burden of guiding the Congress and the nation at this critical stage when old problems assume a new significance and war approaches the frontiers of India bringing new problems in its train, is a heavy one which the Committee can only shoulder worthily with the full co-operation of the people of India. The Committee have endeavoured to keep in view the principles and objectives for which the Congress has stood during these past many years and considered them in the larger context of world conditions and world freedom. The Committee are convinced that full freedom for the people of India is essential even, and more especially, in the present state of world turmoil, not only for India's sake but for the sake of the world. The Committee also hold that real peace and freedom can only be established and endure on the basis of world co-operation between free nations.

The Committee gave full expression to their attitude towards the War in their statement issued on September 14, 1939, wherein they condemned Nazi and Fascist aggression and expressed their willingness to help the cause of freedom and democracy, provided the objectives of the war were clearly stated and acted



upon, in so far as was possible, in the present. If freedom and democracy were those objectives, then they must necessarily include the ending of imperialism and the recognition of the independence of India. Subsequent pronouncements made on behalf of the British Government and their reactionary and oppressive policy made it clear that this Government was determined to maintain and intensify its imperialist hold and exploitation of the Indian people. British policy was one of deliberate insult to Indian nationalism, of a perpetuation of unrestrained authoritarianism, and the encouragement of disruptive and reactionary elements. Not only has every offer made by the Congress for an honourable compromise been rejected, but public opinion voiced by organisations regarded as moderate has also been flouted.

The Congress was, therefore, compelled, in order to defend the honour and the elementary rights of the Indian people and the integrity of the nationalist movement, to request Gandhiji to guide the Congress in the action that should be taken. Mahatma Gandhi desirous of avoiding embarrassment to his opponent as far as possible, especially during the perils and dangers of war, limited the satyagraha movement which he started to selected individuals who conformed to certain tests he had laid down. That satyagraha has now proceeded for over fourteen months and about twentyfive thousand Congressmen have suffered imprisonment, while many thousands of others who offered satyagraha in the Frontier Province and elsewhere were not arrested. The Committee desire to express their respectful appreciation of Gandhiji's leadership and of the response of the nation to it, and are of opinion that this has strengthened the people.

Throughout this period the attitude of the British Government has been hostile to Indian freedom and it has functioned in India as a completely authoritarian government, insulting the deeply cherished convictions and feelings of the people. Neither the professions of freedom and democracy, nor the perils and catastrophes that have come in the wake of war, have affected this attitude and policy, and such changes as have taken place have been for the worse.

The recent release of a number of political prisoners has no significance or importance, and the circumstances attending it, and official pronouncements made, make it clear that it is not connected with any change of policy. Large numbers of detenus, who are kept in prison under the Defence of India Act without trial, and whose only offence seems to be that they are ardent patriots impatient of foreign rule and determined to achieve the independence of the country, still remain in prison. Recent arrests of prominent persons and their treatment in prison also indicate that the old policy is being pursued as before.

While there has been no change in Britain's policy towards India, the Working Committee must nevertheless take into full consideration the new world situation that has arisen by the development of the war into a world conflict and its approach to India. The sympathies of the Congress must inevitably lie with the peoples who are the subject of aggression and who are fighting for their freedom. But only a free and independent India can be in a position to

undertake the defence of the country on a national basis and be of help in the furtherance of the larger causes that are emerging from the storm of war. The whole background in India is one of hostility and of distrust of the British Government and not even the most far-reaching promises can alter this background, nor can a subject India offer voluntary or willing help to an arrogant imperialism which is indistinguishable from fascist authoritarianism.

The Committee is, therefore, of opinion that the resolution of the A. I. C. C. passed in Bombay on September 16, 1940, holds today and defines Congress policy still.

## 2. Gandhiji Absolved

The Working Committee have received the following letter from Gandhiji and recognise the validity of the point he has raised and therefore relieve him of the responsibility laid upon him by the Bombay resolution referred to by Gandhiji. But the Committee assure him that the policy of non-violence adopted under his guidance for the attainment of Swaraj and which has proved so successful in leading to mass awakening and otherwise will be adhered to by the Congress. The Working Committee further assure him that it would like to extend its scope as far as possible even in free India. The Committee hope that Congressmen will render him full assistance in the prosecution of his mission, including the offering of civil disobedience.

Bardoli,  
30-12-1941

Dear Maulana Sahab,

In the course of discussion in the Working Committee, I discovered that I had committed a grave error in the interpretation of the Bombay resolution. I had interpreted it to mean that the Congress was to refuse participation in the present or all war on the ground principally of non-violence. I found to my astonishment that most members differed from my interpretation and held that the opposition need not be on the ground of non-violence. On re-reading the Bombay resolution I found that the differing members were right and that I had read into it a meaning which its letter could not bear. The discovery of the error makes it impossible for me to lead the Congress in the struggle for resistance to war effort on grounds in which non-violence was not indispensable. I could not, for instance, identify myself with opposition to war effort on the ground of ill-will against Great Britain. The resolution contemplated material association with Britain in the war effort as a price for guaranteed independence of India. If such was my view and I believed in the use of violence for gaining independence and yet refused participation in the effort as the price of that independence, I would consider myself guilty of unpatriotic conduct. It is my certain belief that only non-violence can save India and the world from self-extinction. Such being the case, I must continue my mission whether I am alone or assisted by an organisation or individuals. You will, therefore, please relieve me of the responsibility laid upon me by the Bombay resolution. I must continue civil disobedience for free speech against all war



with such Congressmen and others whom I select and who believe in the non-violence I have contemplated and are willing to conform to prescribed conditions.

I will not, at this critical period, select for civil disobedience those whose services are required to steady and help the people in their respective localities.

Yours sincerely  
M. K. Gandhi

## THE MONTH IN BARDOLI

### II

#### With Harijan Sevak

It was impossible for Gandhiji to respond to the calls of various workers in Gujarat to visit their centres. The call from Ahmedabad was almost irresistible. But the Sardar had to take the odium of being ruthlessly impartial, and so every one of them came to Bardoli. Among these were Harijan sevak who had met in Sabarmati under the Presidentship of Thakkar Bapa. They came with questions ready framed and thus made Gandhiji's work easy.

The first was the question about the wells: "Should we seek the co-operation of Harijans, and, if so, to what extent?" "Co-operation," said Gandhiji, "is necessary, but we must not take the Harijans in a body and invade the Savarna quarters. We should visit the wells, ascertain the classes of people using them, and reason with these to let the Harijans use them. Regarding local board wells the help of officials may be freely sought, and such Harijans may be asked to go and use the wells as may be prepared to stand ill-treatment. But the brunt should be borne by the sevak, care being taken to stand between the Harijans and those who would threaten to molest or belabour them. The Harijans should be invariably asked to use clean vessels and observe all the ordinary rules of cleanliness. We can also dig wells for Harijans and invite the Savarnas to use them. It is likely that the Harijans may be boycotted, but we should see that they get employment elsewhere. The Harijans have to be taught to learn to assert themselves firmly and non-violently, and the Savarnas may be gently reminded that injustice cannot last for ever. These are broad principles, but everyone has to take measures suited to the circumstances in each case."

Q. "Can't we insist on the admission of Harijan boys to hostels where *all* non-Harijan Hindu boys are admitted?"

A. "Of course, but care should be taken to see that the hostel is not exclusively for a particular community or section of Hindus. Where all sections are admitted and only the Harijans are excluded, the workers should strain every nerve to get the Harijans admitted."

"When I said that removal of untouchability did not include the removal of restrictions on interdining and intermarriage, I had the general Hindu public in mind, not the Congress workers or Congressmen. These have to abolish untouchability from every part of their life."

The next question was about the temptations given by Missionaries in the shape of books, school

fees, etc., with a view to the boys' ultimate conversion. How was one to deal with them? "The missionaries have of course the right to preach the gospel of Christ and to invite non-Christians to embrace Christianity. But every attempt to press material benefits or attractions in the aid of conversion should be freely exposed, and the Harijans should be educated to resist these temptations."

Q. "What are the qualifications that a Harijan sevak should have in order to make his work felt?"

A. "Such a question is rather late in the day. But I shall try to answer it again. It is a misfortune that politics have been mixed up with anti-untouchability work, which is essentially one of self-purification, justice, humanity. Long before I took to politics I felt that abolition of untouchability and Hindu-Muslim unity were essential for national well-being. In order to prevent the vivisection of Hinduism I had to fight it with my life, and the question did receive a political complexion, but in essence it is a purely religious and moral question. Every sevak must be fired with a passion to purify Hinduism, and must be ready to lay down his life in the attempt. Such a sevak will be ready to sacrifice his all—family connections, social advantages, and life itself—in order to wipe out the blot on Hinduism. The work should be as one of life's essential functions, e.g. offering one's prayers, ablutions, etc. not carrying emolument or reward. If the worker is fired with this passion, the way will be clear before him. Thus a worker would rather starve than allow the Harijans to be starved, would hesitate to use amenities which are denied to the Harijans and feel increasing identification with them every day. All this work is to be done without regard to the political results. Assuming for a moment that Swaraj does not come as a result of the abolition of untouchability, the work has to be done in order to keep Hinduism pure and alive. I know that with some of the Congressmen the work has only a political meaning, but it is wrong. If they seek justice from an alien Government, they must first do justice to their own kith and kin. That is the fundamental maxim of equity—he who seeks equity must do equity."

"There is, I know, a section who says that political freedom must be won first and social reform would follow later. It is a wrong idea, and certainly inconsistent with one who would win Swaraj by non-violent means. But the Harijan worker has to educate both the orthodox and exclusively political-minded people. Let him not judge others, but by selfless self-effacing service set an example to them."

#### With Khadi Workers

Sardar Vallabhbhai has created a khadi organisation in Gujarat in order to intensify khadi production, and he has enlisted for this work a number of khadi workers, and he collects the necessary funds also. These workers too came for guidance and advice.

"We are producing 2 lakhs of rupees worth of khadi, but the demand exceeds 12 lakhs," they said. "How are we to meet it? We have not enough weavers and workers, and there is the question of funds too."



"Let me take up the last question first," said Gandhiji. "It is my firm conviction which has grown upon me with the years that, if there are workers, no work suffers for want of funds. But the real question is of the capacity to produce. Supposing someone gave you one crore of rupees, I know you cannot produce ten crore rupees worth of khadi. The reason is lack of workers, lack of efficiency, and lack of faith. It is good that there is a growing demand for khadi—though 12 lakhs of rupees worth of khadi is nothing extraordinary where 8 crores of rupees worth of khadi could be used. But the increased sales mean that the liking for khadi is also on the increase. We should contact these consumers and persuade them to spin. And here comes in the *Dhanush Takli*. You may know that I can spin on the ordinary wheel better, but I have made a point of using only the *Dhanush Takli*, and I am now almost an expert in it. The reason is that, whereas Laxmidasbhai cannot execute an order for 25 lakhs of wheels, the people can themselves make as many *Dhanush Taklis*. It is so easy to make, so cheap, takes very little material and practically no technical skill. It is a wrong policy to manufacture wheels in Sabarmati in order to export them to the Punjab or South India. They should be made locally everywhere, and for that purpose the *Dhanush Takli* is the thing. Universalisation of this will increase production by leaps and bounds.

"You have to catch the increasing love of spinning by the forelock. In none of our previous campaigns was spinning done on such a large scale as during the last campaign. The figures for Sabarmati Jail were good, but the figures for Agra and Bareilly were also good. Badshah Khan has been able to popularise spinning as he had never been before. We have, therefore, to take this tide at the flood and bring expert knowledge to bear on the love for spinning that is growing.

"We have to go from house to house and enlist willing spinners ready to contribute their yarn.

"I take it that all khadi workers are believers in the attainment of Swaraj by non-violent means. Yours then should be the largest contribution to constructive work.

"Some of you have to be weavers too. There are enough hand-loom weavers in India to produce all the cloth we need. We have to persuade them to take to weaving hand-spun yarn and also to get their womenfolk and children to produce yarn in their homes."

#### A Record Spinner

Gandhiji has referred to the record spinning in jails by the satyagrahis. Even now he gets letters from satyagrahis still in jail to say that even in the Punjab some satyagrahis, who came in with an initial aversion to spinning, ended by becoming regular spinners. But all records were broken by Shri Ashabhai of Ras who never missed a day's spinning during the 9 months and 11 days of his imprisonment. He is an agriculturist. He might have kept all his yarn for home consumption, but he brought it to Bardoli and laid it at Gandhiji's feet to be used as he liked. Here are figures of his spinning:

9 months 11 days.

1,237 hanks of 840 yards each, i. e. 10,39,080 yards, i. e. over 3,700 yards per day. Weight 59 lbs.	
668 hanks of 24 counts	Rs. 36-4-0 spinning wage
263 " 20 "	Rs. 14-7-0 "
306 " 18 "	Rs. 16-0-6 "
	Rs. 66-11-6

This will yield 280 square yards of khadi worth Rs. 175. Shri Ashabhai kept excellent health, attended to his daily needs of washing etc., and did some amount of reading also.

Sevagram, 19-1-42

M. D.

#### TO GUJARATIS

(By M. K. Gandhi)

You have sacrificed a great deal in the cause of Swaraj. But it is not enough. You can contribute still more in the form of money, labour, and increasingly intelligent and fresh minds.

Is it not sad that Rs. 2 lakhs worth of khadi only is being produced in Gujarat whereas Rs. 12 lakhs worth is wanted? It may be that there is not so much poverty in Gujarat as in the other provinces. But that does not mean that Gujaratis cannot, if they wish, produce all the khadi they need. Reckoning the population of Gujarat at 1 crore, the people would need at least 3 crores worth of cloth. You should produce at least this quantity, i. e. 15 crore yards.

The time is fast approaching when we shall not be able to get mill cloth. There is scarcity even today, and what if the mills are bombed, what if they are used as munition factories? Either each one of us, young and old, rich and poor, men and women, has to spin and provide for his own clothing or else go naked. There is not the least exaggeration in this. In the warring countries people are rationed for food and clothing, and as the war is prolonged even the necessities of life are being used up and munitions are produced only to end in smoke. The war is thus working double destruction.

We have been wilfully dragged into the vortex. But we are not yet so hard put to it as the people in the warring countries. If, however, we sit with folded hands until the trouble comes upon us, we shall be found to have been fools. We must be wise and adopt the necessary measures in time.

It is my request then to those Gujaratis whose ear I can reach that they should give as much money and as much yarn as they can to the Mahagujarat Khadi Mandal. Receiving centres should be opened where necessary so as to save people the cost of posting yarn. The master-key to producing the requisite khadi lies in the wheel plying in every home. If good yarn is spun, weavers will be available, though I have already advised that we should take time by the forelock and train voluntary weavers also.

Will every Congressman rise to the occasion and spin for the nation?

Sevagram, 25-1-42

(From *Harijanbandhu*)



## KASHI VISHWAVIDYALAYA ADDRESS

[The following is a fairly full translation of Gandhiji's Hindustani address on the occasion of the Silver Jubilee Convocation of the Benares Hindu University on the 21st January. M. D.]

### Pilgrimage

Revered Malaviyaji, Sir Radhakrishnan, brothers and sisters,

You all know very well that I have neither the physical strength nor the inclination to undertake long journey, and yet when I received Sir Radhakrishnan's invitation to deliver an address on the occasion of the Silver Jubilee Convocation of the Benares Hindu University I had not the heart to decline it. You know the strong bond of affection that binds me to Panditji, and it is with a certain amount of pride and satisfaction that I obey his behest whenever it is at all possible for me. I therefore could not say 'no'. Sir Radhakrishnan's letter was a call to a pilgrimage.

Great as are Malaviyaji's services to the country, I have no doubt that this University constitutes his greatest service and achievement, and he has worn himself out for the work that is dear to him as life itself. It was out of my great regard for him that twentyfive years ago I accepted his invitation to attend the foundation ceremony of this University. I knew that in that august function, which was to be attended by the Viceroy and the ruling Princes of India, there was no place for a poor man like me. I had not then been made a 'Mahatma', and if anyone called me by that name, I knew I must have been mistaken for Mahatma Munshiramji, as the late Swami Shraddhanandji was then called. For there cannot be a number of Mahatmas, and I knew even when I was in South Africa that Munshiramji's great work had entitled him to that name. But Malaviyaji has a knack for detecting servants of the people, however obscure they may be.

### The Sun Radiating Heat and Light

Everyone knows that there is no greater beggar than Pandit Malaviyaji on the face of the earth. He has never begged for himself, by the grace of God he has never been in want, but he became a voluntary beggar for causes he has made his own, and God has always filled his bowl in an overflowing measure. But he has an insatiable appetite, and although he got the crore he wanted he is still asking for more. Even at this moment he whispered into my ears that he had a good donation from the Maharaja of Darbhanga, our Chairman.

It is a rare good fortune to have him still in our midst, a living example of a pure life of plain living and high thinking; but I have a fear that, though he is physically in your midst, many of you are untouched by his great example. The fault is wholly yours, not his. The Sun radiates heat and light to all on earth, but how can even the Sun help those who will shut themselves from him? But I am not here to sing Malaviyaji's praises. This platform has rung with them. He has deserved them all. I must now address a few words to you—the teachers and the students

of the Vidyapith. When I accepted Sir Radhakrishnan's invitation he had asked me to send a copy of my address to him. I told him that I had no time to write anything, I did not even know what I should be able to say. A feeling of nervousness overpowers me when I am in the midst of learned men. Ever since my return to India my lot has been cast among the poor and the downtrodden—those whom the Congress represents—and whilst in their midst I feel no sense of constraint or hesitation. In your midst I feel tongue-tied. I simply said to Sir Radhakrishnan that I should trust to the inspiration of the moment. That inspiration has come, but I do not know how you will welcome my plain speaking.

### A Painful Anomaly

As speaker after speaker spoke and left the dais, I longed for someone who would address the audience in Hindi or Urdu, or Hindustani, aye even in Sanskrit, —even in Marathi, or for that matter any of the Indian languages. But no such good luck befell me and you. Why? We are slaves and have hugged the language of those who have kept us enslaved. It has become a fashion to blame the Englishmen for all our ills. I have not hesitated to blame them for many things they have done. I have never charged them with compelling us to adopt English as the medium of expression. We devote precious years of our lives to learning the English language, our ambition being to be able to speak English as Englishmen, and our breast swells with pride when an Englishman pats us on our back for speaking flawless English. Think of the time and energy of our youth expended on learning the English language, as if it was our mother-tongue, and calculate by simple multiplication the number of years and the volume of precious energy that are lost to the nation.

And yet all this is happening in the Kashi Hindu Vishwavidyalaya which has been extolled today as the living embodiment of Indian culture. Malaviyaji did all that was necessary to draw the best possible teachers by attractive salaries, but he could not do the rest. It was not his fault; Hindi did not take the place of English. The teachers are the product of the tradition which they have inherited, and the students are content to accept what they get from them. They need not be. They go on strikes and even hunger-strikes often for trivial reasons. Why will they not insist on having their tuition in the all-India language? There are, we were told today, 250 students here from the Andhra Province. Let them go to Sir Radhakrishnan and ask for an Andhra section of the University and ask to be taught through the medium of Telugu if they will not learn the all-India language.

### Japan's Example

You know what has happened in Japan—a country which I do not regard as essentially great—but which is regarded as great in Asia in that it has successfully challenged the supremacy of the Western nations. The thousands of boys and girls in the Japanese schools and colleges receive their education not through the medium of English but through Japanese. Their script is difficult, but it is no bar to their learning it and



they have not given it up in preference to the Roman. Not that they boycott English and other European languages. But they economise their energy. Those who need to learn them do so for enriching the Japanese thought and knowledge which the West alone can give. They take care to turn into Japanese all that is worth taking from the West. That is because the mind of Japan's youth is fresh and alert. The knowledge gained thus has become national property. Our ambition does not go beyond becoming clerks in Government offices, lawyers, barristers, judges, all helplessly serving the system they would fain destroy. And we have not succeeded either in mastering the English language. I get numerous letters from English-educated people—some of them possessing the highest degrees of our universities—but they betray a woeful ignorance of the English language. The reason is simple. Malaviyaji and Radhakrishnans are rare, and the thousands cannot achieve what they have done.

### No Discipline

As I was listening to the English speeches I was amazed at the patience and innate courtesy of our people who, though they do not understand a word of what is said, do not mob us, as they well might do. If there is any doubt in your minds about this, I can demonstrate to you by a show of hands how few—even from among the students—have followed the proceedings here.

There is another thing to which I am tempted to draw your attention. I witnessed this morning a scene that I had least expected here. There was the Vasant Panchami day procession of the students who had to march past Malaviyaji's house after receiving his silent blessings. The way in which they were walking betrayed a lack of even elementary physical training. Instead of walking in step, erect and disciplined like soldiers on the march, they walked haphazardly in a desultory fashion.

### Give Hindi the Pride of Place

I cannot help saying a word about the sight that greets you as you enter the great portals of the University. Thanks to the money that Malaviyaji can get for the asking, the gate is in consonance with the splendour of the edifices here. But what did I find on the top of the gate?—the bulk of the space (three-fourths) taken up by the words BENARES HINDU UNIVERSITY in English, and the fourth given to the inscription in Hindi which is the language through which you would derive your knowledge. I wondered what need there was of the English language? Just a little thought on the part of those who were in charge of such things would have been enough to tell them that what was needed there was the name written in Devanagari and Persian scripts—which would have symbolised to the people the desire on the part of Malaviyaji's University and Sir Radhakrishnan for communal harmony. It would have been in the fitness of things too, as both Hindi and Urdu are understood in these parts and both the scripts are familiar. The fact is the years we have wasted on English have ossified our minds and stunted our memory and imagination.

Surely it is no difficult thing for a non-Hindi-speaking person to learn Hindi or Hindustani. I can undertake to teach Hindi to anyone knowing Gujarati, Bengali or Marathi in the space of three months. Even the South Indian languages—Tamil, Telugu, Malayalam, Kanarese—are full of Sanskrit words, and, if there was just a little fervour and love of the country in us, we should not hesitate to decide to write all the Sanskrit-derived languages as also the Southern group in the Devanagari script. These languages have not only a fairly common vocabulary, there is also a striking resemblance in the scripts. If our minds were not fagged, we would easily know half a dozen Indian languages. Then there is Urdu which should not be difficult to learn, if only our Urdu scholars did not make it a matter of pride to pack it with Persian and Arabic words, as the Pandits pack Hindi with Sanskrit words.

### A Distinctive Feature Suggested

One more thought I should like to leave with you. Every university is supposed to have its tradition, its distinctive feature—Oxford and Cambridge, for instance, have theirs. But I am afraid our universities are the blotting-sheets of the West. We have borrowed the superficial features of the Western universities, and flattered ourselves that we have founded living universities here. Do they reflect or respond to the needs of the masses? Now I am told that a special feature of your University is that Engineering and Technology are taught here as nowhere else. I should not consider this a distinguishing feature. Let me suggest one to you. Have you been able to attract to your University youths from Aligarh? Have you been able to identify yourselves with them? That, I think, should be your special work, the special contribution of your University. Money has come in, and more will come in if God keeps Malaviyaji in our midst for a few more years. But no amount of money will achieve the miracle I want—I mean a heart-unity between Hindus and Muslims. I would like you to go out to invite Mussalmans to come here, and not to mind if they reject your advances. You are the representatives of a great civilisation which according to Lokamanya Tilak is 10,000 years old and according to later scholars even older. The special contribution of that civilisation is to befriend the world, to turn so-called foes into friends. Our civilisation has absorbed, like the holy Ganges, many streams from outside, and it is my prayer that the Hindu University which is endeavouring to represent Hindu culture and Hindu civilisation may invite and absorb all that is best in other cultures and be a model to all of communal unity and harmony. That should be its distinctive feature. English will not help you to evolve this. It is our own ancient learning that will teach you this—our scriptures learnt and understood in the proper spirit.

One thing more and I have done. You are living in palatial hostels, but look at the little house in which Panditji lives in utter simplicity and without the least splendour. You enter his room. There is no decoration and barest furniture. You, who will be his heirs, should model your lives accordingly. Many of you are children of poor parents. Don't forget



that you have to represent the poor, and that therefore a life of ease and luxury is inconsistent with the poverty of our land. May you be all models of plain and simple living and high thinking like Malaviyaji. May God bless you with long life and the wisdom to carry out what I have said, if it has appealed to you.

On the way to Wardha, 23-1-42

## PLAIN LIVING AND HIGH THINKING

(By M. K. Gandhi)

"An ideal society is that in which every individual will be able to live a life of progressively increasing wants with a minimum output of labour." Thus writes a friend from Ahmedabad. The proposition is pleasing and is backed by plausible argument which many may accept. The writer forecast that the Viceroy was bound to refuse the Congress proposal. He does not believe in the freedom of the individual, and is therefore of opinion that it was only meet that the Viceroy should turn down the proposal. Because his forecast turned out correct he may even hold his argument to be sound and say, "I told you so." It is therefore necessary for me to take note of the letter.

The writer may not derive any satisfaction from the Viceroy's refusal. All my colleagues had foretold the result. But I wanted to go not so much in the expectation of getting acceptance as, in the event of failure, to return with added strength. Nor does the rejection of the proposal mean in any sense that the Viceroy does not believe in individual freedom. Britain has not gone that length. Europe has no doubt entered upon a new phase in denying individual liberty. If this goes, then surely all is lost, for, if the individual ceases to count, what is left of society? Individual freedom alone can make a man voluntarily surrender himself completely to the service of society. If it is wrested from him, he becomes an automaton and society is ruined. No society can possibly be built on a denial of individual freedom. It is contrary to the very nature of man. Just as a man will not grow horns or a tail, so he will not exist as man if he has no mind of his own. In reality even those who do not believe in the liberty of the individual believe in their own. Modern editions of Chenghiz Khan retain their own.

Just as the writer's ideas on individual liberty are impossible, so also is his other theory. That everyone in this world should be able to maintain as high a standard of life as possible with the least possible output of labour is just as fantastic as to expect a camel to pass through the eye of a needle. The writer's high living would appear to mean luxurious living which is an impossible proposition for any society as a whole. And when there is no limit to luxury where shall we stop? All the scriptures of the world have taught the exact opposite. Plain living and high thinking is the ideal that has been placed before us. The vast majority recognise its truth but are unable to get there because of human frailty. It is, however, perfectly possible to envisage such an existence. That the crores in India should be guaranteed a certain income is only right, and to achieve this ideal large scale machinery is not only not necessary but wholly destructive.

Man falls from the pursuit of the ideal of plain living and high thinking the moment he wants to multiply his daily wants. History gives ample proof of this. Man's happiness really lies in contentment. He who is discontented, however much he possesses, becomes a slave to his desires. And there is really no slavery equal to that of his desires. All the sages have declared from the house-tops that man can be his own worst enemy as well as his best friend. To be free or to be a slave lies in his own hands. And what is true for the individual is true for society.

Sevagram, 7-10-40 (Translated from Gujarati)

## QUESTION BOX

(By M. K. Gandhi)

### Unitary Method

Q. You seem to be advocating what you call the unitary method in the solution of many questions. Will you explain it a little more fully than you have done?

A. It is as simple as it is sure. A contract or pact is between two parties. There is also consideration passing from one to the other. Such was the Lucknow Pact between the Congress and the Muslim League. The same thing could have been accomplished by the unitary method. Only then there would have been no compromise dictated by fear and distrust. The Congress could have done, according to its notion, absolute justice, i. e. yielded the maximum consistent with the welfare of the whole nation without the expectation of any consideration from the League. In a well-regulated family the relations are governed by the unitary method. Thus a father gives to his children not as a result of a pact. He gives out of love, a sense of justice without expecting any return therefor. Not that there is none. But everything is natural, nothing is forced. Nothing is done out of fear or distrust. What is true of a well-regulated family is equally true of a well-regulated society which is but an extended family. My advice about the adoption of two scripts by Hindus and Muslims is based on the unitary method. My equal love for all communities dictates its adoption. Properly applied the method never fails. It disarms criticism and opposition. It presupposes a clean conscience and clean action. I propose to unfold in these columns the application of the method in all our communal relations. The views will be personal to me, as are all such since the Bardoli resolution. They will be addressed to Congressmen for adoption only in so far as they appeal to their reason.

### Rajaji

Q. What has come over Rajaji? You and he seem to be drifting away from each other.

A. Yes, we seem to be and yet we are not. The seeming drift is but a prelude to a closer bond and clearer understanding. His loyalty is above suspicion. He would have gladly suppressed himself, if I had not strongly encouraged him to propound his views with a view to their adoption by the public. We own allegiance to the same goddess. Our interpretations differ. If he is erring, he will retrace his steps as soon as he discovers it. And he knows that I would do likewise, if I discover mine. I feel, therefore,



absolutely safe with him, and I ask all questioners to do likewise.

### Untruth

Q. Do you know that you are reported to have said at Benares that it is sinful for any Indian ever to study or speak in English and you are charged with insincerity in that you make such liberal use of the hated language when it suits you?

A. The report is wholly untrue. But once an untruth gets a start it is most difficult to overtake. Many untruths about me have had such a start. They created a temporary sensation and got a decent burial without any effort on my part. So will this one. No untruth has ever done any harm to anyone if there was no bottom to it. I am answering the question, not to protect my reputation but to carry my point further. The charge of insincerity is itself the best refutation of the untruth. For my free use of the English language is not a thing of today. The charge should have been regarded as unworthy of belief. Let it be known that I am a lover of the English language and the English. But my love is wise and intelligent. Therefore I give both the place they deserve. Thus I do not allow the English language to displace the mother-tongue or the natural all-India language—Hindustani. Nor do I let my love of the English displace my fellow-countrymen whose interest I can in no way allow to be injured. I recognise the great importance of the English language for international intercourse. I hold its knowledge as a second language to be indispensable for specified Indians who have to represent the country's interest in the international domain. I regard the English language as an open window for peeping into Western thought and sciences. For this too I should set apart a class. Through them I would spread through the Indian languages the knowledge they have gained from the West. But I would not burden India's children and sap their youthful energy by expecting the expansion of their brains through the medium of a foreign language. I do hold it to be a sin on the part of those who are responsible for producing the unnatural condition under which we are being educated. Such a thing is unknown in any other part of the world. Being too near the scene of the wreck we are unaware of the damage the nation has suffered by it. I can see the enormity of the damage because of my daily and close contact with the dumb and suppressed millions.

### Another Untruth

Q. You are reported by the Press to have approvingly referred to the progress made by the Japanese in adopting Western methods with a thoroughness hitherto unknown in the East. Is not this a contradiction of all you have written about the West? Or is there one law for India and another for Japan?

A. This is another untruth like the one about the English Language. The reader will find out for himself from Mahadev Desai's report of my Benares speech as to what I actually said about the Japanese. The burden of my speech was the undesirability of making English the medium of instruction and all-India

speech. I said in this connection that, however harmful in my opinion the Japanese adaptation of the West was, the rapid progress was due to the restriction of the learning of the Western mode to a select few and using them for transmission of the new knowledge among the Japanese through their own mother-tongue. Surely it is easy enough to understand that the Japanese could never have adapted themselves to the new mode, if they had had to do so through a foreign medium.

Sevagram, 27-1-42

### 'Other Organisations'

Q. What do you mean by associating with other volunteer organisations working for similar ends? Do you include communal organisations?

A. I do. Unfortunately we have very few other non-communal organisations. 'Similar ends' naturally means constructive ends, using 'constructive' in the widest sense of the term. Thus you will tender your help to a Muslim League, or Hindu Sabha, volunteer in putting out fire or tending the wounded. You will also invite their help in such matters.

On the way to Kashi, 20-1-42

### 'Constructive Programme'

While I was writing the pamphlet on the thirteenfold, now fourteenfold, constructive programme, Rajendra Babu was doing likewise in his own way. His pamphlet has now been published by the Navajivan Press, Ahmedabad, at 4 annas (postage 1 anna extra). It may be called a companion to mine. The reader will find much of interest and instruction in Rajendra Babu's treatise. It gives details which I have omitted. No worker should be without either.

Sevagram, 27-1-42

M. K. G.

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Manager

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# HARIJAN

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[ TWO ANNAS

## AN UNEXPECTED EXPERIENCE

### Chokhamela

When Gandhiji consented to address the boys in the Chokhamela Boarding House at Nagpur on the occasion of the Silver Jubilee of the House he had no idea of the trouble he was inviting on himself. Chokhamela was one of the Harijan saints in Maharashtra whose name is still revered, who kept the torch of true religion and right living and devotion to God burning when there was darkness in the land, and who has been honourably mentioned by the late Mahadev Govind Ranade in his *Rise of the Maratha Power*. He was a Mahar, but as he revealed the light of self-realisation in his life he was canonised by the people and is revered by Brahmins and non-Brahmins alike. To associate an institution of Harijan boys with his name is in the fitness of things. When the boys of the Boarding House came to invite Gandhiji to address them he had not the slightest notion that, although the boys had unanimously invited him, one of the members of the Committee was opposed to the proposal. Much against his will he agreed to give a few minutes on his way back from Benares by breaking journey at Nagpur.

### What Awaited Him?

But what awaited him? When he was told that a few Mahar youths were going to stage a black flag demonstration he simply smiled and said, 'I do not mind it.' As our car approached the quarter, a number of youths rushed towards the car shouting, 'Gandhi go back, Gandhi boycott.' Among them was no boy from the hostel, but only rowdies from the neighbourhood. In the compound was a large meeting of the hostel boys, and thousands of men and women from the city who had come for the celebration. Pandit Ravishanker Shukla, who was presiding over the function, was distributing the prizes as we went in. Within a minute or two he finished the function and Gandhiji began to address the gathering. There was noise. In a moment a youth sprang to his feet and said: "This is not the ordinary noise. We are protesting against your coming." Gandhiji invited him to come to the rostrum and say what he wanted to say. He had nothing more to say than this: "We do not want you here. Those who invited you here had no right to do so." "But why don't you want me here?" asked Gandhiji of him. "Because you have done nothing for the Harijans." "That's all? Have you anything more to say?" "Nothing more," he said, and after a while disappeared. No sooner than Gandhiji had uttered a few sentences a shower of stones came upon the audience from the rowdies, some of whom had now got upon the walls of the compound. They

were, it seems, bent on breaking the meeting. They continued to pelt stones from outside in great fury. Two little children and a young man were hurt and two of them began to bleed profusely. Pandit Ravishanker Shukla and Gandhiji asked the audience to be quiet and to keep sitting no matter what happened. Two boys from the hostel were badly injured and they had to be removed to the hospital. The audience showed exemplary behaviour and listened to Gandhiji, whose address, which would otherwise have been finished in five minutes with a few words of blessings and advice to the boys, took a different turn. It was for him a rich experience and an occasion for further self-introspection and a fresh test of ahimsa, and direction to those who would wipe out the blot on Hinduism with non-violent means.

### A Call to Self-purification

This is what he said in Hindustani:

"I am told by the friend who raised the voice of protest that those who invited me here had no right to do so. The fact is that it was the students of the Chokhamela Boarding House who came to Wardha to invite me. I had begged to be excused, but Shri Chaturbhuj Jasani intervened and told me that, if the work that carried me to Benares was after my heart, this might be even dearer inasmuch as it was the Silver Jubilee of an institution that had served Harijan boys. And since the abolition of untouchability is my life's work and I even toured the country for the same cause for one whole year, I agreed.

"But assuming that those who invited me had no right to do so, it was surely not my fault. These protests do not displease me. The Harijans have suffered all these centuries at the hands of the Savarna Hindus as from no one else, and as I am one of the latter I am participant in their sin. And I am never accustomed to weigh my sins in golden scales. I can atone for them only if I made a mountain of a molehill. The reason is simple. Man can never see his faults in proper perspective, and, if he really did so, he would scarcely survive them. The remedy is, therefore, to magnify one's shortcomings. And the sin of untouchability is so heinous that it is impossible to exaggerate it. Those who suffer from it are naturally liable to be angry with those who are trying to wipe it out. They may well say to me: 'Who are you to remove untouchability? We shall wipe it out with our own strength.' Now the way of demonstrating one's strength is of two kinds: one is the eternal, God-given way of self-purification, where man takes the blame upon himself of all the wrongs he is suffering from; the other is the way of retaliation, the Mosaic law of tooth for a tooth and nail for a nail.



The latter is quite natural in that we have descended from the state of brutes, and some of their qualities may have been exaggerated in us. It is Hitler's way. Because a Jew or many Jews may have wronged the Germans he thinks it is his duty to exterminate the whole Jewish race. To those Harijans who would destroy Caste Hindus and Hinduism I would say that the Hindus deserve it. But the Caste Hindus too owe a duty to themselves and their religion. Let them receive lathis and stones from Harijans, but they should continue to serve them.

"What, however, is to be done, if they will not receive our service? (Shower of stones at this stage, and a slight interruption due to the stones having injured a few from the audience.)

"Let the stones rain on us, we have to keep quiet and to hold this meeting. I had promised to stay here for ten minutes, but I am in no hurry to go now. Send word to the demonstrators that, if they will have a separate meeting, I am prepared to stay and address that meeting and answer the charges they may have to make against me. And what after all is my crime? That I am labouring for them? That I am endeavouring to put a little money into their pockets? That I am telling the Sanatanists day in and day out that they have to purge themselves of their sin? And why rain stones on the innocent audience?

"They wanted to hurt me, but what have they succeeded in doing? They have hurt a few innocent people including two children in the audience. If they wanted to punish me or those who invited me, they should have gone directly for us. Let me tell them that this hooliganism is the opposite of bravery, humanity, civility. Let me tell them they are going about the wrong way. They are injuring their own cause.

"Now a word to those assembled here. Though this is a boarding house, those who receive their board and lodging here are all students. I hope your stay here will be fruitful and give you what is real education. Let today's demonstration be a lesson to you. It should make you neither angry nor afraid, for anger and fear are twin sins. Let the demonstration awake you to your sense of duty and burn the eternal truth indelibly on your minds that only Truth quenches untruth, Love quenches anger, self-suffering quenches violence. This eternal rule is a rule not for saints only but for all. Those who observe it may be few but they are the salt of the earth, it is they who keep the society together, not those who sin against light and truth.

"I ask you not only *not* to punish the demonstrators but not even to have the wish. They are not wicked. It is through them that God works to open our eyes to the wickedness within us. Let, therefore, today's demonstration purify you, as I know it will purify me. True *vidya* (knowledge) is the art of self-purification. Now I want you to stay here until the storm ceases, lest your going out just now should infuriate them. Let us wait until their fury ceases, and then quietly go back to our homes. In the meanwhile let us all recite *Ramdhun* together, let someone give us a hymn, and we shall disperse only when we are told that everything is quiet outside."

## Krishnanand Sokhta

Soon there was demand from the audience for Shri Krishnanand Sokhta who appeared on the rostrum and delivered in a heart-stirring way in impromptu verses the message of truth and ahimsa, and asked the audience to join him in reciting Ramanam. This went on for a good few minutes. It heightened the atmosphere of peace and self-purification that Gandhiji had created, and the meeting peacefully dispersed thereafter. The Silver Jubilee had been celebrated in a manner unexpected by the boys, but it has left them a lesson which some at least will treasure all their lives.

Sevagram, 25-1-42

M. D.

## BENARES NOTES

### I

### A Pilgrimage

The visit to Benares is made doubly sacred by the memories of our ancient spiritual heritage that Benares must wake up in the mind of every Indian and by the *darshan* of Bharatbhushan Pandit Malaviyaji whose life has been a continuous dedication. It is that burning love for the country that is the indissoluble bond of union between Malaviyaji and Gandhiji.

Few people have been able to see their dreams fulfilled in a measure that Malaviyaji has done. For the fulfilment of his dream he laid under tribute each and every one who professed a love for India's ancient culture. The Hindu Rajas and Maharajas and rich men came under his spell. The vision of the University was vouchsafed to him as he sat one day in contemplation, after a bath in holy Ganges, and the story goes that he shared the vision with his father, who parted with a hard-earned sum of Rs. one hundred and one and along with it gave also the blessing that that amount may be multiplied to a crore and one. The blessing was fulfilled, and for five and twenty years Malaviyaji has seen rise before his eyes edifice after edifice, and thousands of youths of the land come and grow under his benign influence. The youths have in turn imparted to him their youth and energy, and old age in one like him has become an object of pride and veneration.

No wonder the Silver Jubilee Convocation, to which flocked thousands from far and near, became a unique festival of thanksgiving, and Dr. Radhakrishnan, on whom Panditji's mantle has fitly fallen, voiced the feelings of all when in a wonderful paean of praise he said that sages like him render holy places real *tirthas* — places of pilgrimage — तीर्थकुर्वन्ति तीर्थानि, and wished him life for a hundred autumns.

### A Dream Unfulfilled

And yet to him the dream is far from fulfilment. A book of memoirs published recently by Pandit Ram Naresh Tripathi — तीस दिन — मालवीजीके साथ (Thirty Days with Malaviyaji) — gives us a glimpse of his days and dreams. Even now he says to his doctor: "I would still like to make a tour of India. There is much yet to be done. I want a magnificent hall of music where the boys may learn music, so that they may go about through life with devotional music inspiring them. I want to see here a Nalanda where ten thousand



students may live and study together in order to revive our ancient glories." One day he goes out in fair moonlight and exclaims: "What a glorious sight! There is enough space here for our sages to come and build their ashrams and be a perpetual source of light and life to our youths. The object of the Vishwavidyalaya will be fulfilled only when we have a Vasishta, an Atri, a Gautama, an Angiras, each with his ashram to impart his unique message." Again: "I want some of our pandits to do research regarding the works of Tulsidas and other saints. I want absolutely authentic editions of their works." Again: "I want to name some of our roads here after Harishchandra, Yudhishtira, Hanuman, Ashoka, Pratap." Also: "No, no, have as many scholarships here as possible for the poor. Who knows there may be many an unknown Shivaji, Pratap, Harishchandra, Dhruva among them?" One more: "I have deliberately arranged a weekly Gita class here, so that a regular reading of our unique book may be an inspiration to them."

### The Voice of the Sentinel

Gandhiji was there as a pilgrim no less than others. But he had the mission of a sentinel to fulfil. He was no good for a convocation address. It was not in his line. But lest our festivities should make us lose sight of the fact that those who are to be the heirs of the venerable sage have to work together to bring to a complete fulfilment his dream, he took upon himself the task of sounding a note of warning.

Twentyfive years ago he had performed a similar task. The then Maharaja of Darbhanga, who welcomed him as one "who though born in luxury and affluence had voluntarily chosen to identify himself with the poor", did not know he would prove true to the description. But Malaviyaji knew. He had taken him into his secrets. Gandhiji knew what a Herculean task it had been for Malaviyaji to secure a charter for the University, and also what was Malaviyaji's unfulfilled ambition. Malaviyaji had met Sir Harcourt Butler, who was then a Member of the Viceroy's Executive Council, in charge of education, and told him that education in the University would be imparted through Hindi. But Sir Harcourt knew his business better. He said: "That will not do. You had in that case better go on your own and do without Government's help and support. So long as you conduct your affairs in English we are safe, we know where you are and what you mean; but when you use your own language we are completely at sea." Malaviyaji, who has often agreed with his adversary rather too quickly, had promised not to press the idea. But not so Gandhiji. Malaviyaji knew what Gandhiji would say on the occasion, in fact Gandhiji had warned him beforehand. But Malaviyaji would not take a refusal. He compelled him to speak in English, but also asked him to say whatever he wanted to say. And so he had let himself go. Even today that speech reads as though it was delivered yesterday. It was an impromptu speech as on the present occasion, and Gandhiji perhaps does not recall today the exact words he said. But they have the same authentic ring, and the whole was couched

almost in the same language! "It is a matter of deep humiliation and shame for us that I am compelled this evening, under the shadow of this great college in this sacred city to address my countrymen in a language that is foreign to me." That is how he began, and hoped that "this University will see to it that youths who come to it will receive their instruction through the vernaculars. . . . . If we were receiving our education today through our vernaculars, what should we be today? We should have today a free India, we should have our educated men not as if they were foreigners in their own land, but speaking to the heart of the nation; they would be working among the poorest of the poor, and whatever they would have gained during the past fifty years would be a heritage to the nation." He then deplored the thousands of years that were lost to our nation as a result of the terrible handicap under which our youths had to labour, and then took the liberty of "thinking audibly" before them. He turned his eyes about him, and as he did so he sighed at the sight of the gorgeous show of jewellery which "made a splendid feast for the eyes", but which compelled him to say to the bedecked ones: "There is no salvation for India unless you strip yourselves of this jewellery and hold it in trust for your countrymen in India."

I will not summarise the whole of that speech which the curious can read even today with profit. Some of the things that followed, which were really meant to deprecate the cult of the bomb, jarred on an un-understanding audience then, so much so that most of the big people left the meeting in a body. The times are changed. Harder things than he said that day have been said by him, and when on the evening of the 21st January he began to address the audience in Hindustani no one felt that anything unexpected was happening. But the University has still got to be the Vishwavidyalaya of Malaviyaji's and Gandhiji's dream. And it did one's soul good to see the eighty year old Malaviyaji deliver in distinct and chaste Hindi a speech that was heard by the vast concourse that had gathered there, corroborating every one of the sentiments uttered by Gandhiji. "The Sun that radiates light and warmth is there," as Gandhiji said, "we have but to receive and enjoy that light and warmth." His blessing is there given in a Sanskrit verse of his own composition:

सत्येन ब्रह्मचर्येण व्यायामेन विद्यया ।

देशभक्त्याऽऽत्मत्यागेन समानार्हः सदा भव ॥

(May thou be deserving of honour by means of truth, brahmacharya, healthy body, learning, love of thy land, and self-sacrifice.)

Sevagram, 28-1-42

M. D.

(To be continued)

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# HARIJAN

Feb. 1

1942

## A DEPLORABLE INCIDENT

( By M. K. Gandhi )

As Sardar Vallabhbhai was leaving Sevagram the other day he told me of a dacoity in a home in Kheda District. Armed dacoits entered the house, belaboured the inmates, and escaped with the loot. The story was heart-rending. What should I do under similar circumstances, I thought to myself. What should Congressmen do in the circumstances was the next thought; and since then the train of thought arising from the dacoity has taken possession of me. The Congress has been working continuously since 1920 under the policy of non-violence. The province of Gujarat has also had the advantage of a leader of the Sardar's calibre. And yet daring dacoities can take place. How far then can Congress influence be said to have penetrated? People imagine that, if the British Government were to cease to function today, it would be the non-violent Congressmen who would automatically take over. But it is not so. I have been working to this end for the last twenty years, but my dream has not materialised. For the Congress has not had a living faith in the very means which it adopted in 1920. Therefore the non-violence of the Congress has really been non-violence of the weak. But Governments can only be run by the strong. And a non-violent Government can only be run by those who believe that non-violence is the mightiest force on earth. If we had had this strength, there would be no Hindu-Muslim riots, there would be no robbers or dacoits. Some might say that for such strength you need either a Jesus or a Buddha. But this is not so. Neither Jesus nor Buddha tried non-violence in the political sphere, or it would be truer to say that the present-day type of politics did not exist in their day. The Congress experiment is, therefore, a new one. The tragedy is that Congressmen have not tried it with full faith, full understanding and sincerity. If they had had these three essential qualities, the Congress would today have been far taller than it is. But I may not cry over spilt milk. I refer to the past only in order to guide us in the present. Even if we wake up now, the game is ours; if we do not, we shall surely lose. Power invariably elects to go into the hands of the strong. That strength may be physical or of the heart, or, if we do not fight shy of the word, of the spirit. Strength of the heart connotes soul force. If today we decide that we should try to get power by force of arms, we shall have to undo all the work of twenty years among the masses. We shall have to spend a considerable time in giving people a contrary training. We cannot afford to give the required time at this critical juncture. It is certain that today whoever has any strength of any kind will use it for seizing power. It is my firm conviction that, if Congressmen are to get power, it should only be through non-violence or soul force.

We have neither time nor material to do new work even in this line. When we have so far employed non-violence as a weapon of the weak, how can we all of a sudden expect to convert it into a weapon of the strong? But in spite of this I feel that at the present moment this experiment alone is feasible and proper for us. There is no risk involved in it. Even failure in it takes the form of success because, even if the people are not able to go the whole length in the experiment, they cannot possibly be led into a ditch. By following the way of physical force they may not only be proved cowards, but in attempting to follow an untrodden path thousands may also be destroyed.

It is then the duty of Congressmen to seek out dacoits and robbers. They should try to understand and convert them. Such workers cannot be had for the asking; but Congressmen should know that this work is just as important as it is fraught with risk, and a certain number of them have to devote themselves to it.

The second thing requisite is that we should prepare such workers as would, under difficult circumstances, stand up to dacoits and, whilst trying to check or convert them from their evil ways, be prepared to suffer hurt or even death. Perhaps few workers will be forthcoming for this task too, but peace brigades throughout the country are a definite necessity. Or else in times of chaos Congressmen will lose all the reputation they have so far gained.

Thirdly, the rich should ponder well as to what is their duty today. They who employ mercenaries to guard their wealth may find those very guardians turning on them. The monied classes have got to learn how to fight either with arms or with the weapon of non-violence. For those who wish to follow the latter way the best and most effective *mantram* is: तेन त्यक्तेन भुञ्जीथाः (Enjoy thy wealth by renouncing it). Expanded it means: "Earn your crores by all means. But understand that your wealth is not yours; it belongs to the people. Take what you require for your legitimate needs, and use the remainder for society." This truth has hitherto not been acted upon; but, if the monied classes do not even act on it in these times of stress, they will remain the slaves of their riches and passions and consequently of those who overpower them.

But I have visions that the end of this war will mean also the end of the rule of capital. I see coming the day of the rule of the poor, whether that rule be through force of arms or of non-violence. Let it be remembered that physical force is transitory even as the body is transitory. But the power of the spirit is permanent, even as the spirit is everlasting.

Sevagram, 25-1-42

( From *Harijanbandhu* )

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## HINDUSTANI

(By M. K. Gandhi)

"(a) The proceedings of the Congress, the A. I. C. C. and the Working Committee shall ordinarily be conducted in Hindustani. The English Language or any Provincial Language may be used, if the speaker is unable to speak in Hindustani or whenever permitted by the President.

(b) The proceedings of the Provincial Congress Committee shall ordinarily be conducted in the language of the Province concerned. Hindustani may also be used."

— Article 25 of the Congress Constitution

The Congress has not carried out this resolution to any appreciable extent. It is a sad reflection. The fault is Congressmen's. They will not take the trouble of learning Hindustani. Their effort for learning languages is evidently exhausted with the performance of the impossible task of acquiring a knowledge of the English language equal to a learned Englishman's. The result is tragic. It has meant impoverishment of the provincial languages and displacement of the all-India language described by the Congress as Hindustani. It has also meant a break between the millions and the English-educated few who happen to be the natural leaders for the simple reason that they are the only educated class. There is no education worth the name apart from the schools established by the Government. The Congress has to perform the Herculean task of displacing the English language with Hindustani. With the passing of the resolution it should have created a bureau for fulfilling the purpose as it might do even now. But if it does not, individual Congressmen and those who are interested in evolving an all-India language should do so.

But what is Hindustani? There is no such language apart from Urdu and Hindi. Urdu has sometimes been called Hindustani. Did the Congress mean Urdu in the article quoted? Did it exclude the more extensively known Hindi? Such a meaning would be absurd. It evidently meant, and could only mean, a scientific blend of Hindi and Urdu. There is no such written blend extant. But it is the common speech of the unlettered millions of Hindus and Muslims living in Northern India. Not being written, it is imperfect, and the written language has taken two different turns tending to widen the difference by each running away from the other. Therefore the word Hindustani means Hindi and Urdu. Therefore also Hindi can call itself Hindustani, if it does not exclude Urdu but tries to assimilate Urdu as much as is scientifically possible without damaging the natural structure and music of the original. Urdu can do likewise. There is no separate Hindustani body attempting to blend the two streams which today threaten to run away from each other.

The noble task can be performed by the Hindi Sahitya Sammelan and Anjuman-e-taraqqi-e-Urdu. I have been connected with the former since 1917 when I was invited to preside at its session of that year. I acquainted the audience with my views on the all-India medium. When I presided again at its session in 1935, I was able to persuade the Sammelan to

define Hindi as the language spoken by Hindus and Muslims of the North of India and written either in Devanagari or Persian script. The natural consequence should have been for the members of the Sammelan to expand their knowledge of Hindi by living up to the definition and producing literature that could be read by both Hindus and Muslims. This should have meant the members learning the Persian script. They seem to have denied themselves this proud privilege. But better late than never. Will they bestir themselves now? They need not wait for the Anjuman to respond. It will be a great thing, if the Anjuman does. Each Association can, if it will work in harmony with the other. But I have suggested unitary action independent of the other party. That Association which will adopt my plan will enrich the language it stands for, and will ultimately be responsible for producing a blend which will serve the whole nation.

It is unfortunate that the Hindi-Urdu question has assumed a communal shape. It is possible for either party to undo the mischief by recognising the other and incorporating the acceptable part in a generous spirit. A language that borrows unstintingly from the others without harming its special characteristic will be enriched, even as the English language has become enriched by free borrowings.

On the way to Wardha, 23-1-42

## WORKING COMMITTEE'S RESOLUTIONS

### 1. Present Situation

[The Working Committee passed the following resolutions at its recent sittings at Bardoli.]

Fourteen months have elapsed since the Working Committee held their last meeting and during this period the world has fallen ever deeper into the abyss of war and rushed headlong towards self-destruction. The members of the Committee have met again on their release from prison and given earnest thought to all the national and international developments during this fateful period of human history. The burden of guiding the Congress and the nation at this critical stage when old problems assume a new significance and war approaches the frontiers of India bringing new problems in its train, is a heavy one which the Committee can only shoulder worthily with the full co-operation of the people of India. The Committee have endeavoured to keep in view the principles and objectives for which the Congress has stood during these past many years and considered them in the larger context of world conditions and world freedom. The Committee are convinced that full freedom for the people of India is essential even, and more especially, in the present state of world turmoil, not only for India's sake but for the sake of the world. The Committee also hold that real peace and freedom can only be established and endure on the basis of world co-operation between free nations.

The Committee gave full expression to their attitude towards the War in their statement issued on September 14, 1939, wherein they condemned Nazi and Fascist aggression and expressed their willingness to help the cause of freedom and democracy, provided the objectives of the war were clearly stated and acted



upon, in so far as was possible, in the present. If freedom and democracy were those objectives, then they must necessarily include the ending of imperialism and the recognition of the independence of India. Subsequent pronouncements made on behalf of the British Government and their reactionary and oppressive policy made it clear that this Government was determined to maintain and intensify its imperialist hold and exploitation of the Indian people. British policy was one of deliberate insult to Indian nationalism, of a perpetuation of unrestrained authoritarianism, and the encouragement of disruptive and reactionary elements. Not only has every offer made by the Congress for an honourable compromise been rejected, but public opinion voiced by organisations regarded as moderate has also been flouted.

The Congress was, therefore, compelled, in order to defend the honour and the elementary rights of the Indian people and the integrity of the nationalist movement, to request Gandhiji to guide the Congress in the action that should be taken. Mahatma Gandhi desirous of avoiding embarrassment to his opponent as far as possible, especially during the perils and dangers of war, limited the satyagraha movement which he started to selected individuals who conformed to certain tests he had laid down. That satyagraha has now proceeded for over fourteen months and about twentyfive thousand Congressmen have suffered imprisonment, while many thousands of others who offered satyagraha in the Frontier Province and elsewhere were not arrested. The Committee desire to express their respectful appreciation of Gandhiji's leadership and of the response of the nation to it, and are of opinion that this has strengthened the people.

Throughout this period the attitude of the British Government has been hostile to Indian freedom and it has functioned in India as a completely authoritarian government, insulting the deeply cherished convictions and feelings of the people. Neither the professions of freedom and democracy, nor the perils and catastrophes that have come in the wake of war, have affected this attitude and policy, and such changes as have taken place have been for the worse.

The recent release of a number of political prisoners has no significance or importance, and the circumstances attending it, and official pronouncements made, make it clear that it is not connected with any change of policy. Large numbers of detenus, who are kept in prison under the Defence of India Act without trial, and whose only offence seems to be that they are ardent patriots impatient of foreign rule and determined to achieve the independence of the country, still remain in prison. Recent arrests of prominent persons and their treatment in prison also indicate that the old policy is being pursued as before.

While there has been no change in Britain's policy towards India, the Working Committee must nevertheless take into full consideration the new world situation that has arisen by the development of the war into a world conflict and its approach to India. The sympathies of the Congress must inevitably lie with the peoples who are the subject of aggression and who are fighting for their freedom. But only a free and independent India can be in a position to

undertake the defence of the country on a national basis and be of help in the furtherance of the larger causes that are emerging from the storm of war. The whole background in India is one of hostility and of distrust of the British Government and not even the most far-reaching promises can alter this background, nor can a subject India offer voluntary or willing help to an arrogant imperialism which is indistinguishable from fascist authoritarianism.

The Committee is, therefore, of opinion that the resolution of the A. I. C. C. passed in Bombay on September 16, 1940, holds today and defines Congress policy still.

## 2. Gandhiji Absolved

The Working Committee have received the following letter from Gandhiji and recognise the validity of the point he has raised and therefore relieve him of the responsibility laid upon him by the Bombay resolution referred to by Gandhiji. But the Committee assure him that the policy of non-violence adopted under his guidance for the attainment of Swaraj and which has proved so successful in leading to mass awakening and otherwise will be adhered to by the Congress. The Working Committee further assure him that it would like to extend its scope as far as possible even in free India. The Committee hope that Congressmen will render him full assistance in the prosecution of his mission, including the offering of civil disobedience.

*Bardoli,*  
30-12-1941

Dear Maulana Saheb,

In the course of discussion in the Working Committee, I discovered that I had committed a grave error in the interpretation of the Bombay resolution. I had interpreted it to mean that the Congress was to refuse participation in the present or all war on the ground principally of non-violence. I found to my astonishment that most members differed from my interpretation and held that the opposition need not be on the ground of non-violence. On re-reading the Bombay resolution I found that the differing members were right and that I had read into it a meaning which its letter could not bear. The discovery of the error makes it impossible for me to lead the Congress in the struggle for resistance to war effort on grounds in which non-violence was not indispensable. I could not, for instance, identify myself with opposition to war effort on the ground of ill-will against Great Britain. The resolution contemplated material association with Britain in the war effort as a price for guaranteed independence of India. If such was my view and I believed in the use of violence for gaining independence and yet refused participation in the effort as the price of that independence, I would consider myself guilty of unpatriotic conduct. It is my certain belief that only non-violence can save India and the world from self-extinction. Such being the case, I must continue my mission whether I am alone or assisted by an organisation or individuals. You will, therefore, please relieve me of the responsibility laid upon me by the Bombay resolution. I must continue civil disobedience for free speech against all war



with such Congressmen and others whom I select and who believe in the non-violence I have contemplated and are willing to conform to prescribed conditions.

I will not, at this critical period, select for civil disobedience those whose services are required to steady and help the people in their respective localities.

Yours sincerely  
M. K. Gandhi

## THE MONTH IN BARDOLI

### II

#### With Harijan Sevak

It was impossible for Gandhiji to respond to the calls of various workers in Gujarat to visit their centres. The call from Ahmedabad was almost irresistible. But the Sardar had to take the odium of being ruthlessly impartial, and so every one of them came to Bardoli. Among these were Harijan sevak who had met in Sabarmati under the Presidentship of Thakkar Bapa. They came with questions ready framed and thus made Gandhiji's work easy.

The first was the question about the wells: "Should we seek the co-operation of Harijans, and, if so, to what extent?" "Co-operation," said Gandhiji, "is necessary, but we must not take the Harijans in a body and invade the Savarna quarters. We should visit the wells, ascertain the classes of people using them, and reason with these to let the Harijans use them. Regarding local board wells the help of officials may be freely sought, and such Harijans may be asked to go and use the wells as may be prepared to stand ill-treatment. But the brunt should be borne by the sevak, care being taken to stand between the Harijans and those who would threaten to molest or belabour them. The Harijans should be invariably asked to use clean vessels and observe all the ordinary rules of cleanliness. We can also dig wells for Harijans and invite the Savarnas to use them. It is likely that the Harijans may be boycotted, but we should see that they get employment elsewhere. The Harijans have to be taught to learn to assert themselves firmly and non-violently, and the Savarnas may be gently reminded that injustice cannot last for ever. These are broad principles, but everyone has to take measures suited to the circumstances in each case."

Q. "Can't we insist on the admission of Harijan boys to hostels where *all* non-Harijan Hindu boys are admitted?"

A. "Of course, but care should be taken to see that the hostel is not exclusively for a particular community or section of Hindus. Where all sections are admitted and only the Harijans are excluded, the workers should strain every nerve to get the Harijans admitted."

"When I said that removal of untouchability did not include the removal of restrictions on interdining and intermarriage, I had the general Hindu public in mind, not the Congress workers or Congressmen. These have to abolish untouchability from every part of their life."

The next question was about the temptations given by Missionaries in the shape of books, school

fees, etc., with a view to the boys' ultimate conversion. How was one to deal with them? "The missionaries have of course the right to preach the gospel of Christ and to invite non-Christians to embrace Christianity. But every attempt to press material benefits or attractions in the aid of conversion should be freely exposed, and the Harijans should be educated to resist these temptations."

Q. "What are the qualifications that a Harijan sevak should have in order to make his work felt?"

A. "Such a question is rather late in the day. But I shall try to answer it again. It is a misfortune that politics have been mixed up with anti-untouchability work, which is essentially one of self-purification, justice, humanity. Long before I took to politics I felt that abolition of untouchability and Hindu-Muslim unity were essential for national well-being. In order to prevent the vivisection of Hinduism I had to fight it with my life, and the question did receive a political complexion, but in essence it is a purely religious and moral question. Every sevak must be fired with a passion to purify Hinduism, and must be ready to lay down his life in the attempt. Such a sevak will be ready to sacrifice his all—family connections, social advantages, and life itself—in order to wipe out the blot on Hinduism. The work should be as one of life's essential functions, e.g. offering one's prayers, ablutions, etc. not carrying emolument or reward. If the worker is fired with this passion, the way will be clear before him. Thus a worker would rather starve than allow the Harijans to be starved, would hesitate to use amenities which are denied to the Harijans and feel increasing identification with them every day. All this work is to be done without regard to the political results. Assuming for a moment that Swaraj does not come as a result of the abolition of untouchability, the work has to be done in order to keep Hinduism pure and alive. I know that with some of the Congressmen the work has only a political meaning, but it is wrong. If they seek justice from an alien Government, they must first do justice to their own kith and kin. That is the fundamental maxim of equity—he who seeks equity must do equity."

"There is, I know, a section who says that political freedom must be won first and social reform would follow later. It is a wrong idea, and certainly inconsistent with one who would win Swaraj by non-violent means. But the Harijan worker has to educate both the orthodox and exclusively political-minded people. Let him not judge others, but by selfless self-effacing service set an example to them."

#### With Khadi Workers

Sardar Vallabhbhai has created a khadi organisation in Gujarat in order to intensify khadi production, and he has enlisted for this work a number of khadi workers, and he collects the necessary funds also. These workers too came for guidance and advice.

"We are producing 2 lakhs of rupees worth of khadi, but the demand exceeds 12 lakhs," they said. "How are we to meet it? We have not enough weavers and workers, and there is the question of funds too."



"Let me take up the last question first," said Gandhiji. "It is my firm conviction which has grown upon me with the years that, if there are workers, no work suffers for want of funds. But the real question is of the capacity to produce. Supposing someone gave you one crore of rupees, I know you cannot produce ten crore rupees worth of khadi. The reason is lack of workers, lack of efficiency, and lack of faith. It is good that there is a growing demand for khadi—though 12 lakhs of rupees worth of khadi is nothing extraordinary where 8 crores of rupees worth of khadi could be used. But the increased sales mean that the liking for khadi is also on the increase. We should contact these consumers and persuade them to spin. And here comes in the *Dhanush Takli*. You may know that I can spin on the ordinary wheel better, but I have made a point of using only the *Dhanush Takli*, and I am now almost an expert in it. The reason is that, whereas Laxmidasbhai cannot execute an order for 25 lakhs of wheels, the people can themselves make as many *Dhanush Taklis*. It is so easy to make, so cheap, takes very little material and practically no technical skill. It is a wrong policy to manufacture wheels in Sabarmati in order to export them to the Punjab or South India. They should be made locally everywhere, and for that purpose the *Dhanush Takli* is the thing. Universalisation of this will increase production by leaps and bounds.

"You have to catch the increasing love of spinning by the forelock. In none of our previous campaigns was spinning done on such a large scale as during the last campaign. The figures for Sabarmati Jail were good, but the figures for Agra and Bareilly were also good. Badshah Khan has been able to popularise spinning as he had never been before. We have, therefore, to take this tide at the flood and bring expert knowledge to bear on the love for spinning that is growing.

"We have to go from house to house and enlist willing spinners ready to contribute their yarn.

"I take it that all khadi workers are believers in the attainment of Swaraj by non-violent means. Yours then should be the largest contribution to constructive work.

"Some of you have to be weavers too. There are enough hand-loom weavers in India to produce all the cloth we need. We have to persuade them to take to weaving hand-spun yarn and also to get their womenfolk and children to produce yarn in their homes."

#### A Record Spinner

Gandhiji has referred to the record spinning in jails by the satyagrahis. Even now he gets letters from satyagrahis still in jail to say that even in the Punjab some satyagrahis, who came in with an initial aversion to spinning, ended by becoming regular spinners. But all records were broken by Shri Ashabhai of Ras who never missed a day's spinning during the 9 months and 11 days of his imprisonment. He is an agriculturist. He might have kept all his yarn for home consumption, but he brought it to Bardoli and laid it at Gandhiji's feet to be used as he liked. Here are figures of his spinning:

9 months 11 days.

1,237 hanks of 840 yards each, i. e. 10,39,080 yards, i. e. over 3,700 yards per day. Weight 59 lbs.	
668 hanks of 24 counts	Rs. 36-4-0 spinning wage
263 " 20 "	Rs. 14-7-0 "
306 " 18 "	Rs. 16-0-6 "
	Rs. 66-11-6

This will yield 280 square yards of khadi worth Rs. 175. Shri Ashabhai kept excellent health, attended to his daily needs of washing etc., and did some amount of reading also.

Sevagram, 19-1-42

M. D.

#### TO GUJARATIS

(By M. K. Gandhi)

You have sacrificed a great deal in the cause of Swaraj. But it is not enough. You can contribute still more in the form of money, labour, and increasingly intelligent and fresh minds.

Is it not sad that Rs. 2 lakhs worth of khadi only is being produced in Gujarat whereas Rs. 12 lakhs worth is wanted? It may be that there is not so much poverty in Gujarat as in the other provinces. But that does not mean that Gujaratis cannot, if they wish, produce all the khadi they need. Reckoning the population of Gujarat at 1 crore, the people would need at least 3 crores worth of cloth. You should produce at least this quantity, i. e. 15 crore yards.

The time is fast approaching when we shall not be able to get mill cloth. There is scarcity even today, and what if the mills are bombed, what if they are used as munition factories? Either each one of us, young and old, rich and poor, men and women, has to spin and provide for his own clothing or else go naked. There is not the least exaggeration in this. In the warring countries people are rationed for food and clothing, and as the war is prolonged even the necessities of life are being used up and munitions are produced only to end in smoke. The war is thus working double destruction.

We have been willynilly dragged into the vortex. But we are not yet so hard put to it as the people in the warring countries. If, however, we sit with folded hands until the trouble comes upon us, we shall be found to have been fools. We must be wise and adopt the necessary measures in time.

It is my request then to those Gujaratis whose ear I can reach that they should give as much money and as much yarn as they can to the Mahagujarat Khadi Mandal. Receiving centres should be opened where necessary so as to save people the cost of posting yarn. The master-key to producing the requisite khadi lies in the wheel plying in every home. If good yarn is spun, weavers will be available, though I have already advised that we should take time by the forelock and train voluntary weavers also.

Will every Congressman rise to the occasion and spin for the nation?

Sevagram, 25-1-42

(From *Harijanbandhu*)



## KASHI VISHWAVIDYALAYA ADDRESS

[The following is a fairly full translation of Gandhiji's Hindustani address on the occasion of the Silver Jubilee Convocation of the Benares Hindu University on the 21st January. M. D.]

### Pilgrimage

Revered Malaviyaji, Sir Radhakrishnan, brothers and sisters,

You all know very well that I have neither the physical strength nor the inclination to undertake long journey, and yet when I received Sir Radhakrishnan's invitation to deliver an address on the occasion of the Silver Jubilee Convocation of the Benares Hindu University I had not the heart to decline it. You know the strong bond of affection that binds me to Panditji, and it is with a certain amount of pride and satisfaction that I obey his behest whenever it is at all possible for me. I therefore could not say 'no'. Sir Radhakrishnan's letter was a call to a pilgrimage.

Great as are Malaviyaji's services to the country, I have no doubt that this University constitutes his greatest service and achievement, and he has worn himself out for the work that is dear to him as life itself. It was out of my great regard for him that twentyfive years ago I accepted his invitation to attend the foundation ceremony of this University. I knew that in that august function, which was to be attended by the Viceroy and the ruling Princes of India, there was no place for a poor man like me. I had not then been made a 'Mahatma', and if anyone called me by that name, I knew I must have been mistaken for Mahatma Munshiramji, as the late Swami Shradhdhanandji was then called. For there cannot be a number of Mahatmas, and I knew even when I was in South Africa that Munshiramji's great work had entitled him to that name. But Malaviyaji has a knack for detecting servants of the people, however obscure they may be.

### The Sun Radiating Heat and Light

Everyone knows that there is no greater beggar than Pandit Malaviyaji on the face of the earth. He has never begged for himself, by the grace of God he has never been in want, but he became a voluntary beggar for causes he has made his own, and God has always filled his bowl in an overflowing measure. But he has an insatiable appetite, and although he got the crore he wanted he is still asking for more. Even at this moment he whispered into my ears that he had a good donation from the Maharaja of Darbhanga, our Chairman.

It is a rare good fortune to have him still in our midst, a living example of a pure life of plain living and high thinking; but I have a fear that, though he is physically in your midst, many of you are untouched by his great example. The fault is wholly yours, not his. The Sun radiates heat and light to all on earth, but how can even the Sun help those who will shut themselves from him? But I am not here to sing Malaviyaji's praises. This platform has rung with them. He has deserved them all. I must now address a few words to you—the teachers and the students

of the Vidyapith. When I accepted Sir Radhakrishnan's invitation he had asked me to send a copy of my address to him. I told him that I had no time to write anything; I did not even know what I should be able to say. A feeling of nervousness overpowers me when I am in the midst of learned men. Ever since my return to India my lot has been cast among the poor and the downtrodden—those whom the Congress represents—and whilst in their midst I feel no sense of constraint or hesitation. In your midst I feel tongue-tied. I simply said to Sir Radhakrishnan that I should trust to the inspiration of the moment. That inspiration has come, but I do not know how you will welcome my plain speaking.

### A Painful Anomaly

As speaker after speaker spoke and left the dais, I longed for someone who would address the audience in Hindi or Urdu, or Hindustani, aye even in Sanskrit,—even in Marathi, or for that matter any of the Indian languages. But no such good luck befell me and you. Why? We are slaves and have hugged the language of those who have kept us enslaved. It has become a fashion to blame the Englishmen for all our ills. I have not hesitated to blame them for many things they have done. I have never charged them with compelling us to adopt English as the medium of expression. We devote precious years of our lives to learning the English language, our ambition being to be able to speak English as Englishmen, and our breast swells with pride when an Englishman pats us on our back for speaking flawless English. Think of the time and energy of our youth expended on learning the English language, as if it was our mother-tongue, and calculate by simple multiplication the number of years and the volume of precious energy that are lost to the nation.

And yet all this is happening in the Kashi Hindu Vishwavidyalaya which has been extolled today as the living embodiment of Indian culture. Malaviyaji did all that was necessary to draw the best possible teachers by attractive salaries, but he could not do the rest. It was not his fault; Hindi did not take the place of English. The teachers are the product of the tradition which they have inherited, and the students are content to accept what they get from them. They need not be. They go on strikes and even hunger-strikes often for trivial reasons. Why will they not insist on having their tuition in the all-India language? There are, we were told today, 250 students here from the Andhra Province. Let them go to Sir Radhakrishnan and ask for an Andhra section of the University and ask to be taught through the medium of Telugu if they will not learn the all-India language.

### Japan's Example

You know what has happened in Japan—a country which I do not regard as essentially great—but which is regarded as great in Asia in that it has successfully challenged the supremacy of the Western nations. The thousands of boys and girls in the Japanese schools and colleges receive their education not through the medium of English but through Japanese. Their script is difficult, but it is no bar to their learning it and



they have not given it up in preference to the Roman. Not that they boycott English and other European languages. But they economise their energy. Those who need to learn them do so for enriching the Japanese thought and knowledge which the West alone can give. They take care to turn into Japanese all that is worth taking from the West. That is because the mind of Japan's youth is fresh and alert. The knowledge gained thus has become national property. Our ambition does not go beyond becoming clerks in Government offices, lawyers, barristers, judges, all helplessly serving the system they would fain destroy. And we have not succeeded either in mastering the English language. I get numerous letters from English-educated people—some of them possessing the highest degrees of our universities—but they betray a woeful ignorance of the English language. The reason is simple. Malaviyaji and Radhakrishnans are rare, and the thousands cannot achieve what they have done.

### No Discipline

As I was listening to the English speeches I was amazed at the patience and innate courtesy of our people who, though they do not understand a word of what is said, do not mob us, as they well might do. If there is any doubt in your minds about this, I can demonstrate to you by a show of hands how few—even from among the students—have followed the proceedings here.

There is another thing to which I am tempted to draw your attention. I witnessed this morning a scene that I had least expected here. There was the Vasant Panchami day procession of the students who had to march past Malaviyaji's house after receiving his silent blessings. The way in which they were walking betrayed a lack of even elementary physical training. Instead of walking in step, erect and disciplined like soldiers on the march, they walked haphazardly in a desultory fashion.

### Give Hindi the Pride of Place

I cannot help saying a word about the sight that greets you as you enter the great portals of the University. Thanks to the money that Malaviyaji can get for the asking, the gate is in consonance with the splendour of the edifices here. But what did I find on the top of the gate?—the bulk of the space (three-fourths) taken up by the words **BENARES HINDU UNIVERSITY** in English, and the fourth given to the inscription in Hindi which is the language through which you would derive your knowledge. I wondered what need there was of the English language? Just a little thought on the part of those who were in charge of such things would have been enough to tell them that what was needed there was the name written in Devanagari and Persian scripts—which would have symbolised to the people the desire on the part of Malaviyaji's University and Sir Radhakrishnan for communal harmony. It would have been in the fitness of things too, as both Hindi and Urdu are understood in these parts and both the scripts are familiar. The fact is the years we have wasted on English have ossified our minds and stunted our memory and imagination.

Surely it is no difficult thing for a non-Hindi-speaking person to learn Hindi or Hindustani. I can undertake to teach Hindi to anyone knowing Gujarati, Bengali or Marathi in the space of three months. Even the South Indian languages—Tamil, Telugu, Malayalam, Kanarese—are full of Sanskrit words, and, if there was just a little fervour and love of the country in us, we should not hesitate to decide to write all the Sanskrit-derived languages as also the Southern group in the Devanagari script. These languages have not only a fairly common vocabulary, there is also a striking resemblance in the scripts. If our minds were not fagged, we would easily know half a dozen Indian languages. Then there is Urdu which should not be difficult to learn, if only our Urdu scholars did not make it a matter of pride to pack it with Persian and Arabic words, as the Pandits pack Hindi with Sanskrit words.

### A Distinctive Feature Suggested

One more thought I should like to leave with you. Every university is supposed to have its tradition, its distinctive feature—Oxford and Cambridge, for instance, have theirs. But I am afraid our universities are the blotting-sheets of the West. We have borrowed the superficial features of the Western universities, and flattered ourselves that we have founded living universities here. Do they reflect or respond to the needs of the masses? Now I am told that a special feature of your University is that Engineering and Technology are taught here as nowhere else. I should not consider this a distinguishing feature. Let me suggest one to you. Have you been able to attract to your University youths from Aligarh? Have you been able to identify yourselves with them? That, I think, should be your special work, the special contribution of your University. Money has come in, and more will come in if God keeps Malaviyaji in our midst for a few more years. But no amount of money will achieve the miracle I want—I mean a heart-unity between Hindus and Muslims. I would like you to go out to invite Mussalmans to come here, and not to mind if they reject your advances. You are the representatives of a great civilisation which according to Lokamanya Tilak is 10,000 years old and according to later scholars even older. The special contribution of that civilisation is to befriend the world, to turn so-called foes into friends. Our civilisation has absorbed, like the holy Ganges, many streams from outside, and it is my prayer that the Hindu University which is endeavouring to represent Hindu culture and Hindu civilisation may invite and absorb all that is best in other cultures and be a model to all of communal unity and harmony. That should be its distinctive feature. English will not help you to evolve this. It is our own ancient learning that will teach you this—our scriptures learnt and understood in the proper spirit.

One thing more and I have done. You are living in palatial hostels, but look at the little house in which Panditji lives in utter simplicity and without the least splendour. You enter his room. There is no decoration and barest furniture. You, who will be his heirs, should model your lives accordingly. Many of you are children of poor parents. Don't forget



that you have to represent the poor, and that therefore a life of ease and luxury is inconsistent with the poverty of our land. May you be all models of plain and simple living and high thinking like Malaviyaji. May God bless you with long life and the wisdom to carry out what I have said, if it has appealed to you.

On the way to Wardha, 23-1-42

## PLAIN LIVING AND HIGH THINKING

(By M. K. Gandhi)

"An ideal society is that in which every individual will be able to live a life of progressively increasing wants with a minimum output of labour." Thus writes a friend from Ahmedabad. The proposition is pleasing and is backed by plausible argument which many may accept. The writer forecast that the Viceroy was bound to refuse the Congress proposal. He does not believe in the freedom of the individual, and is therefore of opinion that it was only meet that the Viceroy should turn down the proposal. Because his forecast turned out correct he may even hold his argument to be sound and say, "I told you so." It is therefore necessary for me to take note of the letter.

The writer may not derive any satisfaction from the Viceroy's refusal. All my colleagues had foretold the result. But I wanted to go not so much in the expectation of getting acceptance as, in the event of failure, to return with added strength. Nor does the rejection of the proposal mean in any sense that the Viceroy does not believe in individual freedom. Britain has not gone that length. Europe has no doubt entered upon a new phase in denying individual liberty. If this goes, then surely all is lost, for, if the individual ceases to count, what is left of society? Individual freedom alone can make a man voluntarily surrender himself completely to the service of society. If it is wrested from him, he becomes an automaton and society is ruined. No society can possibly be built on a denial of individual freedom. It is contrary to the very nature of man. Just as a man will not grow horns or a tail, so he will not exist as man if he has no mind of his own. In reality even those who do not believe in the liberty of the individual believe in their own. Modern editions of Chenghiz Khan retain their own.

Just as the writer's ideas on individual liberty are impossible, so also is his other theory. That everyone in this world should be able to maintain as high a standard of life as possible with the least possible output of labour is just as fantastic as to expect a camel to pass through the eye of a needle. The writer's high living would appear to mean luxurious living which is an impossible proposition for any society as a whole. And when there is no limit to luxury where shall we stop? All the scriptures of the world have taught the exact opposite. Plain living and high thinking is the ideal that has been placed before us. The vast majority recognise its truth but are unable to get there because of human frailty. It is, however, perfectly possible to envisage such an existence. That the crores in India should be guaranteed a certain income is only right, and to achieve this ideal large scale machinery is not only not necessary but wholly destructive.

Man falls from the pursuit of the ideal of plain living and high thinking the moment he wants to multiply his daily wants. History gives ample proof of this. Man's happiness really lies in contentment. He who is discontented, however much he possesses, becomes a slave to his desires. And there is really no slavery equal to that of his desires. All the sages have declared from the house-tops that man can be his own worst enemy as well as his best friend. To be free or to be a slave lies in his own hands. And what is true for the individual is true for society.

Sevagram, 7-10-40 (Translated from Gujarati)

## QUESTION BOX

(By M. K. Gandhi)

### Unitary Method

Q. You seem to be advocating what you call the unitary method in the solution of many questions. Will you explain it a little more fully than you have done?

A. It is as simple as it is sure. A contract or pact is between two parties. There is also consideration passing from one to the other. Such was the Lucknow Pact between the Congress and the Muslim League. The same thing could have been accomplished by the unitary method. Only then there would have been no compromise dictated by fear and distrust. The Congress could have done, according to its notion, absolute justice, i. e. yielded the maximum consistent with the welfare of the whole nation without the expectation of any consideration from the League. In a well-regulated family the relations are governed by the unitary method. Thus a father gives to his children not as a result of a pact. He gives out of love, a sense of justice without expecting any return therefor. Not that there is none. But everything is natural, nothing is forced. Nothing is done out of fear or distrust. What is true of a well-regulated family is equally true of a well-regulated society which is but an extended family. My advice about the adoption of two scripts by Hindus and Muslims is based on the unitary method. My equal love for all communities dictates its adoption. Properly applied the method never fails. It disarms criticism and opposition. It presupposes a clean conscience and clean action. I propose to unfold in these columns the application of the method in all our communal relations. The views will be personal to me, as are all such since the Bardoli resolution. They will be addressed to Congressmen for adoption only in so far as they appeal to their reason.

### Rajaji

Q. What has come over Rajaji? You and he seem to be drifting away from each other.

A. Yes, we seem to be and yet we are not. The seeming drift is but a prelude to a closer bond and clearer understanding. His loyalty is above suspicion. He would have gladly suppressed himself, if I had not strongly encouraged him to propound his views with a view to their adoption by the public. We own allegiance to the same goddess. Our interpretations differ. If he is erring, he will retrace his steps as soon as he discovers it. And he knows that I would do likewise, if I discover mine. I feel, therefore,



absolutely safe with him, and I ask all questioners to do likewise.

### Untruth

Q. Do you know that you are reported to have said at Benares that it is sinful for any Indian ever to study or speak in English and you are charged with insincerity in that you make such liberal use of the hated language when it suits you?

A. The report is wholly untrue. But once an untruth gets a start it is most difficult to overtake. Many untruths about me have had such a start. They created a temporary sensation and got a decent burial without any effort on my part. So will this one. No untruth has ever done any harm to anyone if there was no bottom to it. I am answering the question, not to protect my reputation but to carry my point further. The charge of insincerity is itself the best refutation of the untruth. For my free use of the English language is not a thing of today. The charge should have been regarded as unworthy of belief. Let it be known that I am a lover of the English language and the English. But my love is wise and intelligent. Therefore I give both the place they deserve. Thus I do not allow the English language to displace the mother-tongue or the natural all-India language—Hindustani. Nor do I let my love of the English displace my fellow-countrymen whose interest I can in no way allow to be injured. I recognise the great importance of the English language for international intercourse. I hold its knowledge as a second language to be indispensable for specified Indians who have to represent the country's interest in the international domain. I regard the English language as an open window for peeping into Western thought and sciences. For this too I should set apart a class. Through them I would spread through the Indian languages the knowledge they have gained from the West. But I would not burden India's children and sap their youthful energy by expecting the expansion of their brains through the medium of a foreign language. I do hold it to be a sin on the part of those who are responsible for producing the unnatural condition under which we are being educated. Such a thing is unknown in any other part of the world. Being too near the scene of the wreck we are unaware of the damage the nation has suffered by it. I can see the enormity of the damage because of my daily and close contact with the dumb and suppressed millions.

### Another Untruth

Q. You are reported by the Press to have approvingly referred to the progress made by the Japanese in adopting Western methods with a thoroughness hitherto unknown in the East. Is not this a contradiction of all you have written about the West? Or is there one law for India and another for Japan?

A. This is another untruth like the one about the English Language. The reader will find out for himself from Mahadev Desai's report of my Benares speech as to what I actually said about the Japanese. The burden of my speech was the undesirability of making English the medium of instruction and all-India

speech. I said in this connection that, however harmful in my opinion the Japanese adaptation of the West was, the rapid progress was due to the restriction of the learning of the Western mode to a select few and using them for transmission of the new knowledge among the Japanese through their own mother-tongue. Surely it is easy enough to understand that the Japanese could never have adapted themselves to the new mode, if they had had to do so through a foreign medium.

Sevagram, 27-1-42

### 'Other Organisations'

Q. What do you mean by associating with other volunteer organisations working for similar ends? Do you include communal organisations?

A. I do. Unfortunately we have very few other non-communal organisations. 'Similar ends' naturally means constructive ends, using 'constructive' in the widest sense of the term. Thus you will tender your help to a Muslim League, or Hindu Sabha, volunteer in putting out fire or tending the wounded. You will also invite their help in such matters.

On the way to Kashi, 20-1-42

### 'Constructive Programme'

While I was writing the pamphlet on the thirteen-fold, now fourteenfold, constructive programme, Rajendra Babu was doing likewise in his own way. His pamphlet has now been published by the Navajivan Press, Ahmedabad, at 4 annas (postage 1 anna extra). It may be called a companion to mine. The reader will find much of interest and instruction in Rajendra Babu's treatise. It gives details which I have omitted. No worker should be without either.

Sevagram, 27-1-42

M. K. G.

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Manager

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# HARIJAN

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[FIVE PICE

## BENARES NOTES

### II

#### Some Features and Comments

Gandhiji in his address to the teachers and the students of the Kashi Vishwavidyalaya referred to what he would like the University to make a distinctive feature of its own. But apart from it there are in the University some special features which attract students to it from far and near. Gandhiji referred to the Engineering and the Technological departments. There are similarly the College of Oriental Learning and the College of Theology as also the Ayurvedic College. It has on its staff some of the most distinguished men in India in the sphere of Mathematics and Physics and some distinguished Orientalists, some who have to their credit text-books on subjects like Geology, and some like Prof. Atreya who is the author of many books both in English and Hindi on philosophy and religion. The departments of Oriental Learning and Ayurveda and the Institute of Agricultural Research have plenty of scope for research, though one does not know if much work has been done in that direction. The College of Theology ought not to rest content with giving degrees of *Smriti Ratna*, *Smriti Sagar*, and so on, but these degree-holders should make critical studies of our shastras and produce works of textual and higher criticism as has been done in the case of the Bible by numerous English and European scholars.

The University has besides spacious playgrounds, a well-equipped gymnasium in the Shivaji Hall, and it organises swimming and boat club activities too. In this connection I am tempted to make an observation. A university with 4,000 students has an almost unlimited scope in the direction of organising volunteer work both for the management of big meetings and shows and for the work of communal unity, as I shall presently show. This work, I am sorry to say, was conspicuous by its absence on the day the Convocation was held. It was a tough business to lead Pandit Malaviyaji and Gandhiji on to the dais that afternoon of the 21st. If there was proper organisation, there should have been a clear way prepared for the old leaders to walk to the dais unmolested by the crowds. There was not only no way, but scores of photographers from among the volunteers themselves made a scramble for their darshan and for catching snapshots of them. For a while I wondered whether we were not taking a grave risk in carrying old leaders like Panditji through these unmanageable crowds. And when after very great difficulty they were carried on to

the dais a sort of pandemonium prevailed for quite a long time. It was a sad reflection on our education, learning and culture, and it must have been far from pleasant to Dr. Radhakrishnan to appeal to the audience to be quiet in the name of self-respect and dignity, and in the name of honoured guests like Gandhiji, Jawaharlalji and Rajendrababu. Sports and playing grounds and gymnasias are no use, if they cannot teach us the very elements of arranging and organising meetings, no matter how vast.

I have mentioned communal unity. If these four thousand students were to be taught non-violent military drill and to march like soldiers going to the front, they could form a unique peace brigade. A thousand students, nay even a hundred students, clad in khadi uniform can march peacefully to scenes of rioting, and can by daring and courage to go through some amount of suffering successfully quell a riot. If they were to devote a little thought to this, I am sure the students can be the best organisers of communal unity. That, however, is a far cry. Would they organise themselves as spinners? An hourly spinning would be a good preparation for the volunteer-work for communal unity.

#### Commendable Features

The University has a branch of the Gandhi Ashram Khadi Bhandar, which is managed by the Benares Gandhi Ashram, and under its auspices is a spinning centre too. There is also a Servants Credit Society and a Co-operative Store, both of which are, I hope, running well. I say 'I hope', as I have had no opportunity of going into their working, but they are commendable features in themselves.

But perhaps the most commendable of all are the Students Sevak Mandal, Vidyarthi Sahayak Sabha, and the Students' Self-Help Circle run by Profs. Asrani and Mukut Behari Lal. The Students' Self-Help Circle deserves special notice. It provides work for poor students, e. g. tuition, photography, typewriting, selling milk, ghee, newspapers, stationery, carrying and painting and polishing furniture, whitewashing houses, gardening, boot polishing and so on. Diligent students earn up to Rs. 15 per month by doing these jobs. Pandit Ram Naresh Tripathi tells the story of an M. A. student who met him one early morning going with pails of milk on his cycle. He has three brothers of his also in the University. Their father earns only Rs. 35 per month and cannot possibly find the wherewithal to educate the sons. The sons are,



therefore, running a small dairy and selling milk and ghee. A hundred such students are thus finding the expenses of their education through self-help. Prof. Asrani is keenly interested in spinning and cottage industries, and his energetic work in all these directions is worthy of praise. He had collected a little purse for Gandhiji for constructive work, and he also presented Gandhiji with a *chudder* made out of yarn of the boys' own spinning.

A word, too, about Prof. Satish Kalelkar and his band of students who slaved for us day and night at our camp. Acharya Kripalani, seeing that most of these students were Gujaratis, twitted him with having chosen only Gujarati students for service in Gandhiji's camp. The fault, if fault it was, was Sir Radhakrishnan's who insisted on Gandhiji being served and looked after by those who knew Gandhiji best. And young Satish, who is fast getting popular among the boys, but who is still fresh in the University, selected the boys he knew best. Otherwise being the son of a distinguished father like Kakasaheb Kalelkar he is, I know free from any trace of provincialism, not to say communalism. He has a bright future in front of him, and he could not do better than devote his spare time to organising students in the directions I have indicated in these notes.

#### Watertight ?

Our stay at the University was all too brief for anything like a study of things there, and what I say in this paragraph is subject to correction. The Women's College is a self-contained one walled off from the other buildings. It has its own staff, though I understand that ladies who go in for science have to attend the science classes along with men students. If that is the case, I do not know what objection there should be to lady students having the benefit of lectures in other subjects by men professors. On the other hand, there may be a distinguished lady professor whose lectures men students may well profit by. There seems to me to be no reason for watertight compartments so far as teaching is concerned.

But I would go a little further. There are the weekly Gita classes. I do not know if lady students are allowed to attend them. If not, they should be. On the second day of our stay Gandhiji received a message from the Women's College that he should not go away without giving the lady students at least a few minutes of his time. He readily agreed, and seeing the beautiful *maidan* in front of the College, he felt like having the evening prayer there. The students hailed the proposal with delight. Prof. Asrani, who was to present the students' purse and the *chudder* at prayer time, was also invited to be present there with his students. And for the first time perhaps the lady students and men students had prayers together. At the request of the lady students themselves Gandhiji agreed to listening to a recitation from the Gita by some of them, after the end of the prayer. They recited verses 36 to 46 from the Eleventh Discourse of the Gita. The selection seemed to me to be most appropriate. They could not have thought of a

fitter offering of welcome, and it did one's heart good to think that at least some—if not indeed all—students in the Women's College know the Bhagavadgita. I felt that they should have more opportunities for cultural contact with the outside world and always opportunities of listening to an occasional sermon from the venerable Panditji, Dr. Radhakrishnan and others and all leaders who are invited as guests.

#### Talks with Congress Workers

Pandit Jawaharlal had arranged two meetings of Congress workers for an informal exchange of views with Gandhiji. At one meeting there were the members of the U. P. Provincial Congress Committee Executive, and at the other there were members of the larger Committee. A number of questions were asked—some wise and some otherwise, which provided a lot of merriment to Gandhiji no less than to the audience, who had the opportunity of observing Gandhiji's humour at its best which contributes a good deal to keep him alive and healthy.

#### Principles and Objective

Q. What is your ultimate object? Do you want the Congress to accept your principles or to achieve its object?

A. Every plan and programme that I have placed before the Congress has been placed with a view to achieving the goal of Independence. Truth and non-violence are a matter of creed for me—you may call it my religion, but it has not been my object to propagate that religion through the Congress. Before the Congress they have been placed as effective means to an end—as political means for a political objective, as I did in South Africa. If it was otherwise, I should cease to be a political worker and occupy the position of a *dharmaguru*! The political method can be changed whenever expedient, but the change should be honest and deliberate. But one should not pretend to adhere to the method when really in practice one has given it up. That would be deceiving oneself and the world.

#### Future Programme

Q. We should like to have a glimpse of the next six months or a year as you picture it to yourself. You have often said that this is a fight to the finish, your last fight which will not end until the goal is won. What are likely to be the future developments as you can visualise them?

A. It is a good question, and also a difficult question. Not that I am not clear, but because it takes us into the realm of speculation. I let things and happenings react on me—though I confess I do not follow everything as Jawaharlal with his study of foreign affairs can. Jawaharlal is convinced that the British Empire is finished. We all wish that it may be finished, but I do not think it is finished. We know that the Britishers are tough fighters, we know what the Empire—especially India—means to every home in Britain, and therefore they will never consent to be 'Little Englanders'. Mr. Churchill has said that they are not 'sugar candies', and that they can meet rough with rough. Therefore it will be long before the Empire is finished. There is no doubt, however, that they are



nearing the end, and what Jawaharlal has said is very true that, if we could do nothing to prevent the war, we certainly will do much to prevent a peace in which we have no voice. That is what every Congressman has to bear in mind. We have, therefore, to be up and doing. If we sit with folded hands, we may have a peace which we do not desire.

I adhere to the statement that it is my final fight, but we have had to alter our programme because of the latest developments, because war has come to our door. The suspension had nothing to do with my retirement from the official leadership of the Congress. Even if it had continued, how could I today ask Jawaharlal to march back to jail? Of course he will be in jail, if he is prevented from doing the work we have chalked out. But things have happened so rapidly that we had not the slightest idea of what was coming. How then can I talk of a year or even six months ahead? That we are marching swiftly towards Independence I have no doubt. There is no doubt about the programme ahead of us. No Congressman should rest content with just paying his four anna fee. He has to be active all the twentyfour hours. Even the one concrete programme of production of cloth is sufficient to occupy all our energies. There are 400 students in the Benares Hindu University. Will they spin an hour every day? I am talking of spinning because it is a thing nearest my heart, but there are a hundred and one other things. Have the villagers enough food to eat? Have they enough to cover themselves in this bitter cold? These are the questions that occur to me again and again. On our capacity to feed the starving and clothe the naked and generally to serve the masses in the time of their need will depend our capacity to influence the peace whenever it comes. What I have said applies to all parties. Whoever serves the purpose best will survive and have an effective voice.

Q. You think they cannot have a treaty just as they like?

A. I do. The days of secret treaties are gone, I hope. If we behave ourselves, we can have a decisive voice at least so far as we are concerned. But Jawaharlal can explain these things better. I am no student of history or even of contemporary events in the world.

#### Why Did You Not Divide the House?

Q. Why did you advise the A. I. C. C. members to support the Bardoli resolution, though at one stage you had decided to divide the house? Rajaji's speeches after the A. I. C. C. are against the Bombay resolution, and even expediency dictates that there can be no co-operating with a dying Empire.

A. I am afraid you are 'estopped' from asking the question, if I may use a legal term. But as you have asked the question, and there is nothing to hide, I may answer it. In fact I answered it in my speech before the A. I. C. C., if you listened to it with attention. Well then let me tell you that, though I am old in age, my mind is not decaying. It is ever growing, and the decision not to divide the house indicates my growth or evolution in my own non-violence.

To divide the house appeared to me a piece of violence. If every one of the members of the A. I. C. C. was a *pukka* believer in political non-violence, it would have been a different matter. But I knew that such was not the case. The Bardoli resolution was a true reflection of the Congress mind. In such matters majority and minority do not count. And there was nothing to prevent the whole-hoggers to go whatever length they liked.

The contingency of co-operation is, if anything, very remote. Until then all have to act in terms of non-violence. When the contingency does arise the whole-hoggers can secede from the Congress. In fact we can then meet again and put the whole matter to vote.

Q. Would it be proper or improper to defend oneself with arms against *atayis* (confirmed offenders) in case of disturbances?

A. The answer has been already given by me and also by the Congress. And the word *atayis* is bad for our purpose. And don't ask what is proper and improper. If you were to ask me, I should say it is improper. If you are non-violent, do not have resort to arms. If you cannot muster non-violence of the brave, defend yourself as best you can. The law gives everyone the right of self-defence against a dacoit, and the Congress does not take away the legal right. But in riots or communal disturbances, he who calls himself a Congressman has to act non-violently. That is the resolution of the Congress. Even there if your courage fails you and you use force, the Congress will not censure you, for the simple reason that the Congress never intended to encourage cowardice.

#### Limits of Co-operation

Q. You are said to have permitted khadi bhandars to sell blankets to Government. Is it not co-operation in the war effort?

A. I did. It was not proper for me to ask whether the blankets were for the use of soldiers or for someone else. The case is different when a man sells fire-arms or swords or poison. The vendor has to inquire how the fire-arms are to be used, and the chemist has to ask for the doctor's certificate. On the other hand a rice-seller will not, and is under no obligation to, inquire who is going to consume the rice.

But you may go further than I did. If you think I erred, you are at liberty to denounce me. If you think a non-violent man may not sell rice or blankets to soldiers, you are welcome to your interpretation of non-violence. I for one will not hesitate to give water or food to a soldier who comes to me with hands red with murder. My humanity would not let me do otherwise.

The question of spurious khadi was next discussed, and Gandhiji said: "A great deal depends on intelligent and wide-awake public opinion. If the public takes it into its mind to prevent the spread of this khadi, it can easily do so. But we have not cultivated what Lord Willingdon used to call the courage to say 'No'. Those who are interested in khadi are all shareholders of the

(Continued on p. 36)



# HARIJAN

Feb. 8

1942

## PRICE CONTROL

One wonders if Government who do not want panic and scares do not often help in creating these. For two or three days after the Japanese radio announced that Rangoon had been bombed the news was left uncontradicted. (I refer to the first news of Rangoon being bombed.) The news might have been contradicted at once and the people might have been told that it was a fair indication of Japan's intention and that they should in case of raids stay indoors and so on. Then there are all kinds of stories that have come from the refugees in Rangoon—one of them being of thousands of people having been killed. The Government might have published a true and accurate account of the happenings.

Then there is the very important matter of price control. The police often swoop down upon a petty trader and haul him up before the authorities. We are told that it is being done to 'teach them a lesson'. We know to our cost what 'teaching them a lesson' means. The Committee of the Indian Chamber of Commerce have, in an important communication addressed to the Government of India, shown what havoc price control is working. The purpose is avowedly to make the necessities of life available to the public at a reasonable price and to prevent profiteering. As pointed out in the Committee's letter, "the effect of the measures which the Government have so far adopted has been largely to defeat the end in view. It has been observed that there is a tendency for measures of price control being followed by scarcity of the article concerned, or even its disappearance from the market, unless proper measures are taken by the Government to safeguard against such scarcity or disturbance. Recently, for instance, since the Government of India fixed the sale prices of wheat, further supplies of the commodity in the Calcutta market have become scarce, and indeed the situation has become so serious that perhaps it would be difficult to obtain wheat in the city after some time unless adequate steps are taken in time to maintain supplies. In the United Kingdom also, last year for instance, immediately after the prices of tomatoes and gooseberries were fixed these fruits disappeared from the market." The same story has been received from other places in India. In one place, we are told, it was impossible to get a seer of wheat for one rupee.

The police action is in most cases indiscriminate, and the Committee have rightly adverted to that aspect of the case also:

"At present what is being done is that whenever it is found that a certain article is not being sold in the market, the police, without going into the causes, take indiscriminate action and arrest a few persons

here and there for charging prices higher than the maximum or holding up stocks. Although the Committee do not support the action of those who may be holding up stocks and agree that such practice should be checked, they may point out that such indiscriminate action only tends to dislocate trade, and many small dealers consider it better to discontinue trading in the article concerned rather than carry the risk of being thus maltreated."

Then there is unco-ordinated action by various Provincial Governments.

"For instance, in September last, the Government of U. P. fixed the prices of wheat in the Hapur market without any relation to prices in other centres, and at a level which was low compared to the prices of wheat in other provinces and markets of India, particularly in the Punjab. The result was that, while dealers in other parts of India, e. g. in Calcutta, who had previously contracted for purchases of wheat in the Hapur market at certain rates could not get supplies from the market, large quantities of wheat were attracted to the Punjab markets where the prices were higher."

There are other aspects of the matter into which we need not go. To end the anomalies and hardships pointed out above, the Committee have proposed that, if the price control measures are to succeed,

"(1) The maximum fixed by the Government must bear proper relation to the replacement costs; and

(2) The Government must be prepared to sell the articles concerned at those rates—the prices to be fixed after taking into consideration the total cost of production, transit expenses, availability of raw material, wages and other factors including reasonable profit."

This is an eminently sound proposal, and Government should have no difficulty in giving effect to it. The Committee have made suggestions in this behalf. The Government, they suggest, should, after fixing the maximum prices, establish a few large granaries in different centres of the country and be prepared to sell at that rate any number of bags to customers retail or wholesale. The Government's readiness to sell at a particular price will prevent traders from putting up the prices, as is actually the case with regard to silver.

The proposal should be carefully considered at the Price Control Conference to be held in the first week of February, in consultation with representatives of various trades, and an end should be put to a situation which may soon get out of control.

Sevagram, 1-2-42

M. D.

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## GO-SEVA SANGH

## I

## A Little History

I remember vividly a meeting addressed by Gandhiji during my early days with him. It was in Motihari in 1917 when some good people invited him to visit the local *pinjrapol* and address a meeting on the occasion of its annual celebration. Some of the sentiments he expressed that day gave those assembled a wholesome shock. They had expected praise from him. Instead they received a hard sermon on the way we had in criminal ignorance neglected the cow instead of protecting her. Ever since he has been dinning into the heads of cow-worshipping Hindus the disasters that lie on the path of their ignorant worship. But we have made little headway. The first cow protection society was formed in 1924 at Belgaum with Gandhiji as president. It then became Go-Seva Sangh, a compact body. It has much solid but unpretentious work to its credit. We had been able to bring into being a tannery of dead cattle's hide, and the Lucknow and Faizpur Exhibitions had courts showing the uses of the remains of dead cattle after they are dead. There was in these exhibitions the tannery section showing how a Brahman family can run a full-fledged tannery in as clean a fashion as it can run a kitchen, and at Faizpur and Haripura there was a dairy court showing eloquently how the cow was one of the most important factors in India's economy, and the ultimately uneconomic nature of the buffalo as compared to that of a good cow. But we are far yet from having been able to draw India's attention to this vital problem, and though the workers in the field met at Faizpur and took some important decisions, they have failed so far in awakening Hindu India's interest in the "only scientific society for effectively protecting the cow" as Gandhiji described the Go-Seva Sangh in 1937.

A definite step forward was taken again when Jamnalalji, who was advised by Gandhiji not to court imprisonment a second time for reasons of health, took the decision last year to devote all his time and energy exclusively to this work. It was at his instance that Gandhiji was encouraged to decide to give the society an all-India character by forming an All India Go-Seva Sangh. Experts in the field like Mr. Kothawala of the Bangalore Dairy, Mr. Sam Higginbottom of the Allahabad Agricultural Institute, Shri Viswanathan of the Agricultural Research Institute, Sir Datar Singh of the Montgomery Dairy Farm, and others were invited to a Conference held for the purpose on the 1st of this month. The venerable Pandit Malaviyaji had also promised to attend, but Gandhiji dissuaded him from undertaking the long journey. Some of the experts who were invited but who could not come sent either their representatives or their suggestions, and the Conference was fully representative in that many who have been working in the field for several years like Shri Chaunde Maharaj of Wai and representatives of about twelve *pinjrapoles* were also present and took part

in the deliberations. Shri Vinoba presided and Gandhiji opened the Conference.

## Soul's Outpouring

Although the subject was to Gandhiji as old as the hills he gave it a new setting and delivered a speech as packed with argument as revealing of the agony of his soul.

Many a foreign writer has made fun of the Hindus' religious sentiments about the cow, and in a recent novel England's famous modern novelist Cronin makes a cockney upstart returned to England after a brief stay in India describe his experience thus:

"You might not believe me, Nancy but the cow is a sacred animal to millions of folks out in India. They'll have images of the animal stuck up in all places, and in the streets of the native quarters you'll see great big cows slushing about, with flowers on their horns and garlands of marigolds round their necks, poking their noses everywhere like they owned the place, into the houses and into the stalls, and not a body says 'no' to them. I once saw one of the beasts stop at a stall of fruit and vegetable and before you could say 'knife', it had cleared the place from end to end, and the man what owned the shop was obliged to sit helpless and watch 'it eat up all his stuff, and when it had finished he could do nowt but put up a bit prayer to it or string the remains of his flowers around its big neck."

Gandhiji with biting irony went one better and cast an even more lurid light on the worship of the cow as seen in the streets of Bombay. "We catch her by the tail and sanctify our eyes with its sacred touch. We regard even her urine as sacred and full of medicinal value and drink it. Alas, the poor cow is innocent of all this worship, and so our worship is lost on her. It even scares her. When it scares her she answers our attentions with a kick; when she is not scared she suffers us." He was simply giving in his own language the pathetic picture that Shrimati Perinben Captain, an indefatigable worker of Bombay, had drawn to him of her daily experience in Bhuleshwar, and who on being invited to attend the Conference had declined, saying in effect: "None of this travesty of worship for me. I might attend when you have put it on a rational footing and shown by concrete work that the Hindus really care for the cow. And if you will protect the cow, why not the horse and the dog too — both of them equally noble?"

"All this is too true," he said, "and those who claim to protect the cow betray a criminal ignorance of the real method of protecting her and her progeny. Those who claim to worship the cow cruelly ill-treat the bullocks. Chaunde Maharaj has been working at the problem assiduously for years, but whilst he accepts my facts and even argument, he says, 'what about the public sentiment? they somehow want to save the cow from the butcher.' But they go about the wrong way and succeed in defeating the very object they are trying to achieve. I do not say this in a carping spirit, but shocking ignorance, and want of understanding of the essentials of the problem betrayed by most of the people who run our *pinjrapols* dismay me."



He referred in passing to the wrong way of protecting the cow from a Mussalman wanting to slaughter her, and said that he would repeat *ad nauseam* that to quarrel with the Mussalman and to kill him in order to protect the cow was to instigate more slaughter.

#### The Problem of Ghee

He next referred to the difficulty of procuring pure cow's milk and ghee. "The whole milk and ghee trade is in the hands of the Hindus. But have we been able to ensure a supply of pure milk and ghee? The milk is adulterated, and even the water used for adulteration is not clean. The cruel and criminal process of *phooka* is well-known. The ghee sold in the market can often be described as poison rather than ghee. The butter we get from New Zealand, Australia or Denmark is guaranteed pure cow's butter, but there is no guarantee about the butter or ghee available here. There is not a shop in Wardha, where some of us are keen on this problem, where one could go and buy a seer of cow's ghee of guaranteed purity."

#### The Cow and the Buffalo

Every animal—in fact all life—is sacred and should be protected, but unless we really protect the one that was most valuable in national economy, other animals could not be protected. In our neglect of the cow we had brought both the cow and the buffalo at death's door.

"I therefore say," said Gandhiji, "that, if I can really protect the cow by adopting proper ways and means, I would protect the rest of the animals. But it can be done only if we know the true science and economy of it. Only then shall we be able to interest Perinben in the problem. I am amazed at our partiality for buffalo's milk and ghee. Our economics is short-sighted. We look at the immediate gain, but we do not realise that in the last analysis the cow is the more valuable animal. Cow's butter (and ghee) has a naturally yellowish colour which indicates its superiority to buffalo's butter (and ghee) in *carotene*. It has a flavour all its own. Foreign visitors who come to Sevagram go into raptures over the pure cow's milk they get there. Buffalo's milk and butter are almost unknown in Europe. It is only in India that one finds a prejudice in favour of buffalo's milk and ghee. This has spelt all but extinction of the cow, and that is why I say that, unless we put an exclusive emphasis on the cow, she cannot be saved. It is a tragedy that all the cows and buffaloes put together cannot give us enough milk for the 40 crores of our people. We ought to realise the value of the cow as a good milker and the only source of draught and agricultural cattle. And how far is one to pamper popular prejudices? A cow proves valuable even if she dies, if we would make use of the skin, the bone, the fleshing, the entrails and so on." "But," said Gandhiji, "the good Chaunde Maharaj wonders if people can be persuaded to believe that dead cow's hide is sacred. Why not? I would not hesitate to go into my house with shoes made of dead cow's hide, provided of course the shoes

are clean. I should not hesitate to have my meal with such clean shoes on. I have to do all this in order to show that the cow is an asset and not a liability. Today in many places they bury dead cows or sell them away for a song. We despise the Harijans who eat carrion, but we forget that it is for our own fault. If we treated the hide properly, if we knew the manurial value of the fleshing, and the use of the bone and the entrails—which we are demonstrating at Nalwadi—there would be no carrion-eating."

#### Pinjrapols

He next came to the question of *pinjrapols* with which almost every town in India is studded, which have plenty of funds, but some of which are grossly mismanaged. "Ever since my return to India from South Africa I have been harping on the question of the reform of *pinjrapols*. Unless we realise and define their proper functions, they are sure to remain the economic waste they are. Their proper function is to take care of dry, old and disabled cows, of which individual owners cannot possibly take care—certainly not in towns and cities. Their function is not that of a dairy—though they may run a separate dairy if they can—but the care of the old and the disabled animals, and to provide the raw material for a tannery. There should be a well-equipped tannery attached to every *pinjrapol*. They should maintain the best stud bulls and loan them out for public use, they should provide every facility for the humane and scientific castration of bulls to be turned into bullocks, and they should be instruction centres for the agriculturist and the dairy farmer. Here is plenty of scope for our agricultural and dairy graduates who should receive additional training for the special work and then be attached to every one of our *pinjrapols*. All the *pinjrapols* should then be affiliated to our Association which should be the central institution for expert advice, collection and co-ordination of information and statistics, and so on. The Association has made it a rule to have as its members those who take the following pledge:

"I agree with the object and means of the Association.

I promise to use cow's milk and its products exclusively, except for medical purposes or under unavoidable circumstances or in the articles of food containing milk and its products in a negligible quantity. I will refrain from the use of the leather of slaughtered cows, bullocks and calves.

I will donate a sum of rupee one or 2,000 yards of self-spun yarn to the Association every year."

Adverting to this Gandhiji said: "Do not magnify the so-called difficulties and the embarrassment you would cause to your hosts. You can go about with cow's ghee wherever you go—as Kakasaheb does—or you can do without it. It will be good propaganda, and you may succeed in converting your hosts also. But duty is not always easy of performance. To run away from it is the opposite of manliness, opposite of humanity."

Sevagram, 3-2-42

M. D.

(To be continued)



## HINDI + URDU = HINDUSTANI

(By M. K. Gandhi)

The following letter was written on the 29th ult. and sent to me by its writer by registered post. It was received at Sevagram on the 31st ult.:

"I was very much impressed by your convocation address at the Benares University. Specially your remarks about making Hindustani the medium of instruction in our educational institutions were very apt on the occasion. But do you really believe that there exists in our country any such language as Hindustani? As a matter of fact there is no such language, and I am afraid that at Benares you advocated the cause of Hindi and not of Hindustani, and that is the way with all the Congressmen. I wonder why you openly don't say what you really mean. Say, you want Hindi. Why call it Hindustani, or still worse Hindi-Hindustani, by which name you wanted to call it some years back and which nobody ever used?

Mahatmaji, you say you have no antipathy towards Urdu; still you openly called it the language of Mussalmans, which is written in the Quranic script. You even said that the Mussalmans may take care of it, if they so please. And on the other hand, you several times presided over the annual sessions of Hindi Sabhas and advocated the cause of Hindi and collected lakhs of rupees for it. Have you ever presided over any meeting held for the propagation of Urdu, or would you agree to preside over one now, and have you ever collected a pie for the advancement of Urdu?

I have heard Congressmen saying, *ad nauseam*, that the Muslim writers should avoid Persian words and Hindu writers should avoid Sanskrit words, and the resultant language will be Hindustani.

Mahatmaji, you are yourself a very good writer. You must know that practised writers who have developed a style will never be able to avoid Persian or Sanskrit words, if they are part of the language in which they are writing and of which these writers are regarded stylists; so this advice of yours is absolutely impracticable.

But there is a way out. Make both Urdu and Hindi compulsory at least in one province, say U. P., up to the High School standard. By this means, the province in which both the languages are compulsorily taught will have one common language within, say, about fifty years. The language which naturally belongs to us will remain with us, and the other one which we are artificially thrusting upon ourselves will drop out from our lives. It is obvious that when we shall learn both the languages we shall perforce make that one the vehicle of our thoughts which is more developed, more beautiful, more attractive, more concise, and more expressive. Apart from making the path of vernacularisation smooth and easy, this proposal will help a great deal in bridging the wide gulf between the social life of Hindus and Mussalmans. We shall be able to know and sympathise with each other's ideals and beliefs through each other's literature. It is just possible that a new language may evolve out of the mixture of both Hindi and Urdu; then it may be called Hindustani. It will be a

natural language when it comes out of the knowledge of both.

Mahatmaji, if you sincerely wish that our country should have one common language, I am sure that you will accept this proposal and will recommend it to the country. But I am sure you will do no such thing. Because you are all along advocating the cause of Hindi and are doing your best to thrust it upon the country. And you must also be knowing that, if both Hindi and Urdu are made compulsory, Urdu will push Hindi out of the field, because Urdu is more chaste, more civilised, more expressive, and more beautiful than Hindi. But my proposal gives equal chances to both the languages. If you believe that Hindi is the natural language of the country, you may confidently hope that it will push off Urdu. There is no use taking shelter under the excuse that you have no power to make both the languages compulsory, as you wrote to me last year. If you only care to recommend the proposal to the country, it will have its effect."

The writer has signed the letter, but as it is marked personal I refrain from giving his name. In any case the name does not matter. What the writer says is, I know, the belief held by many Muslims. My repudiation has not undone the mischief.

But my article, which was written on the 23rd ult. and has appeared in *Harijan* of the 1st inst., should soothe the writer so far as I am concerned.

I entirely agree with my correspondent that all who want one all-India speech should today learn both the forms—Hindi and Urdu. Those who do will ultimately give us a common language. That form which is more popular and more understood by the masses whether Hindu or Muslim will surely be the all-India speech. But if my proposal finds general acceptance, the language question will cease to be a political issue or a bone of contention.

I do not subscribe to the correspondent's statement that Urdu is "more developed, more beautiful, more attractive, more concise, and more expressive". No language is intrinsically all that the correspondent says. A language becomes what its speakers and writers make it. English had no merit apart from what Englishmen made it. In other words, a language is a human creation and takes the colour of its creators. Every language is capable of infinite expansion. Modern Bengali is what Bankim and Rabindra Nath have made it. If, therefore, it is true that Urdu is more everything than Hindi, it is because its creators are abler than those of Hindi. I can give no opinion, for I have not studied either as a linguist. I know just enough of both for my public work.

But is Urdu a language distinct from Hindi as, say, Bengali is from Marathi? Is not Urdu a direct descendant of Hindi, written in the Persian character with a tendency to borrow new words from Persian and Arabic rather than Sanskrit? If there was no estrangement between the two communities, such a phenomenon would have been welcomed. And when the animosities have died out, as they will one day, our descendants will



laugh at our quarrels and will be proud of the common Hindustani speech which will be a mixture of words indifferently borrowed from many languages according to the tastes and equipment of its multitude of writers and speakers.

Let me correct one misimpression of my correspondent. He seems to think that Hindustani will finally displace all the provincial languages. That is neither my dream nor of those who have been thinking of an all-India speech. Their dream is that Hindustani should displace English which has almost become a common medium of communication between the educated classes, resulting in a gulf being created between them and the masses. The tragedy can be prevented only if the common speech spoken by the largest number of India's inhabitants is adopted as the interprovincial speech. The fight, therefore, is not between Hindi and Urdu, but between the two on the one hand and English on the other. The result is a foregone conclusion in spite of the heavy handicap that the sisters are labouring under, not to speak of the temporary mutual quarrel.

My correspondent quarrels with my connection with the Hindi Sahitya Sammelan. I am proud of my connection with that body. It has a record of which it has no reason to be ashamed. The name Hindi was common to both the communities. Both have written in Hindi and promoted its growth. Evidently my correspondent is ignorant of what my connection with that body has meant. It was under my instigation that it wisely, and shall I say patriotically and generously, adopted the definition of Hindi to cover Urdu. He asks whether I ever joined an Urdu Anjuman. I have never been seriously asked to join any. If I was, I would have made a stipulation with my inviters similar to the one I made with those who induced me to preside at the Hindi Sahitya Sammelan. I would have asked the Urdu-speaking inviters to let me ask the audience to define Urdu so as to include Hindi speech written in Devanagari script. No such luck came my way.

But now, as I have already hinted in my article of the 1st inst. already referred to, I would like to form an Association advocating the learning of both forms of speech and both the scripts by its members and carrying on propaganda to that end in the hope finally of a natural fusion of the two becoming a common interprovincial speech called Hindustani. Then the equation would be not Hindustani = Hindi + Urdu, but Hindustani = Hindi = Urdu.

Sevagram, 2-2-42

#### Notice

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Manager

#### BENARES NOTES

(Continued from p. 31)

A. I. S. A., and it is their duty to take up this work. To feed the hungry and clothe the naked is our immediate programme, and you have all to lend a hand effectively. If you all do so, the question of spurious khadi will not arise. No Congressman can deal in spurious khadi."

The last question was about the Congressmen's duty in times of raids and scares and consequent disturbances.

"The emergency is there today," said Gandhiji. "Dacoities are rampant, and unless the Congress asserts itself effectively the situation will go out of our hands. The need for peace brigades was never more urgent than now. The risk of death is there, whether you choose violence or non-violence. Why not then prepare yourselves to die non-violently? It will also enable you to offer effective resistance in case of a civil war. As for the protection of the wounded in air raids, the bulk of the work will come upon yourselves. You will not join the A. R. P., simply because you will be then parts of a machine over which you have no control and you would be active participants in the war effort. But it is certain that the Government will not be able to render assistance everywhere. Did they do so in Rangoon? We have harrowing tales of dead and wounded lying on the streets of Rangoon uncared for. Wherever, therefore, the authorities fail there will be enough scope of work for us. We have to prepare volunteers for this work ready to take risks and to act with initiative. We may have to remove the dead and wounded, take charge of vacant houses, and so on. In this work you will heartily co-operate with the authorities wherever they will accept your co-operation."

Sevagram, 1-2-42

M. D.

#### To Correspondents

Correspondents will please note that I neither open nor read all the correspondence that comes to me. And now that I have taken up the care of the three weeklies, the fewest possible letters are put before me, and even those I often do not get the time to read. Correspondents should regard the weeklies as my public letter to them. Therefore they may not as a rule expect personal replies. Many apply for admission to the Sevagram Ashram. For one thing there is hardly room for further admissions. Some insist on replies in my own hand. It is not possible to satisfy this desire, much as I should like to. I would therefore request all correspondents to spare me and my overworked assistants as much as possible.

Sevagram, 4-2-42

M. K. G.

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# HARIJAN

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[ FIVE PICE

## BENARES NOTES

### II

#### Some Features and Comments

Gandhiji in his address to the teachers and the students of the Kashi Vishwavidyalaya referred to what he would like the University to make a distinctive feature of its own. But apart from it there are in the University some special features which attract students to it from far and near. Gandhiji referred to the Engineering and the Technological departments. There are similarly the College of Oriental Learning and the College of Theology as also the Ayurvedic College. It has on its staff some of the most distinguished men in India in the sphere of Mathematics and Physics and some distinguished Orientalists, some who have to their credit text-books on subjects like Geology, and some like Prof. Atreya who is the author of many books both in English and Hindi on philosophy and religion. The departments of Oriental Learning and Ayurveda and the Institute of Agricultural Research have plenty of scope for research, though one does not know if much work has been done in that direction. The College of Theology ought not to rest content with giving degrees of *Smriti Ratna*, *Smriti Sagar*, and so on, but these degree-holders should make critical studies of our shastras and produce works of textual and higher criticism as has been done in the case of the Bible by numerous English and European scholars.

The University has besides spacious playgrounds, a well-equipped gymnasium in the Shivaji Hall, and it organises swimming and boat club activities too. In this connection I am tempted to make an observation. A university with 4,000 students has an almost unlimited scope in the direction of organising volunteer work both for the management of big meetings and shows and for the work of communal unity, as I shall presently show. This work, I am sorry to say, was conspicuous by its absence on the day the Convocation was held. It was a tough business to lead Pandit Malaviyaji and Gandhiji on to the dais that afternoon of the 21st. If there was proper organisation, there should have been a clear way prepared for the old leaders to walk to the dais unmolested by the crowds. There was not only no way, but scores of photographers from among the volunteers themselves made a scramble for their darshan and for catching snapshots of them. For a while I wondered whether we were not taking a grave risk in carrying old leaders like Panditji through these unmanageable crowds. And when after very great difficulty they were carried on to

the dais a sort of pandemonium prevailed for quite a long time. It was a sad reflection on our education, learning and culture, and it must have been far from pleasant to Dr. Radhakrishnan to appeal to the audience to be quiet in the name of self-respect and dignity, and in the name of honoured guests like Gandhiji, Jawaharlalji and Rajendrababu. Sports and playing grounds and gymnasias are no use, if they cannot teach us the very elements of arranging and organising meetings, no matter how vast.

I have mentioned communal unity. If these four thousand students were to be taught non-violent military drill and to march like soldiers going to the front, they could form a unique peace brigade. A thousand students, nay even a hundred students, clad in khadi uniform can march peacefully to scenes of rioting, and can by daring and courage to go through some amount of suffering successfully quell a riot. If they were to devote a little thought to this, I am sure the students can be the best organisers of communal unity. That, however, is a far cry. Would they organise themselves as spinners? An hourly spinning would be a good preparation for the volunteer-work for communal unity.

#### Commendable Features

The University has a branch of the Gandhi Ashram Khadi Bhandar, which is managed by the Benares Gandhi Ashram, and under its auspices is a spinning centre too. There is also a Servants Credit Society and a Co-operative Store, both of which are, I hope, running well. I say 'I hope', as I have had no opportunity of going into their working, but they are commendable features in themselves.

But perhaps the most commendable of all are the Students Sevak Mandal, Vidyarthi Sabhayak Sabha, and the Students' Self-Help Circle run by Profs. Asrani and Mukut Behari Lal. The Students' Self-Help Circle deserves special notice. It provides work for poor students, e. g. tuition, photography, typewriting, selling milk, ghee, newspapers, stationery, carrying and painting and polishing furniture, whitewashing houses, gardening, boot polishing and so on. Diligent students earn up to Rs. 15 per month by doing these jobs. Pandit Ram Naresh Tripathi tells the story of an M. A. student who met him one early morning going with pails of milk on his cycle. He has three brothers of his also in the University. Their father earns only Rs. 35 per month and cannot possibly find the wherewithal to educate the sons. The sons are,



therefore, running a small dairy and selling milk and ghee. A hundred such students are thus finding the expenses of their education through self-help. Prof. Asrani is keenly interested in spinning and cottage industries, and his energetic work in all these directions is worthy of praise. He had collected a little purse for Gandhiji for constructive work, and he also presented Gandhiji with a *chudder* made out of yarn of the boys' own spinning.

A word, too, about Prof. Satish Kalelkar and his band of students who slaved for us day and night at our camp. Acharya Kripalani, seeing that most of these students were Gujaratis, twitted him with having chosen only Gujarati students for service in Gandhiji's camp. The fault, if fault it was, was Sir Radhakrishnan's who insisted on Gandhiji being served and looked after by those who knew Gandhiji best. And young Satish, who is fast getting popular among the boys, but who is still fresh in the University, selected the boys he knew best. Otherwise being the son of a distinguished father like Kakasaheb Kalelkar he is, I know free from any trace of provincialism, not to say communalism. He has a bright future in front of him, and he could not do better than devote his spare time to organising students in the directions I have indicated in these notes.

#### Watertight?

Our stay at the University was all too brief for anything like a study of things there, and what I say in this paragraph is subject to correction. The Women's College is a self-contained one walled off from the other buildings. It has its own staff, though I understand that ladies who go in for science have to attend the science classes along with men students. If that is the case, I do not know what objection there should be to lady students having the benefit of lectures in other subjects by men professors. On the other hand, there may be a distinguished lady professor whose lectures men students may well profit by. There seems to me to be no reason for watertight compartments so far as teaching is concerned.

But I would go a little further. There are the weekly Gita classes. I do not know if lady students are allowed to attend them. If not, they should be. On the second day of our stay Gandhiji received a message from the Women's College that he should not go away without giving the lady students at least a few minutes of his time. He readily agreed, and seeing the beautiful *maidan* in front of the College, he felt like having the evening prayer there. The students hailed the proposal with delight. Prof. Asrani, who was to present the students' purse and the *chudder* at prayer time, was also invited to be present there with his students. And for the first time perhaps the lady students and men students had prayers together. At the request of the lady students themselves Gandhiji agreed to listening to a recitation from the Gita by some of them, after the end of the prayer. They recited verses 36 to 46 from the Eleventh Discourse of the Gita. The selection seemed to me to be most appropriate. They could not have thought of a

fitter offering of welcome, and it did one's heart good to think that at least some—if not indeed all—students in the Women's College know the Bhagavadgita. I felt that they should have more opportunities for cultural contact with the outside world and always opportunities of listening to an occasional sermon from the venerable Panditji, Dr. Radhakrishnan and others and all leaders who are invited as guests.

#### Talks with Congress Workers

Pandit Jawaharlal had arranged two meetings of Congress workers for an informal exchange of views with Gandhiji. At one meeting there were the members of the U. P. Provincial Congress Committee Executive, and at the other there were members of the larger Committee. A number of questions were asked—some wise and some otherwise, which provided a lot of merriment to Gandhiji no less than to the audience, who had the opportunity of observing Gandhiji's humour at its best which contributes a good deal to keep him alive and healthy.

#### Principles and Objective

Q. What is your ultimate object? Do you want the Congress to accept your principles or to achieve its object?

A. Every plan and programme that I have placed before the Congress has been placed with a view to achieving the goal of Independence. Truth and non-violence are a matter of creed for me—you may call it my religion, but it has not been my object to propagate that religion through the Congress. Before the Congress they have been placed as effective means to an end—as political means for a political objective, as I did in South Africa. If it was otherwise, I should cease to be a political worker and occupy the position of a *dharmaguru*! The political method can be changed whenever expedient, but the change should be honest and deliberate. But one should not pretend to adhere to the method when really in practice one has given it up. That would be deceiving oneself and the world.

#### Future Programme

Q. We should like to have a glimpse of the next six months or a year as you picture it to yourself. You have often said that this is a fight to the finish, your last fight which will not end until the goal is won. What are likely to be the future developments as you can visualise them?

A. It is a good question, and also a difficult question. Not that I am not clear, but because it takes us into the realm of speculation. I let things and happenings react on me—though I confess I do not follow everything as Jawaharlal with his study of foreign affairs can. Jawaharlal is convinced that the British Empire is finished. We all wish that it may be finished, but I do not think it is finished. We know that the Britishers are tough fighters, we know what the Empire—especially India—means to every home in Britain, and therefore they will never consent to be 'Little Englanders'. Mr. Churchill has said that they are not 'sugar candies', and that they can meet rough with rough. Therefore it will be long before the Empire is finished. There is no doubt, however, that they are



nearing the end, and what Jawaharlal has said is very true that, if we could do nothing to prevent the war, we certainly will do much to prevent a peace in which we have no voice. That is what every Congressman has to bear in mind. We have, therefore, to be up and doing. If we sit with folded hands, we may have a peace which we do not desire.

I adhere to the statement that it is my final fight, but we have had to alter our programme because of the latest developments, because war has come to our door. The suspension had nothing to do with my retirement from the official leadership of the Congress. Even if it had continued, how could I today ask Jawaharlal to march back to jail? Of course he will be in jail, if he is prevented from doing the work we have chalked out. But things have happened so rapidly that we had not the slightest idea of what was coming. How then can I talk of a year or even six months ahead? That we are marching swiftly towards Independence I have no doubt. There is no doubt about the programme ahead of us. No Congressman should rest content with just paying his four anna fee. He has to be active all the twentyfour hours. Even the one concrete programme of production of cloth is sufficient to occupy all our energies. There are 400 students in the Benares Hindu University. Will they spin an hour every day? I am talking of spinning because it is a thing nearest my heart, but there are a hundred and one other things. Have the villagers enough food to eat? Have they enough to cover themselves in this bitter cold? These are the questions that occur to me again and again. On our capacity to feed the starving and clothe the naked and generally to serve the masses in the time of their need will depend our capacity to influence the peace whenever it comes. What I have said applies to all parties. Whoever serves the purpose best will survive and have an effective voice.

Q. You think they cannot have a treaty just as they like?

A. I do. The days of secret treaties are gone, I hope. If we behave ourselves, we can have a decisive voice at least so far as we are concerned. But Jawaharlal can explain these things better. I am no student of history or even of contemporary events in the world.

#### Why Did You Not Divide the House?

Q. Why did you advise the A. I. C. C. members to support the Bardoli resolution, though at one stage you had decided to divide the house? Rajaji's speeches after the A. I. C. C. are against the Bombay resolution, and even expediency dictates that there can be no co-operating with a dying Empire.

A. I am afraid you are 'estopped' from asking the question, if I may use a legal term. But as you have asked the question, and there is nothing to hide, I may answer it. In fact I answered it in my speech before the A. I. C. C., if you listened to it with attention. Well then let me tell you that, though I am old in age, my mind is not decaying. It is ever growing, and the decision not to divide the house indicates my growth or evolution in my own non-violence.

To divide the house appeared to me a piece of violence. If every one of the members of the A. I. C. C. was a *pukka* believer in political non-violence, it would have been a different matter. But I knew that such was not the case. The Bardoli resolution was a true reflection of the Congress mind. In such matters majority and minority do not count. And there was nothing to prevent the whole-hoggers to go whatever length they liked.

The contingency of co-operation is, if anything, very remote. Until then all have to act in terms of non-violence. When the contingency does arise the whole-hoggers can secede from the Congress. In fact we can then meet again and put the whole matter to vote.

Q. Would it be proper or improper to defend oneself with arms against *atayat*is (confirmed offenders) in case of disturbances?

A. The answer has been already given by me and also by the Congress. And the word *atayati* is bad for our purpose. And don't ask what is proper and improper. If you were to ask me, I should say it is improper. If you are non-violent, do not have resort to arms. If you cannot muster non-violence of the brave, defend yourself as best you can. The law gives everyone the right of self-defence against a dacoit, and the Congress does not take away the legal right. But in riots or communal disturbances, he who calls himself a Congressman has to act non-violently. That is the resolution of the Congress. Even there if your courage fails you and you use force, the Congress will not censure you, for the simple reason that the Congress never intended to encourage cowardice.

#### Limits of Co-operation

Q. You are said to have permitted khadi bhandars to sell blankets to Government. Is it not co-operation in the war effort?

A. I did. It was not proper for me to ask whether the blankets were for the use of soldiers or for someone else. The case is different when a man sells fire-arms or swords or poison. The vendor has to inquire how the fire-arms are to be used, and the chemist has to ask for the doctor's certificate. On the other hand a rice-seller will not, and is under no obligation to, inquire who is going to consume the rice.

But you may go further than I did. If you think I erred, you are at liberty to denounce me. If you think a non-violent man may not sell rice or blankets to soldiers, you are welcome to your interpretation of non-violence. I for one will not hesitate to give water or food to a soldier who comes to me with hands red with murder. My humanity would not let me do otherwise.

The question of spurious khadi was next discussed, and Gandhiji said: "A great deal depends on intelligent and wide-awake public opinion. If the public takes it into its mind to prevent the spread of this khadi, it can easily do so. But we have not cultivated what Lord Willingdon used to call the courage to say 'No'. Those who are interested in khadi are all shareholders of the

(Continued on p. 36)



# HARIJAN

Feb. 8

1942

## PRICE CONTROL

One wonders if Government who do not want panic and scares do not often help in creating these. For two or three days after the Japanese radio announced that Rangoon had been bombed the news was left uncontradicted. (I refer to the first news of Rangoon being bombed.) The news might have been contradicted at once and the people might have been told that it was a fair indication of Japan's intention and that they should in case of raids stay indoors and so on. Then there are all kinds of stories that have come from the refugees in Rangoon—one of them being of thousands of people having been killed. The Government might have published a true and accurate account of the happenings.

Then there is the very important matter of price control. The police often swoop down upon a petty trader and haul him up before the authorities. We are told that it is being done to 'teach them a lesson'. We know to our cost what 'teaching them a lesson' means. The Committee of the Indian Chamber of Commerce have, in an important communication addressed to the Government of India, shown what havoc price control is working. The purpose is avowedly to make the necessities of life available to the public at a reasonable price and to prevent profiteering. As pointed out in the Committee's letter, "the effect of the measures which the Government have so far adopted has been largely to defeat the end in view. It has been observed that there is a tendency for measures of price control being followed by scarcity of the article concerned, or even its disappearance from the market, unless proper measures are taken by the Government to safeguard against such scarcity or disturbance. Recently, for instance, since the Government of India fixed the sale prices of wheat, further supplies of the commodity in the Calcutta market have become scarce, and indeed the situation has become so serious that perhaps it would be difficult to obtain wheat in the city after some time unless adequate steps are taken in time to maintain supplies. In the United Kingdom also, last year for instance, immediately after the prices of tomatoes and gooseberries were fixed these fruits disappeared from the market." The same story has been received from other places in India. In one place, we are told, it was impossible to get a seer of wheat for one rupee.

The police action is in most cases indiscriminate, and the Committee have rightly adverted to that aspect of the case also:

"At present what is being done is that whenever it is found that a certain article is not being sold in the market, the police, without going into the causes, take indiscriminate action and arrest a few persons

here and there for charging prices higher than the maximum or holding up stocks. Although the Committee do not support the action of those who may be holding up stocks and agree that such practice should be checked, they may point out that such indiscriminate action only tends to dislocate trade, and many small dealers consider it better to discontinue trading in the article concerned rather than carry the risk of being thus maltreated."

Then there is unco-ordinated action by various Provincial Governments.

"For instance, in September last, the Government of U. P. fixed the prices of wheat in the Hapur market without any relation to prices in other centres, and at a level which was low compared to the prices of wheat in other provinces and markets of India, particularly in the Punjab. The result was that, while dealers in other parts of India, e. g. in Calcutta, who had previously contracted for purchases of wheat in the Hapur market at certain rates could not get supplies from the market, large quantities of wheat were attracted to the Punjab markets where the prices were higher."

There are other aspects of the matter into which we need not go. To end the anomalies and hardships pointed out above, the Committee have proposed that, if the price control measures are to succeed,

"(1) The maximum fixed by the Government must bear proper relation to the replacement costs; and

(2) The Government must be prepared to sell the articles concerned at those rates—the prices to be fixed after taking into consideration the total cost of production, transit expenses, availability of raw material, wages and other factors including reasonable profit."

This is an eminently sound proposal, and Government should have no difficulty in giving effect to it. The Committee have made suggestions in this behalf. The Government, they suggest, should, after fixing the maximum prices, establish a few large granaries in different centres of the country and be prepared to sell at that rate any number of bags to customers retail or wholesale. The Government's readiness to sell at a particular price will prevent traders from putting up the prices, as is actually the case with regard to silver.

The proposal should be carefully considered at the Price Control Conference to be held in the first week of February, in consultation with representatives of various trades, and an end should be put to a situation which may soon get out of control.

Sevagram, 1-2-42

M. D.

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## GO-SEVA SANGH

## I

## A Little History

I remember vividly a meeting addressed by Gandhiji during my early days with him. It was in Motihari in 1917 when some good people invited him to visit the local *pinjrapol* and address a meeting on the occasion of its annual celebration. Some of the sentiments he expressed that day gave those assembled a wholesome shock. They had expected praise from him. Instead they received a hard sermon on the way we had in criminal ignorance neglected the cow instead of protecting her. Ever since he has been dinning into the heads of cow-worshipping Hindus the disasters that lie on the path of their ignorant worship. But we have made little headway. The first cow protection society was formed in 1924 at Belgaum with Gandhiji as president. It then became Go-Seva Sangh, a compact body. It has much solid but unpretentious work to its credit. We had been able to bring into being a tannery of dead cattle's hide, and the Lucknow and Faizpur Exhibitions had courts showing the uses of the remains of dead cattle after they are dead. There was in these exhibitions the tannery section showing how a Brahman family can run a full-fledged tannery in as clean a fashion as it can run a kitchen, and at Faizpur and Haripura there was a dairy court showing eloquently how the cow was one of the most important factors in India's economy, and the ultimately uneconomic nature of the buffalo as compared to that of a good cow. But we are far yet from having been able to draw India's attention to this vital problem, and though the workers in the field met at Faizpur and took some important decisions, they have failed so far in awakening Hindu India's interest in the "only scientific society for effectively protecting the cow" as Gandhiji described the Go-Seva Sangh in 1937.

A definite step forward was taken again when Jamnalalji, who was advised by Gandhiji not to court imprisonment a second time for reasons of health, took the decision last year to devote all his time and energy exclusively to this work. It was at his instance that Gandhiji was encouraged to decide to give the society an all-India character by forming an All India Go-Seva Sangh. Experts in the field like Mr. Kothawala of the Bangalore Dairy, Mr. Sam Higginbottom of the Allahabad Agricultural Institute, Shri Viswanathan of the Agricultural Research Institute, Sir Datar Singh of the Montgomery Dairy Farm, and others were invited to a Conference held for the purpose on the 1st of this month. The venerable Pandit Malaviyaji had also promised to attend, but Gandhiji dissuaded him from undertaking the long journey. Some of the experts who were invited but who could not come sent either their representatives or their suggestions, and the Conference was fully representative in that many who have been working in the field for several years like Shri Chaunde Maharaj of Wai and representatives of about twelve *pinjrapols* were also present and took part

in the deliberations. Shri Vinoba presided and Gandhiji opened the Conference.

## Soul's Outpouring

Although the subject was to Gandhiji as old as the hills he gave it a new setting and delivered a speech as packed with argument as revealing of the agony of his soul.

Many a foreign writer has made fun of the Hindus' religious sentiments about the cow, and in a recent novel England's famous modern novelist Cronin makes a cockney upstart returned to England after a brief stay in India describe his experience thus:

"You might not believe me, Nancy, but the cow is a sacred animal to millions of folks out in India. They'll have images of the animal stuck up in all places, and in the streets of the native quarters you'll see great big cows slushing about, with flowers on their horns and garlands of marigolds round their necks, poking their noses everywhere like they owned the place, into the houses and into the stalls, and not a body says 'no' to them. I once saw one of the beasts stop at a stall of fruit and vegetable and before you could say 'knife', it had cleared the place from end to end, and the man what owned the shop was obliged to sit helpless and watch 'it eat up all his stuff, and when it had finished he could do nowt but put up a bit prayer to it or string the remains of his flowers around its big neck."

Gandhiji with biting irony went one better and cast an even more lurid light on the worship of the cow as seen in the streets of Bombay. "We catch her by the tail and sanctify our eyes with its sacred touch. We regard even her urine as sacred and full of medicinal value and drink it. Alas, the poor cow is innocent of all this worship, and so our worship is lost on her. It even scares her. When it scares her she answers our attentions with a kick; when she is not scared she suffers us." He was simply giving in his own language the pathetic picture that Shrimati Perinben Captain, an indefatigable worker of Bombay, had drawn to him of her daily experience in Bhuleshwar, and who on being invited to attend the Conference had declined, saying in effect: "None of this travesty of worship for me. I might attend when you have put it on a rational footing and shown by concrete work that the Hindus really care for the cow. And if you will protect the cow, why not the horse and the dog too—both of them equally noble?"

"All this is too true," he said, "and those who claim to protect the cow betray a criminal ignorance of the real method of protecting her and her progeny. Those who claim to worship the cow cruelly ill-treat the bullocks. Chaunde Maharaj has been working at the problem assiduously for years, but whilst he accepts my facts and even argument, he says, 'what about the public sentiment? they somehow want to save the cow from the butcher.' But they go about the wrong way and succeed in defeating the very object they are trying to achieve. I do not say this in a carping spirit, but shocking ignorance, and want of understanding of the essentials of the problem betrayed by most of the people who run our *pinjrapols* dismay me."



He referred in passing to the wrong way of protecting the cow from a Mussalman wanting to slaughter her, and said that he would repeat *ad nauseam* that to quarrel with the Mussalman and to kill him in order to protect the cow was to instigate more slaughter.

#### The Problem of Ghee

He next referred to the difficulty of procuring pure cow's milk and ghee. "The whole milk and ghee trade is in the hands of the Hindus. But have we been able to ensure a supply of pure milk and ghee? The milk is adulterated, and even the water used for adulteration is not clean. The cruel and criminal process of *phooka* is well-known. The ghee sold in the market can often be described as poison rather than ghee. The butter we get from New Zealand, Australia or Denmark is guaranteed pure cow's butter, but there is no guarantee about the butter or ghee available here. There is not a shop in Wardha, where some of us are keen on this problem, where one could go and buy a seer of cow's ghee of guaranteed purity."

#### The Cow and the Buffalo

Every animal — in fact all life — is sacred and should be protected, but unless we really protect the one that was most valuable in national economy, other animals could not be protected. In our neglect of the cow we had brought both the cow and the buffalo at death's door.

"I therefore say," said Gandhiji, "that, if I can really protect the cow by adopting proper ways and means, I would protect the rest of the animals. But it can be done only if we know the true science and economy of it. Only then shall we be able to interest Perinben in the problem. I am amazed at our partiality for buffalo's milk and ghee. Our economics is short-sighted. We look at the immediate gain, but we do not realise that in the last analysis the cow is the more valuable animal. Cow's butter (and ghee) has a naturally yellowish colour which indicates its superiority to buffalo's butter (and ghee) in *carotene*. It has a flavour all its own. Foreign visitors who come to Sevagram go into raptures over the pure cow's milk they get there. Buffalo's milk and butter are almost unknown in Europe. It is only in India that one finds a prejudice in favour of buffalo's milk and ghee. This has spelt all but extinction of the cow, and that is why I say that, unless we put an exclusive emphasis on the cow, she cannot be saved. It is a tragedy that all the cows and buffaloes put together cannot give us enough milk for the 40 crores of our people. We ought to realise the value of the cow as a good milker and the only source of draught and agricultural cattle. And how far is one to pamper popular prejudices? A cow proves valuable even if she dies, if we would make use of the skin, the bone, the fleshing, the entrails and so on." "But," said Gandhiji, "the good Chaunde Maharaj wonders if people can be persuaded to believe that dead cow's hide is sacred. Why not? I would not hesitate to go into my house with shoes made of dead cow's hide, provided of course the shoes

are clean. I should not hesitate to have my meal with such clean shoes on. I have to do all this in order to show that the cow is an asset and not a liability. Today in many places they bury dead cows or sell them away for a song. We despise the Harijans who eat carrion, but we forget that it is for our own fault. If we treated the hide properly, if we knew the manurial value of the fleshing, and the use of the bone and the entrails — which we are demonstrating at Nalwadi — there would be no carrion-eating."

#### Pinjrapols

He next came to the question of *pinjrapols* with which almost every town in India is studded, which have plenty of funds, but some of which are grossly mismanaged. "Ever since my return to India from South Africa I have been harping on the question of the reform of *pinjrapols*. Unless we realise and define their proper functions, they are sure to remain the economic waste they are. Their proper function is to take care of dry, old and disabled cows, of which individual owners cannot possibly take care — certainly not in towns and cities. Their function is not that of a dairy — though they may run a separate dairy if they can — but the care of the old and the disabled animals, and to provide the raw material for a tannery. There should be a well-equipped tannery attached to every *pinjrapol*. They should maintain the best stud bulls and loan them out for public use, they should provide every facility for the humane and scientific castration of bulls to be turned into bullocks, and they should be instruction centres for the agriculturist and the dairy farmer. Here is plenty of scope for our agricultural and dairy graduates who should receive additional training for the special work and then be attached to every one of our *pinjrapols*. All the *pinjrapols* should then be affiliated to our Association which should be the central institution for expert advice, collection and co-ordination of information and statistics, and so on. The Association has made it a rule to have as its members those who take the following pledge:

"I agree with the object and means of the Association.

I promise to use cow's milk and its products exclusively, except for medical purposes or under unavoidable circumstances or in the articles of food containing milk and its products in a negligible quantity. I will refrain from the use of the leather of slaughtered cows, bullocks and calves.

I will donate a sum of rupee one or 2,000 yards of self-spun yarn to the Association every year."

Adverting to this Gandhiji said: "Do not magnify the so-called difficulties and the embarrassment you would cause to your hosts. You can go about with cow's ghee wherever you go — as Kakasaheb does — or you can do without it. It will be good propaganda, and you may succeed in converting your hosts also. But duty is not always easy of performance. To run away from it is the opposite of manliness, opposite of humanity."

Sevagram, 3-2-42

M. D.

(To be continued)



## HINDI + URDU = HINDUSTANI

(By M. K. Gandhi)

The following letter was written on the 29th ult. and sent to me by its writer by registered post. It was received at Sevagram on the 31st ult.:

"I was very much impressed by your convocation address at the Benares University. Specially your remarks about making Hindustani the medium of instruction in our educational institutions were very apt on the occasion. But do you really believe that there exists in our country any such language as Hindustani? As a matter of fact there is no such language, and I am afraid that at Benares you advocated the cause of Hindi and not of Hindustani, and that is the way with all the Congressmen. I wonder why you openly don't say what you really mean. Say, you want Hindi. Why call it Hindustani, or still worse Hindi-Hindustani, by which name you wanted to call it some years back and which nobody ever used?

Mahatmaji, you say you have no antipathy towards Urdu; still you openly called it the language of Mussalmans, which is written in the Quranic script. You even said that the Mussalmans may take care of it, if they so please. And on the other hand, you several times presided over the annual sessions of Hindi Sabhas and advocated the cause of Hindi and collected lakhs of rupees for it. Have you ever presided over any meeting held for the propagation of Urdu, or would you agree to preside over one now, and have you ever collected a pie for the advancement of Urdu?

I have heard Congressmen saying, *ad nauseam*, that the Muslim writers should avoid Persian words and Hindu writers should avoid Sanskrit words, and the resultant language will be Hindustani.

Mahatmaji, you are yourself a very good writer. You must know that practised writers who have developed a style will never be able to avoid Persian or Sanskrit words, if they are part of the language in which they are writing and of which these writers are regarded stylists; so this advice of yours is absolutely impracticable.

But there is a way out. Make both Urdu and Hindi compulsory at least in one province, say U. P., up to the High School standard. By this means, the province in which both the languages are compulsorily taught will have one common language within, say, about fifty years. The language which naturally belongs to us will remain with us, and the other one which we are artificially thrusting upon ourselves will drop out from our lives. It is obvious that when we shall learn both the languages we shall perforce make that one the vehicle of our thoughts which is more developed, more beautiful, more attractive, more concise, and more expressive. Apart from making the path of vernacularisation smooth and easy, this proposal will help a great deal in bridging the wide gulf between the social life of Hindus and Mussalmans. We shall be able to know and sympathise with each other's ideals and beliefs through each other's literature. It is just possible that a new language may evolve out of the mixture of both Hindi and Urdu; then it may be called Hindustani. It will be a

natural language when it comes out of the knowledge of both.

Mahatmaji, if you sincerely wish that our country should have one common language, I am sure that you will accept this proposal and will recommend it to the country. But I am sure you will do no such thing. Because you are all along advocating the cause of Hindi and are doing your best to thrust it upon the country. And you must also be knowing that, if both Hindi and Urdu are made compulsory, Urdu will push Hindi out of the field, because Urdu is more chaste, more civilised, more expressive, and more beautiful than Hindi. But my proposal gives equal chances to both the languages. If you believe that Hindi is the natural language of the country, you may confidently hope that it will push off Urdu. There is no use taking shelter under the excuse that you have no power to make both the languages compulsory, as you wrote to me last year. If you only care to recommend the proposal to the country, it will have its effect."

The writer has signed the letter, but as it is marked personal I refrain from giving his name. In any case the name does not matter. What the writer says is, I know, the belief held by many Muslims. My repudiation has not undone the mischief.

But my article, which was written on the 23rd ult. and has appeared in *Harijan* of the 1st inst., should soothe the writer so far as I am concerned.

I entirely agree with my correspondent that all who want one all-India speech should today learn both the forms—Hindi and Urdu. Those who do will ultimately give us a common language. That form which is more popular and more understood by the masses whether Hindu or Muslim will surely be the all-India speech. But if my proposal finds general acceptance, the language question will cease to be a political issue or a bone of contention.

I do not subscribe to the correspondent's statement that Urdu is "more developed, more beautiful, more attractive, more concise, and more expressive". No language is intrinsically all that the correspondent says. A language becomes what its speakers and writers make it. English had no merit apart from what Englishmen made it. In other words, a language is a human creation and takes the colour of its creators. Every language is capable of infinite expansion. Modern Bengali is what Bankim and Rabindra Nath have made it. If, therefore, it is true that Urdu is more everything than Hindi, it is because its creators are abler than those of Hindi. I can give no opinion, for I have not studied either as a linguist. I know just enough of both for my public work.

But is Urdu a language distinct from Hindi as, say, Bengali is from Marathi? Is not Urdu a direct descendant of Hindi, written in the Persian character with a tendency to borrow new words from Persian and Arabic rather than Sanskrit? If there was no estrangement between the two communities, such a phenomenon would have been welcomed. And when the animosities have died out, as they will one day, our descendants will



laugh at our quarrels and will be proud of the common Hindustani speech which will be a mixture of words indifferently borrowed from many languages according to the tastes and equipment of its multitude of writers and speakers.

Let me correct one misimpression of my correspondent. He seems to think that Hindustani will finally displace all the provincial languages. That is neither my dream nor of those who have been thinking of an all-India speech. Their dream is that Hindustani should displace English which has almost become a common medium of communication between the educated classes resulting in a gulf being created between them and the masses. The tragedy can be prevented only if the common speech spoken by the largest number of India's inhabitants is adopted as the interprovincial speech. The fight, therefore, is not between Hindi and Urdu, but between the two on the one hand and English on the other. The result is a foregone conclusion in spite of the heavy handicap that the sisters are labouring under, not to speak of the temporary mutual quarrel.

My correspondent quarrels with my connection with the Hindi Sahitya Sammelan. I am proud of my connection with that body. It has a record of which it has no reason to be ashamed. The name Hindi was common to both the communities. Both have written in Hindi and promoted its growth. Evidently my correspondent is ignorant of what my connection with that body has meant. It was under my instigation that it wisely, and shall I say patriotically and generously, adopted the definition of Hindi to cover Urdu. He asks whether I ever joined an Urdu Anjuman. I have never been seriously asked to join any. If I was, I would have made a stipulation with my inviters similar to the one I made with those who induced me to preside at the Hindi Sahitya Sammelan. I would have asked the Urdu-speaking inviters to let me ask the audience to define Urdu so as to include Hindi speech written in Devanagari script. No such luck came my way.

But now, as I have already hinted in my article of the 1st inst. already referred to, I would like to form an Association advocating the learning of both forms of speech and both the scripts by its members and carrying on propaganda to that end in the hope finally of a natural fusion of the two becoming a common interprovincial speech called Hindustani. Then the equation would be not Hindustani = Hindi + Urdu, but Hindustani = Hindi = Urdu.

Sevagram, 2-2-42

#### Notice

Agents will please note that it is not open to them to charge more than the published price for copies of *Harijan*, and a breach of the rule will lead to the cancellation of their agency. Purchasers are requested to co-operate by refusing to pay more than the published price, and to report to us if extra price is asked for.

Manager

#### BENARES NOTES

(Continued from p. 31)

A. I. S. A., and it is their duty to take up this work. To feed the hungry and clothe the naked is our immediate programme, and you have all to lend a hand effectively. If you all do so, the question of spurious khadi will not arise. No Congressman can deal in spurious khadi."

The last question was about the Congressmen's duty in times of raids and scares and consequent disturbances.

"The emergency is there today," said Gandhiji. "Dacoities are rampant, and unless the Congress asserts itself effectively the situation will go out of our hands. The need for peace brigades was never more urgent than now. The risk of death is there, whether you choose violence or non-violence. Why not then prepare yourselves to die non-violently? It will also enable you to offer effective resistance in case of a civil war. As for the protection of the wounded in air raids, the bulk of the work will come upon yourselves. You will not join the A. R. P., simply because you will be then parts of a machine over which you have no control and you would be active participants in the war effort. But it is certain that the Government will not be able to render assistance everywhere. Did they do so in Rangoon? We have harrowing tales of dead and wounded lying on the streets of Rangoon uncared for. Wherever, therefore, the authorities fail there will be enough scope of work for us. We have to prepare volunteers for this work ready to take risks and to act with initiative. We may have to remove the dead and wounded, take charge of vacant houses, and so on. In this work you will heartily co-operate with the authorities wherever they will accept your co-operation."

Sevagram, 1-2-42

M. D.

#### To Correspondents

Correspondents will please note that I neither open nor read all the correspondence that comes to me. And now that I have taken up the care of the three weeklies, the fewest possible letters are put before me, and even those I often do not get the time to read. Correspondents should regard the weeklies as my public letter to them. Therefore they may not as a rule expect personal replies. Many apply for admission to the Sevagram Ashram. For one thing there is hardly room for further admissions. Some insist on replies in my own hand. It is not possible to satisfy this desire, much as I should like to. I would therefore request all correspondents to spare me and my overworked assistants as much as possible.

Sevagram, 4-2-42

M. K. G.

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# HARIJAN

Editor : MAHADEV DESAI

VOL. IX, No. 5]

AHMEDABAD — SUNDAY, FEBRUARY 15, 1942

[ FIVE PICE

## Notice

The next issue, to be published on 22nd February, will contain *twelve pages* and will be priced at *two annas* per copy. Agents will please notify changes in their requirements, if any, by Thursday next. *Manager*

## Notes

### Seth Jamnalal Bajaj

In Seth Jamnalal Bajaj death has taken a mighty man. Whenever I wrote of wealthy men becoming trustees of their wealth for the common good I always had this merchant prince principally in mind. If his trusteeship did not reach the ideal, the fault was not his. I deliberately restrained him. I did not want him in his enthusiasm to take a single step which in his cool moments he might regret. His simplicity was all his own. Every house he built for himself became a *dharma-shala*. His contribution as a satyagrahi was of the highest order. In political discussions he held his own. His judgments were sound. As an act of renunciation his last was the crown of all. He wanted to take up a constructive activity to which he could devote the rest of his life and in which he could use all his abilities. This was the preservation of the cattle wealth of India personified in the cow. He threw himself into the work with a single-mindedness and zeal I had never seen surpassed. His generosity knew no distinction of race, creed or colour. He wanted to perform a rare thing for a busy man. He wanted to control his thoughts so as to prevent a single intruder from coming in. The world is poorer for his death. The country has lost one of the bravest of its servants. Janakidevi, the widow, has decided to take up the work to which he had dedicated himself. She has divested herself of all her personal property valued at about two and a half lacs. May God enable her to fulfil the trust she has undertaken.

Sevagram, 11-2-42

### Misbehaviour of Troops

I have piteous letters from correspondents complaining of misbehaviour by troops, White and Indian. There are detailed letters from Dohad and Rutlam stations and others too. The troops are said to have molested the hawkers on the platforms, helped themselves to eatables and hit the salesmen who protested. The station masters were powerless to afford protection. I do not know how much

credit is to be attached to the descriptions I have received. The evidence is so detailed and given with so much moderation as to command belief. Anyway I draw the attention of the authorities to the complaints. Any such misbehaviour should be put down summarily and repetition made practically impossible, if panic is to be prevented and bitterness avoided. I would advise the aggrieved parties to lodge their complaints to the proper authorities with authentic evidence in support.

Sevagram, 8-2-42

### Hyderabad State

Swami Ramananda Tirtha of the banned State Congress has issued the following sober statement :

"Some of the workers of the Hyderabad State Congress, which was banned on 2nd March 1940, offered individual satyagraha in the month of September 1940 under the guidance of Mahatma Gandhi. The Government of H. E. H. the Nizam released them unconditionally on 16th December 1941. Immediately after the release, I issued a statement saying that, though the Government had released us, it did not remove the aforesaid ban. It seemed to us, therefore, that it was incumbent upon us to continue the satyagraha till our demand for lifting the ban was conceded by the Government. After our release we consulted Mahatmaji and explained to him the present situation in Hyderabad State and our own point of view. Taking into consideration the present critical phase of the war, he advised us to abstain from reoffering satyagraha at this hour, and directed us to concentrate our energies wholly on the constructive programme. We have, therefore, decided to faithfully follow Mahatmaji's advice. We more and more appreciate the vital importance of the constructive programme and its potentialities. We therefore appeal to the people in general and workers in particular to devote their energies to this programme. We may not even seem to embarrass H. E. H.'s Government at this critical juncture. This suspension, however, does not mean any alteration in our goal which is the attainment of responsible government under the aegis of H. E. H. the Nizam and the Asafjahi Dynasty."

How I wish the Government of H. E. H. the Nizam would remove the ban. They cannot wish to prevent people from carrying on a constitutional movement in favour of responsible government under the aegis of H. E. H. the Nizam. The recent release of the satyagrahis loses all grace if the ban on the State Congress is not removed.

Sevagram, 8-2-42

M. K. G.



## QUESTION BOX

(By M. K. Gandhi)

### Hindu-Muslim Puzzle

Q. In your proposed solution of the Hindu-Muslim puzzle, do you expect all the Hindus to abstain from the legislatures or only a part? If only a part, will not the most reactionary Hindus get in and make things worse than now? And if you expect Congressmen to affect the Muslim mind from outside, why can't you do the same and perhaps more effectively by being inside?

A. I do not expect all the Hindus to abstain. I know that all Hindu seats will be filled by non-Congress Hindus. Congress Hindus, if they go in, will be ground down between the two stones of the communal *chakki* without doing any good to anybody. I do not approach the question as a Hindu. I approach it as a Congressman seeking to represent equally all communities. But for the artificial system introduced in the composition of the Indian legislatures, all the members would be representing not communities but their parties grouped according to their non-communal shibboleths. As one representing all communities I would expect not only Hindus but Congress-minded Muslims and others too to avoid the legislatures and elective bodies. These abstainers will hold the scales evenly between all communities and seek to affect the legislatures from outside. Whether they are many or only a few, they will play the role of wise men. If all listened to me, the communal question would disappear from our midst. By entering the legislatures the Congress Hindus become interlopers, and act weakly for fear of offending one party or the other. This I know, that at the present moment the legislatures are, and must become, part of the war machinery. They have no choice. They will not be allowed to function, if they obstruct the war effort. How could the rulers whose sole occupation is to prosecute the war do otherwise?

### Why Not in Hindu Majority Provinces?

Q. Why not advise Congressmen to withdraw from the provincial legislatures too where the Hindus are in a majority?

A. Because I do not want the non-Muslim minority parties to act as if they were the majority and carry on the government in these provinces. It would be a false position to which the Congress would be a willing party, if the Congress members withdrew. In these provinces, therefore, abstention cannot solve the communal tangle, and will bring about an unintended and undesirable state of things.

### Torturing the Language?

Q. Surely you are torturing the language when you use the word 'unitary' in the place of 'unilateral'. For that is obviously what you mean.

A. I must plead not guilty. 'Unilateral' has a definite legal meaning which does not fit in with what I am struggling to convey. It is not one-sidedness. It is no-sidedness. It has impartiality implied in it. But it is not the method of impartiality. It is something more. I represent a party, say the Congress. For the solution of the problem I apply

a method whereby I seek to affect those who are estranged from me. I am not merely impartial, because I may or may not please them. Impartiality has to be felt by the aggrieved party. My conduct is independent of the feeling of the aggrieved party. I go the utmost length to placate the offended party, and trust my out and out pure conduct to affect them. I may not succeed at once. But if there is a real sense of justice in the method, it must succeed. For want of a better word I have called the method 'unitary'. The dictionary meaning satisfies my test which I have imperfectly described here. Sevagram, 3-2-42

## ADIVASIS

(By M. K. Gandhi)

Adivasis have become the fourteenth item in the constructive programme. But they are not the least in point of importance. Our country is so vast and the races so varied that the best of us, in spite of every effort, cannot know all there is to know of men and their condition. As one comes upon layer after layer of things one ought to know as a national servant, one realises how difficult it is to make good our claim to be one nation whose every unit has a living consciousness of being one with every other.

The Adivasis are 2½ crores in all India, i. e. 6½ per cent of the total population or nearly half of the Harijan population.

Shri Balasaheb Kher has thrown himself with his usual zeal into this much needed service in the Thana District. He says in the pamphlet issued by him on behalf of the Adivasi Seva Mandal of which he is President:

"Many of these aborigines have been reduced to a state of actual slavery. 'Beth' or 'veth' or forced labour is exacted from them without payment of any wages or with only a nominal payment by zamindars, sowkars or forest contractors. As mentioned in Mr. Symington's Report on the Aboriginal and Hill Tribes published by Government in 1939, 'all jungle tract tenants (in the Province of Bombay) are liable to be called upon to work for their landlords. This forced labour is demanded for as many days as are necessary for the landlords' requirements. If they refuse or procrastinate, they are liable to assault or beatings.' Says Mr. Symington: 'I was told, on credible authority, of men being tied up to posts and whipped. There are also rumours of men in the past having been killed.' 'The maximum remuneration of forced labour is one anna per diem. More often rice is given, barely sufficient for one man for one meal.' The report then describes the appalling conditions of their slave life and observes: 'Landlords will not scruple to use their power in fulfilment of their purposes, for instance the use of their tenants' womenfolk for the gratification of their lust.' It will thus be seen that these tribes live a life of perpetual fear, misery and ill-health. They are so illiterate that they cannot count numbers beyond twenty, and are thus easily cheated by landlords, sowkars and contractors. They cannot avail themselves of medical aid, have poor health, and live in insanitary conditions."

Balasaheb has made a modest beginning. He has started with a hostel for Adivasi boys. His work is



all unassuming and solid. If he gets the true type of workers, what is a small beginning may one day blossom forth into an all-India organisation covering the whole of the Adivasi population. Truly "the harvest is rich and the labourers few." Who can deny that all such service is not merely humanitarian but solidly national and brings us nearer to true Independence?

Sevagram, 9-2-42

## INDIVIDUAL OR COLLECTIVE?

(By M. K. Gandhi)

Shri Jamnalal Bajaj has bravely taken the burden of the great work of cow service (in other words, cattle preservation) on his shoulders. The most important question for consideration before the recent Go-Seva Sangh Conference was whether cow farming should be in the hands of individuals or done collectively. I myself had no hesitation in saying that she could never be saved by individual farming. Her salvation, and with her that of the buffalo, could only be brought about by collective endeavour. It is quite impossible for an individual farmer to look after the welfare of his cattle in his own home in a proper and scientific manner. Amongst other causes lack of collective effort has been a principal cause of the deterioration of the cow and hence of cattle in general.

The world today is moving towards the ideal of collective or co-operative effort in every department of life. Much in this line has been and is being accomplished. It has come into our country also, but in such a distorted form that our poor have not been able to reap its benefits. *Pari passu* with the increase in our population land holdings of the average farmer are daily decreasing. Moreover what the individual possesses is often fragmentary. For such farmers to keep cattle in their homes is a suicidal policy; and yet this is their condition today. Those who give the first place to economics and pay scant attention to religious, ethical or humanitarian considerations proclaim from the house-tops that the farmer is being devoured by his cattle due to the cost of their feed which is out of all proportion to what they yield. They say it is folly not to slaughter wholesale all useless animals.

What then should be done by humanitarians is the question. The answer obviously is to find a way whereby we may not only save the lives of our cattle but also see that they do not become a burden. I am sure that co-operative effort can help us in a large measure.

The following comparison may be helpful:

1. Under the collective system no farmer can keep cattle in his house as he does today. They foul the air, and dirty the surroundings. There is neither intelligence nor humanitarianism in living with animals. Man was not meant to do so. The space taken up by the cattle today would be spared to the farmer and his family, if the collective system were adopted.

2. As the number of cattle increases, life becomes impossible for the farmer in his home.

Hence he is obliged to sell the calves and kill the male buffaloes or else turn them out to starve and die. This inhumanity would be averted, if the care of cattle were undertaken on a co-operative basis.

3. Collective cattle farming would ensure the supply of veterinary treatment to animals when they are ill. No ordinary farmer can afford this on his own.

4. Similarly one selected bull can be easily kept for the need of several cows under the collective system. This is impossible otherwise except for charity.

5. Common grazing ground or land for exercising the animals will be easily available under the co-operative system, whereas today generally there is nothing of the kind for individual farmers.

6. The expense on fodder will be comparatively far less under the collective system.

7. The sale of milk at good prices will be greatly facilitated, and there will be no need or temptation for the farmer to adulterate it as he does as an individual.

8. It is impossible to carry out tests of the fitness of every head of cattle individually, but this could easily be done for the cattle of a whole village and would thus make it easier to improve the breed.

9. The foregoing advantages should be sufficient argument in favour of co-operative cattle farming. The strongest argument in its favour is that the individualistic system has been the means of making our own condition as well as that of our cattle pitiable. We can only save ourselves and them by making this essential change.

I firmly believe too that we shall not derive the full benefits of agriculture until we take to co-operative farming. Does it not stand to reason that it is far better for a hundred families in a village to cultivate their lands collectively and divide the income therefrom than to divide the land anyhow into a hundred portions? And what applies to land applies equally to cattle.

It is quite another matter that it may be difficult to convert people to adopt this way of life straightaway. The straight and narrow road is always hard to traverse. Every step in the programme of cow service is strewn with thorny problems. But only by surmounting difficulties can we hope to make the path easier. My purpose for the time being is to show the great superiority of collective cattle farming over the individual effort. I hold further that the latter is wrong and the former only is right. In reality even the individual can only safeguard his independence through co-operation. In cattle farming the individual effort has led to selfishness and inhumanity, whereas the collective effort can abate both the evils, if it does not remove them altogether.

Sevagram, 8-2-42

(From *Harijansevak*)

## Economics of Khadi

By Gandhiji

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# HARIJAN

Feb. 15

1942

## "SUPPOSE GERMANY WINS"

(By M. K. Gandhi)

"Suppose Germany wins with India not having entered the war, would Hitler leave India alone? Certainly not, my dear Mr. Gandhi, he will have a greater say in India than what Britain has now. The difference is this. You can fight the Englishman, but you cannot fight the German once he puts his foot on India's soil. Civil disobedience is the terror of the Englishman, it is the daily bread of the Nazi."

This is a question extracted from a very long and earnest letter from an English correspondent from South Africa. The first fallacy is that India is assumed not to have entered the war when to all intents and purposes she is in the war in spite of the powerful protest of the Congress. She is so much in the war that Great Britain is effectively using all the available fighting material which her generals have brought into being and trained, and is draining all the money she can. Politically-minded Indians have never been trained except for doing the rulers' clerical work. They are certainly holding themselves aloof until certain obviously necessary conditions are fulfilled. I do not see how they can be blamed for demanding the very liberty in defence of which the Allied Powers are said to be fighting. What Indians can do even if their demand is accepted is to give their moral weight to the struggle. This the rulers evidently do not care for. It cannot, in their opinion, turn the scales in their favour. Moral values do not count when each party swears by its material and physical resources. The Congress, with all the will in the world to defeat Nazism, cannot thrust its help on Great Britain which evidently does not want it or about which it is at least indifferent. If, therefore, Great Britain suffers defeat, it will not be for want of Congress co-operation but for causes over which the Congress can have no control.

If the Nazis come to India, the Congress will give them the same fight that it has given Great Britain. I do not underrate the power of satyagraha as the questioner does. But that is pure speculation. Imperialism has kept its grip on India for more than 150 years. If it is overthrown by a worse type of rule, the Congress can have the negative satisfaction of knowing that no other 'ism' can possibly last beyond a few years even if it establishes a foothold in India. That is as I read the Congress mind. Personally I think the end of this giant war will be what happened in the fabled Mahabharata War. The Mahabharata has been aptly described by a Travancorian as the Permanent History of Man. What is described in that great epic is happening today before our very eyes. The warring nations are destroying themselves with

such fury and ferocity that the end will be mutual exhaustion. The victor will share the fate that awaited the surviving Pandavas. The mighty warrior Arjuna was looted in broad daylight by a petty robber. And out of this holocaust must arise a new order for which the exploited millions of toilers have so long thirsted. The prayers of peace-lovers cannot go in vain. Satyagraha is itself an unmistakable mute prayer of an agonised soul.

Sevagram, 10-2-42

## GO-SEVA SANGH

### II

### Sink or Swim Together

The depth of Gandhiji's feeling on the whole subject may be measured from the concluding part of his address: "Unless you offer your full co-operation to Jamnalalji, especially on the question of *pinjrapols*, his best efforts cannot succeed. Today the cow is on the brink of extinction, and I am not sure that our efforts will ultimately succeed. But if she dies, we also die along with her — we, i. e. our civilisation, I mean our essentially non-violent and rural civilisation. We have, therefore, to make our choice. We can choose to be violent and kill all uneconomic cattle. Like Europe we should then breed our cattle for the purposes of milk and meat. But our civilisation is fundamentally different. Our life is wrapped up in our animals. Most of our villagers live with their animals, often under the same roof. Both live together, both starve together. Often enough the owner starves the poor cattle, exploits them, ill-treats them, unmercifully extracts work out of them. But if we reform our ways, we can both be saved. Otherwise we sink together, and it is just as well that we swim or sink together."

"The question today is to solve the problem of our starvation and poverty, but I have confined myself to the problem of the starvation and poverty of our cattle. Our rishis showed us the sovereign remedy. 'Protect the cow,' they said, 'and you protect all.' We have to add to the talents they have left us, and not to waste them. We have invited the experts, and we shall make every use of their advice. Nothing that we laymen say is final, we shall get the experts to test it with their knowledge and experience. We shall, therefore, always seek their advice and invite their criticism."

### Cow-worship of the Ancients

Parts of the speech of Shri Vinoba, who presided, might have appropriately preceded Gandhiji's speech, for whereas Gandhiji showed what a pathetic travesty we had made of the ancient ideal of cow-worship, Vinoba showed from his knowledge of the ancient Sanskrit lore what a wonderful ideal it was. The ancient word was, he said, cow-protection (e. g. in the Gita), but *go-seva* (service of the cow) was deliberately chosen instead, in that protection was too big a bite and we had not the strength to give the cow complete protection. He also showed that the service



meant service based on use as also use based on service, but neither divorced from the other. The Vedas had described the cow as yielding a thousand jets of milk ( which incidentally showed that there were in those days cows giving 50-60 lb. of milk, taking a jet as equal to an ounce of milk ), and also as the giver of lustre to a lustreless body, and therefore worthy of the most devoted service. And the ideal of service had not been depicted better than by that unique representative of Hindu civilisation, Kalidas, in *Raghuvamsha* :

स्थितः स्थितामुच्चलितः प्रयातां

निषेदुषीमासनबंधवीरः ।

जलामिलाषी जलमाददानां

छायेव तां भूतिरन्वगच्छत् ॥

( Stopping as she stopped, and moving with her as she moved along,  
Sitting down to guard her when she set her down the trees among,  
Drinking water only after she had her fill of drink,  
Even like her constant shadow followed her the faithful king.)\*

Nowhere in the world's literature was to be found a nobler picture than that of the devoted king Dileepa serving the cow Nandini and following her as her shadow.

Speaking on the pledge, Shri Vinoba said: "The pledge in every sacred task was essential and helpful. The embarrassment it might cause to hosts was negligible when one thought of the service it would render to them. It was no good hiding one's light under a bushel, and we should go on scattering our fragrance as we go."

Citing the experience of a friend about the condition of cattle in famine, he said: "The first to die are male buffaloes, then comes the turn of cows, then that of buffaloes, and the last come the bullocks. Our partiality for the buffalo arises out of considerations of short-sighted economy, and though we know the value of bullocks and try to save them in preference to all other animals, we forget that there would be no bullocks without the cows." "There were some," he added, "who thought that we must discard the bullock and go in for tractors. What is then to be done with the bullocks? They complacently assert that they can be used for food by those who have no scruples against it. They forget that the plan will ruin our agricultural economy—tractors are no good for small holdings—and destroy the cow and her progeny. In the Argentine Republic 10,000 bullocks are slaughtered for meat every day. The war has made this thing impossible there as in Europe, and so medical men are now waxing eloquent on the superior virtues of milk over beef. The fact is there was meat-eating and even beef-eating in India at some period of our history, and it gave place to the exclusive use of milk, when the people saw the ruinous nature of the former from the point of view of national economy."

### The Buffalo v. the Cow

The resolutions passed reflect the result of the maximum of unanimity that was possible on some of the most controversial topics. Were the *goshalas* and *pinjrapols* to be asked to give exclusive preference to the cows? What was to be done with the buffalo? If she were to be completely 'boycotted', there would be so much dearth of milk and ghee, and a premium would be put upon vegetable ghee, and so on. Sardar Datarsingh had no doubt that a good cow was in the long run a better economic proposition than a good buffalo. His views, which he expressed at length, may be put down in his own words. They were sent to us five years ago, and they have not altered since:

"The buffalo is not an economical animal for the following reasons:

1. A buffalo matures on the average one year later than a good Indian milch bred cow.
2. The dry period, i. e. the time when she goes dry and up to the time she calves, is more than thrice that of a cow.
3. A good cow will give more milk than a buffalo.
4. The male calves of the buffaloes are practically quite useless for agricultural purposes, and if sold fetch very little price, and therefore they are generally slaughtered, while the male calves of a cow are used all over India for agricultural purposes and are equally useful as female calves and fetch good price.
5. A buffalo is more susceptible to diseases than a cow.
6. A buffalo requires more looking after and is only happy when there is a large grazing area with plenty of water which is not in the reach of a small zamindar.
7. A buffalo feels the heat and cold much more, which results in the deterioration of the milk yield; but it is not the case with a cow.
8. The only point in favour of keeping a buffalo is that she gives a much higher percentage of fat than a cow, but if all the details of the production are taken into account, a good cow beats a buffalo even in that respect."

Years ago in the columns of *Young India* a very interesting controversy took place between Pandit Satavalekar and the late Shri C. V. Vaidya about cow-sacrifice and beef-eating in ancient India. The former, I think, successfully demonstrated that, though the practice was not absent, it was never universal and the Vedic precept was to hold the cow as sacred—अध्या 'not to be killed'. (Rig Veda, viii, 101, 15-16) The discussion had no bearing on the present age beyond showing that beef-eating which was at one time prevalent was wisely given up by those who knew the principles of social economy, and that it is no use running at the throat of beef-eaters, who should be patiently persuaded that cow-slaughter is not in the interest of the nation. Kakasaheb Kalelkar, who was invited to speak on the resolution about *pinjrapols*, said that it was the cow herself who had taught us non-violence. "The story of Rantideva's sacrifice in the Mahabharata shows that the sacrifice of bovine animals and beef-eating were prevalent at a certain period in our history. But it was only when the cow began to yield sufficient milk and her progeny

\* A very free rendering by me. M. D.



began to be used for agriculture which gave us enough food and clothes that we ceased to look upon beef as an article of food. Enough clothes means proportionately less food—as I have seen with my own eyes in the case of sadhus—and the bullock as an agricultural animal has gone a great way in taking us near to ahimsa. And if we want to work towards a non-violent state, there is no alternative but to lay exclusive emphasis on protecting the cow and her progeny."

There seemed to be substantial agreement on these propositions, but no one seemed to be clear as regards the attitude to be adopted regarding the buffalo, and no one seemed to see how, if we saved the cow, the buffalo would also be saved. Did Gandhiji mean to say that even as khadi saved the Indian mill cloth, the protection of the cow would mean the protection of the buffalo?

"Yes," said Gandhiji, "but I mean something more. I have often said that I should not shed a single tear, if all the mills were to be destroyed. I would never say this regarding the buffalo."

"No," he said, explaining the matter at greater length. "My point is that, unless we protect the cow today, we will fail to save both the cow and the buffalo. And it is not possible to make a combined endeavour to save both. The combined endeavour will result in the buffalo devouring the cow. The cow is the more neglected animal, and that is why we should concentrate on the cow. But not even if Jamnalalji got a few crores of rupees can we achieve our object until we have converted the people to our view—especially the people who run *goshalas* and *pinjrapols*."

"There is no question of 'boycott', much less of the killing of buffaloes. Slaughter is a thing that suggests itself easily to Western economists. That is why they cut the Gordian knot by slaughtering the inferior breed of cows and bulls. But that solution is no good for me. It is my firm conviction that, if we master the real science of saving the cow, the science of saving the buffalo and other animals would automatically be revealed to us."

"But, supposing you were to boycott all the buffaloes in Sevagram, what would happen to them and their owners?" was a question put to Gandhiji.

"I promise to take charge of the buffalo in case you succeed in your mission of the cow to that extent. If the mill-owners voluntarily close down the mills, I shall dance with joy, but not if the owners of the buffaloes were to slaughter them. Western economics is divorced from ethics; our ethics and economics coincide or should, if they do not. My exclusive emphasis on the protection of the cow is due to the undue neglect of the cow although she in my opinion is a sound economic proposition. I do not need the aid of the Vedas to show me this, and this is a matter in which I would test the Vedic precept on the anvil of reason. Reason convinces me that, if I save the cow, I save the cow and the buffalo both. If anyone can convince me that the cow is dead beyond redemption, and that the buffalo alone needs to be protected, I am quite prepared to organise a

'Buffalo Protection Association'. But the reverse is the case. The buffalo needs no special protection, the cow needs it. The buffalo and the goat are as much my mothers as the cow. But I know that the poor goat cannot be saved, that the cow badly needs to be saved, and when we have saved the cow the buffalo will be automatically saved."

#### Grazing, Tannery, etc.

Various other questions were discussed—the most important one being that of grazing areas. There were several points on which even experts could not give definite guidance. Are grazing areas essential or would stall-feeding be enough for the cows? How far is the complaint just that the gradual disappearance of grazing areas has spelt the extinction of the cow and her progeny? If it is just, there should be an organised agitation for it. Sardar Datarsingh was of opinion that the essential was enough fodder and enough exercising area, and that more emphasis was necessary on fodder crops than on pasture land. Dr. Shahi, who had travelled a lot abroad, said that everywhere in Europe there were grazing areas attached to dairy farms. Shri Shrikant Mishra said that, if we depended entirely on grass land and gave the animal only grass, one head of cattle would require four acres of grass land. But if the land were to be put under fodder crops, an acre would be quite enough for one animal; and in canal areas an acre could maintain three heads of cattle, as three crops would be available. The need was for more production of fodder crops, as availability of grazing areas was very limited.

The whole question was beset with difficulties, and the Go-Seva Sangh will have to do plenty of research work before it can give proper guidance on the subject. Gandhiji tentatively suggested that co-operative owning of cows and co-operative owning of pasture for them would go a great length in improving both the breed and the milk yield and in helping to solve the question of grazing.

Regarding tannery a simple handbook on the essentials of skinning dead cattle, treating the hide, and disposal of the fleshing and the bones, is contemplated, and the experts have been told off to produce it without delay and make it available in all provincial languages.

#### The Programme

For the next year the Go-Seva Sangh should, suggested Gandhiji, concentrate on making cow's milk available throughout Wardha and its neighbourhood, on sending experts to *pinjrapols* in order to collect material, throw out suggestions, and help in making them approximate to the ideal *pinjrapol* contemplated by the Sangh, and on having a laboratory in Wardha for the testing of milk and ghee, and so on. The Sangh will also try to enlist at least a thousand members.

What Shri Vinoba said at the conclusion of the proceedings was worth pondering by every member of the Sangh. "We have had so many Sanghs," he said, "and we have a fresh one now. The A. I. S. A., though it had enlisted hundreds of sacrificing workers, may be said to have only begun the great



task that it has to achieve. Then came the Harijan Sevak Sangh. It took me to Nalwadi, where we now have a tannery and a *parishramalaya*. Then came the Village Industries Association which has set before itself a work as difficult as putting a thousand loose ends together, and in face of bazars teeming with foreign articles it looked almost a forlorn task to popularise village-made articles. Then came 'Nai Talim'—Basic Education—with regard to which we have made as yet little headway, and I have often been wondering whether I should not take up a school myself and work at it. Now this work has come upon us. It is far more difficult than those I have mentioned, and I feel nearly baffled. The whole day I have been thinking what exactly I have done for cow-protection today. For khadi I have done at least some work in that I was all the while plying my takli before you; but what did I do for cow-protection? The work needs all the skill and the resourcefulness and the purity that we can muster. I devoted twelve years to mastering the art and science of khadi, spinning eight hours a day for a long period of time. That has given me an insight which reveals me something new every day. We have, therefore, to apply ourselves to this new task with the devotion of King Dileepa and do something concrete every day for the cow as he did."

Sevagram, 7-2-42

M. D.

### BRITISH AND AMERICAN NAZISM

If Dr. George Washington Carver had been born a white man, his name would have been as famous in the world of science as that of Burbank, Edison, or the Curies. But he was born a Negro, and so—in spite of his epoch-making discoveries in the field of science—synthesising the products of pea-nuts and potatoes and making of floor marbles and building boards from waste materials, and showing the immense potentialities of his native soil—he remains in America the shunned Negro that he was nearly 80 years ago. He was born in 1864. And yet a British explorer of the reputation of Sir Harry Johnston wrote about him: "Prof. Carver, who teaches scientific agriculture, botany, agricultural chemistry, etc. at Tuskegee, is an absolute Negro; but in the soundness of his science, he might be professor of Botany, not at Tuskegee, but at Oxford or Cambridge. Any European botanist of distinction, after ten minutes' conversation with this man, would instinctively treat him as a man on a level with himself." Dr. Carver occasionally sends his pamphlets and messages to Gandhiji, and the latest to bring these was Dr. John who was on a visit to America and incidentally visited Tuskegee. "I will not accept the messages," said Gandhiji laughing, "unless Dr. Carver comes and delivers them himself." Dr. John said Dr. Carver was too old now to come to India. But he works nevertheless in his garden, getting up every day at 4 o'clock, and remembers Gandhiji whenever he has an Indian visitor. He is so humble and simple in his habits that for weeks Dr. John mistook him for a gardener. Dr. Carver has now prepared potato

powder which can keep for twenty years. The very first question that Gandhiji asked Dr. John about Dr. Carver was: "But even this genius suffers under the handicap of segregation, does not he?"

"Oh yes," said Dr. John, "as much as any Negro."

"And yet these people talk of democracy and equality! It is an utter lie," said Gandhiji in indignation.

"But," said Dr. John, "Dr. Carver is never bitter or resentful."

"I know," said Gandhiji, "that is what we believers in non-violence have to learn from him. But what about the claim of these people who are said to be fighting for democracy?"

Well he is "an absolute Negro", and when "equality" and "democracy" are mentioned the words "of the white races" are understood. That is what may be called American Nazism. *The New Statesman* of November 22, just to hand, describes what it terms a species of "British Nazism". The Southern Rhodesia Land Apportionment Act of 1941, which came into force in August 1941, divides the country into 49 million acres reserved for white ownership, 29 million acres for native ownership, and the rest as forest area and unassigned; it makes it obligatory on the natives now living in the "white" areas to leave by the end of 1942, unless they are labourers for Europeans. These 49 million acres are reserved for 55,000 Europeans, and the 29 million for 1,100,000 Africans. "The British Government has thus agreed to condemn a million British subjects to restriction to a third of their own country and service-villainage in the rest of it for the benefit of a minority of 55,000 British subjects. And Parliament has had no opportunity to prevent this application of a purely Nazi policy, and one, moreover, in flat contradiction of repeated Governmental statements of colonial principle, within the British Empire."

The League of Coloured Peoples addressed a memorial to the Colonial Secretary, which stated among other things: That the half of the area reserved for the European population (less than one-twentieth of the whole) includes most of the best and easily accessible lands of the country; the "Native areas" are overcrowded, inadequately watered, and infested with tsetse fly; that the policy is not even an honest policy of segregation but of compelling the blacks to toil for the whites and to own no land; that this is Hitler's plan for the conquered countries in Europe; that it is wrong to suggest that the policy is favoured by the natives; that white agriculture is a failure in Southern Rhodesia, propped up by subsidies; and that Lord Cranborne, the Colonial Secretary, should display the "backbone to stand up to the small gang of white settlers who dominate the territory." He has not the backbone. For this letter has elicited a reply signed by a Colonial Office official saying that "no useful purpose would be served by discussing the principles involved."

Sevagram, 8-2-42

M. D.



## THE ASHRAM PRAYER

(By M. K. Gandhi)

The Ashram prayer has become very popular. Its development has been spontaneous. The *Ashram Bhajanavali* (Hymn Book) has gone into several editions and is increasingly in demand. The birth and growth of this prayer has not been artificial. There is a history attached to almost every shloka and every selected bhajan. The *Bhajanavali* contains among others bhajans from Muslim Sufis and Fakirs, from Guru Nanak, and from the Christian Hymnary. Every religion seems to have found a natural setting in the prayer book.

Chinese, Burmese, Jews, Ceylonese, Muslims, Parsis, Europeans and Americans have all lived in the Ashram from time to time. In the same way two Japanese sadhus came to me in Maganwadi in 1935. One of them was with me till the other day when war broke out with Japan. He was an ideal inmate of our home in Sevagram. He took part in every activity with zest. I never heard of his quarrelling with anyone. He was a silent worker. He learnt as much Hindi as he could. He was a strict observer of his vows. Every morning and evening he could be seen going round with his drum and heard chanting his *mantra*. The evening worship always commenced with his *mantra* नमो हो रे क्यो, which means "I bow to the Buddha, the giver of true religion." I shall never forget the quickness, the orderliness, and utter detachment with which he prepared himself the day the police came without notice to take him away from the Ashram. He took leave of me after reciting his favourite *mantra* and left his drum with me. "You are leaving us, but your *mantra* will remain an integral part of our Ashram prayer," were the words that came spontaneously to my lips. Since then, in spite of his absence, our morning and evening worship has commenced with the *mantra*. For me it is a constant reminder of Sadhu Keshav's purity and single-eyed devotion. Indeed its efficacy lies in that sacred memory.

While Sadhu Keshav was still with us Bibi Raihana Tyabji also came to stay at Sevagram for a few days. I knew her to be a devout Muslim but was not aware, before the death of her illustrious father, of how well-versed she was in Koran Sharif. When that jewel of Gujarat, Tyabji Saheb, expired no sound of weeping broke the awful silence in his room. The latter echoed with Bibi Raihana's sonorous recitation of verses from the Koran. Such as Abbas Tyabji Saheb cannot die. He is ever alive in the example of national service which he has left behind. Bibi Raihana is an accomplished singer with an ample repertory of bhajans of all kinds. She used to sing daily as well as recite beautiful verses from the Koran. I asked her to teach some verses to any of the inmates who could learn them, and she gladly did so. Like so many who come here she had become one of us. Raihana went away when her

visit was over, but she has left a fragrant reminder of herself. The well-known 'al Fateha' has been included in the Ashram worship. The following is a translation of it:

1. I take refuge in Allah from Satan the accursed.
2. Say: He is God, the one and only  
God, the Eternal, Absolute,  
He begetteth not nor is He begotten,  
And there is none like unto Him.
3. Praise be to God,  
The Cherisher and Sustainer of the worlds,  
Most Gracious, most Merciful,  
Master of the Day of Judgment,  
Thee do we worship  
And Thine aid we seek.  
Show us the straight way,  
The way of those on whom  
Thou hast bestowed Thy Grace,  
Those whose (portion) is not wrath  
And who go not astray."

I am writing this note in reply to an ardent Hindu friend who has thus gently reproached me: "You have now given the *Kalma* a place in the Ashram. What further remains to be done to kill your Hinduism?"

I am confident that my Hinduism and that of the other Ashram Hindus has grown thereby. There should be in us an equal reverence for all religions. Badshah Khan, whenever he comes, joins in the worship here with delight. He loves the tune to which the Ramayana is sung, and he listens intently to the Gita. His faith in Islam has not lessened thereby. Then why may I not listen to the Koran with equal reverence and adoration in my heart?

Vinoba and Pyarelal studied Arabic and learnt the Koran in jail. Their Hinduism has been enriched by this study. I believe that Hindu-Muslim unity will come only through such spontaneous mingling of hearts and no other. Rama is not known by only a thousand names. His names are innumerable, and He is the same whether we call him Allah, Khuda, Rahim, Razzak, the Breadgiver, or any name that comes from the heart of a true devotee.

Sevagram, 2-2-42

(From *Harijansevak*)

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# HARIJAN

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[FIVE PICE

## Notice

The next issue, to be published on 22nd February, will contain *twelve pages* and will be priced at *two annas* per copy. Agents will please notify changes in their requirements, if any, by Thursday next. *Manager*

## Notes

### Seth Jamnalal Bajaj

In Seth Jamnalal Bajaj death has taken a mighty man. Whenever I wrote of wealthy men becoming trustees of their wealth for the common good I always had this merchant prince principally in mind. If his trusteeship did not reach the ideal, the fault was not his. I deliberately restrained him. I did not want him in his enthusiasm to take a single step which in his cool moments he might regret. His simplicity was all his own. Every house he built for himself became a *dharma-shala*. His contribution as a satyagrahi was of the highest order. In political discussions he held his own. His judgments were sound. As an act of renunciation his last was the crown of all. He wanted to take up a constructive activity to which he could devote the rest of his life and in which he could use all his abilities. This was the preservation of the cattle wealth of India personified in the cow. He threw himself into the work with a single-mindedness and zeal I had never seen surpassed. His generosity knew no distinction of race, creed or colour. He wanted to perform a rare thing for a busy man. He wanted to control his thoughts so as to prevent a single intruder from coming in. The world is poorer for his death. The country has lost one of the bravest of its servants. Janakidevi, the widow, has decided to take up the work to which he had dedicated himself. She has divested herself of all her personal property valued at about two and a half lacs. May God enable her to fulfil the trust she has undertaken.

Sevagram, 11-2-42

### Misbehaviour of Troops

I have piteous letters from correspondents complaining of misbehaviour by troops, White and Indian. There are detailed letters from Dohad and Rutlam stations and others too. The troops are said to have molested the hawkers on the platforms, helped themselves to eatables and hit the salesmen who protested. The station masters were powerless to afford protection. I do not know how much

credit is to be attached to the descriptions I have received. The evidence is so detailed and given with so much moderation as to command belief. Anyway I draw the attention of the authorities to the complaints. Any such misbehaviour should be put down summarily and repetition made practically impossible, if panic is to be prevented and bitterness avoided. I would advise the aggrieved parties to lodge their complaints to the proper authorities with authentic evidence in support.

Sevagram, 8-2-42

### Hyderabad State

Swami Ramananda Tirtha of the banned State Congress has issued the following sober statement:

"Some of the workers of the Hyderabad State Congress, which was banned on 2nd March 1940, offered individual satyagraha in the month of September 1940 under the guidance of Mahatma Gandhi. The Government of H. E. H. the Nizam released them unconditionally on 16th December 1941. Immediately after the release, I issued a statement saying that, though the Government had released us, it did not remove the aforesaid ban. It seemed to us, therefore, that it was incumbent upon us to continue the satyagraha till our demand for lifting the ban was conceded by the Government. After our release we consulted Mahatmaji and explained to him the present situation in Hyderabad State and our own point of view. Taking into consideration the present critical phase of the war, he advised us to abstain from reoffering satyagraha at this hour, and directed us to concentrate our energies wholly on the constructive programme. We have, therefore, decided to faithfully follow Mahatmaji's advice. We more and more appreciate the vital importance of the constructive programme and its potentialities. We therefore appeal to the people in general and workers in particular to devote their energies to this programme. We may not even seem to embarrass H. E. H.'s Government at this critical juncture. This suspension, however, does not mean any alteration in our goal which is the attainment of responsible government under the aegis of H. E. H. the Nizam and the Asafjahi Dynasty."

How I wish the Government of H. E. H. the Nizam would remove the ban. They cannot wish to prevent people from carrying on a constitutional movement in favour of responsible government under the aegis of H. E. H. the Nizam. The recent release of the satyagrahis loses all grace if the ban on the State Congress is not removed.

Sevagram, 8-2-42

M. K. G.



## QUESTION BOX.

(By M. K. Gandhi)

## Hindu-Muslim Puzzle

Q. In your proposed solution of the Hindu-Muslim puzzle, do you expect all the Hindus to abstain from the legislatures or only a part? If only a part, will not the most reactionary Hindus get in and make things worse than now? And if you expect Congressmen to affect the Muslim mind from outside, why can't you do the same and perhaps more effectively by being inside?

A. I do not expect all the Hindus to abstain. I know that all Hindu seats will be filled by non-Congress Hindus. Congress Hindus, if they go in, will be ground down between the two stones of the communal *chakki* without doing any good to anybody. I do not approach the question as a Hindu. I approach it as a Congressman seeking to represent equally all communities. But for the artificial system introduced in the composition of the Indian legislatures, all the members would be representing not communities but their parties grouped according to their non-communal shibboleths. As one representing all communities I would expect not only Hindus but Congress-minded Muslims and others too to avoid the legislatures and elective bodies. These abstainers will hold the scales evenly between all communities and seek to affect the legislatures from outside. Whether they are many or only a few, they will play the role of wise men. If all listened to me, the communal question would disappear from our midst. By entering the legislatures the Congress Hindus become interlopers, and act weakly for fear of offending one party or the other. This I know, that at the present moment the legislatures are, and must become, part of the war machinery. They have no choice. They will not be allowed to function, if they obstruct the war effort. How could the rulers whose sole occupation is to prosecute the war do otherwise?

## Why Not in Hindu Majority Provinces?

Q. Why not advise Congressmen to withdraw from the provincial legislatures too where the Hindus are in a majority?

A. Because I do not want the non-Muslim minority parties to act as if they were the majority and carry on the government in these provinces. It would be a false position to which the Congress would be a willing party, if the Congress members withdrew. In these provinces, therefore, abstention cannot solve the communal tangle, and will bring about an unintended and undesirable state of things.

## Torturing the Language?

Q. Surely you are torturing the language when you use the word 'unitary' in the place of 'unilateral'. For that is obviously what you mean.

A. I must plead not guilty. 'Unilateral' has a definite legal meaning which does not fit in with what I am struggling to convey. It is not one-sidedness. It is no-sidedness. It has impartiality implied in it. But it is not the method of impartiality. It is something more. I represent a party, say the Congress. For the solution of the problem I apply

a method whereby I seek to affect those who are estranged from me. I am not merely impartial, because I may or may not please them. Impartiality has to be felt by the aggrieved party. My conduct is independent of the feeling of the aggrieved party. I go the utmost length to placate the offended party, and trust my out and out pure conduct to affect them. I may not succeed at once. But if there is a real sense of justice in the method, it must succeed. For want of a better word I have called the method 'unitary'. The dictionary meaning satisfies my test which I have imperfectly described here. Sevagram, 3-2-42

## ADIVASIS

(By M. K. Gandhi)

Adivasis have become the fourteenth item in the constructive programme. But they are not the least in point of importance. Our country is so vast and the races so varied that the best of us, in spite of every effort, cannot know all there is to know of men and their condition. As one comes upon layer after layer of things one ought to know as a national servant, one realises how difficult it is to make good our claim to be one nation whose every unit has a living consciousness of being one with every other.

The Adivasis are 2½ crores in all India, i. e. 6½ per cent of the total population or nearly half of the Harijan population.

Shri Balasaheb Kher has thrown himself with his usual zeal into this much needed service in the Thana District. He says in the pamphlet issued by him on behalf of the Adivasi Seva Mandal of which he is President:

"Many of these aborigines have been reduced to a state of actual slavery. 'Beth' or 'veth' or forced labour is exacted from them without payment of any wages or with only a nominal payment by zamindars; sowkars or forest contractors. As mentioned in Mr. Symington's Report on the Aboriginal and Hill Tribes published by Government in 1939, 'all jungle tract tenants (in the Province of Bombay) are liable to be called upon to work for their landlords. This forced labour is demanded for as many days as are necessary for the landlords' requirements. If they refuse or procrastinate, they are liable to assault or beatings.' Says Mr. Symington: 'I was told, on credible authority, of men being tied up to posts and whipped. There are also rumours of men in the past having been killed.' 'The maximum remuneration of forced labour is one anna per diem. More often rice is given, barely sufficient for one man for one meal.' The report then describes the appalling conditions of their slave life and observes: 'Landlords will not scruple to use their power in fulfilment of their purposes, for instance the use of their tenants' womenfolk for the gratification of their lust.' It will thus be seen that these tribes live a life of perpetual fear, misery and ill-health. They are so illiterate that they cannot count numbers beyond twenty, and are thus easily cheated by landlords, sowkars and contractors. They cannot avail themselves of medical aid, have poor health, and live in insanitary conditions."

Balasaheb has made a modest beginning. He has started with a hostel for Adivasi boys. His work is



all unassuming and solid. If he gets the true type of workers, what is a small beginning may one day blossom forth into an all-India organisation covering the whole of the Adivasi population. Truly "the harvest is rich and the labourers few." Who can deny that all such service is not merely humanitarian but solidly national and brings us nearer to true Independence?

Sevagram, 9-2-42

## INDIVIDUAL OR COLLECTIVE?

(By M. K. Gandhi)

Shri Jamnalal Bajaj has bravely taken the burden of the great work of cow service (in other words, cattle preservation) on his shoulders. The most important question for consideration before the recent Go-Seva Sangh Conference was whether cow farming should be in the hands of individuals or done collectively. I myself had no hesitation in saying that she could never be saved by individual farming. Her salvation, and with her that of the buffalo, could only be brought about by collective endeavour. It is quite impossible for an individual farmer to look after the welfare of his cattle in his own home in a proper and scientific manner. Amongst other causes lack of collective effort has been a principal cause of the deterioration of the cow and hence of cattle in general.

The world today is moving towards the ideal of collective or co-operative effort in every department of life. Much in this line has been and is being accomplished. It has come into our country also, but in such a distorted form that our poor have not been able to reap its benefits. *Pari passu* with the increase in our population land holdings of the average farmer are daily decreasing. Moreover what the individual possesses is often fragmentary. For such farmers to keep cattle in their homes is a suicidal policy; and yet this is their condition today. Those who give the first place to economics and pay scant attention to religious, ethical or humanitarian considerations proclaim from the house-tops that the farmer is being devoured by his cattle due to the cost of their feed which is out of all proportion to what they yield. They say it is folly not to slaughter wholesale all useless animals.

What then should be done by humanitarians is the question. The answer obviously is to find a way whereby we may not only save the lives of our cattle but also see that they do not become a burden. I am sure that co-operative effort can help us in a large measure.

The following comparison may be helpful:

1. Under the collective system no farmer can keep cattle in his house as he does today. They foul the air, and dirty the surroundings. There is neither intelligence nor humanitarianism in living with animals. Man was not meant to do so. The space taken up by the cattle today would be spared to the farmer and his family, if the collective system were adopted.

2. As the number of cattle increases, life becomes impossible for the farmer in his home.

Hence he is obliged to sell the calves and kill the male buffaloes or else turn them out to starve and die. This inhumanity would be averted, if the care of cattle were undertaken on a co-operative basis.

3. Collective cattle farming would ensure the supply of veterinary treatment to animals when they are ill. No ordinary farmer can afford this on his own.

4. Similarly one selected bull can be easily kept for the need of several cows under the collective system. This is impossible otherwise except for charity.

5. Common grazing ground or land for exercising the animals will be easily available under the co-operative system, whereas today generally there is nothing of the kind for individual farmers.

6. The expense on fodder will be comparatively far less under the collective system.

7. The sale of milk at good prices will be greatly facilitated, and there will be no need or temptation for the farmer to adulterate it as he does as an individual.

8. It is impossible to carry out tests of the fitness of every head of cattle individually, but this could easily be done for the cattle of a whole village and would thus make it easier to improve the breed.

9. The foregoing advantages should be sufficient argument in favour of co-operative cattle farming. The strongest argument in its favour is that the individualistic system has been the means of making our own condition as well as that of our cattle pitiable. We can only save ourselves and them by making this essential change.

I firmly believe too that we shall not derive the full benefits of agriculture until we take to co-operative farming. Does it not stand to reason that it is far better for a hundred families in a village to cultivate their lands collectively and divide the income therefrom than to divide the land anyhow into a hundred portions? And what applies to land applies equally to cattle.

It is quite another matter that it may be difficult to convert people to adopt this way of life straightaway. The straight and narrow road is always hard to traverse. Every step in the programme of cow service is strewn with thorny problems. But only by surmounting difficulties can we hope to make the path easier. My purpose for the time being is to show the great superiority of collective cattle farming over the individual effort. I hold further that the latter is wrong and the former only is right. In reality even the individual can only safeguard his independence through co-operation. In cattle farming the individual effort has led to selfishness and inhumanity, whereas the collective effort can abate both the evils, if it does not remove them altogether.

Sevagram, 8-2-42

(From *Harijansevak*)

## Economics of Khadi

By Gandhiji

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# HARIJAN

Feb. 15

1942

## "SUPPOSE GERMANY WINS"

(By M. K. Gandhi)

"Suppose Germany wins with India not having entered the war, would Hitler leave India alone? Certainly not, my dear Mr. Gandhi, he will have a greater say in India than what Britain has now. The difference is this. You can fight the Englishman, but you cannot fight the German once he puts his foot on India's soil. Civil disobedience is the terror of the Englishman, it is the daily bread of the Nazi."

This is a question extracted from a very long and earnest letter from an English correspondent from South Africa. The first fallacy is that India is assumed not to have entered the war when to all intents and purposes she is in the war in spite of the powerful protest of the Congress. She is so much in the war that Great Britain is effectively using all the available fighting material which her generals have brought into being and trained, and is draining all the money she can. Politically-minded Indians have never been trained except for doing the rulers' clerical work. They are certainly holding themselves aloof until certain obviously necessary conditions are fulfilled. I do not see how they can be blamed for demanding the very liberty in defence of which the Allied Powers are said to be fighting. What Indians can do even if their demand is accepted is to give their moral weight to the struggle. This the rulers evidently do not care for. It cannot, in their opinion, turn the scales in their favour. Moral values do not count when each party swears by its material and physical resources. The Congress, with all the will in the world to defeat Nazism, cannot thrust its help on Great Britain which evidently does not want it or about which it is at least indifferent. If, therefore, Great Britain suffers defeat, it will not be for want of Congress co-operation but for causes over which the Congress can have no control.

If the Nazis come to India, the Congress will give them the same fight that it has given Great Britain. I do not underrate the power of satyagraha as the questioner does. But that is pure speculation. Imperialism has kept its grip on India for more than 150 years. If it is overthrown by a worse type of rule, the Congress can have the negative satisfaction of knowing that no other 'ism' can possibly last beyond a few years even if it establishes a foothold in India. That is as I read the Congress mind. Personally I think the end of this giant war will be what happened in the fabled Mahabharata War. The Mahabharata has been aptly described by a Travancorian as the Permanent History of Man. What is described in that great epic is happening today before our very eyes. The warring nations are destroying themselves with

such fury and ferocity that the end will be mutual exhaustion. The victor will share the fate that awaited the surviving Pandavas. The mighty warrior Arjuna was looted in broad daylight by a petty robber. And out of this holocaust must arise a new order for which the exploited millions of toilers have so long thirsted. The prayers of peace-lovers cannot go in vain. Satyagraha is itself an unmistakable mute prayer of an agonised soul.

Sevagram, 10-2-42

## GO-SEVA SANGH

### II

### Sink or Swim Together

The depth of Gandhiji's feeling on the whole subject may be measured from the concluding part of his address: "Unless you offer your full co-operation to Jamnalalji, especially on the question of *pinjrapols*, his best efforts cannot succeed. Today the cow is on the brink of extinction, and I am not sure that our efforts will ultimately succeed. But if she dies, we also die along with her — we, i. e. our civilisation, I mean our essentially non-violent and rural civilisation. We have, therefore, to make our choice. We can choose to be violent and kill all uneconomic cattle. Like Europe we should then breed our cattle for the purposes of milk and meat. But our civilisation is fundamentally different. Our life is wrapped up in our animals. Most of our villagers live with their animals, often under the same roof. Both live together, both starve together. Often enough the owner starves the poor cattle, exploits them, ill-treats them, unmercifully extracts work out of them. But if we reform our ways, we can both be saved. Otherwise we sink together, and it is just as well that we swim or sink together."

"The question today is to solve the problem of our starvation and poverty, but I have confined myself to the problem of the starvation and poverty of our cattle. Our rishis showed us the sovereign remedy. 'Protect the cow,' they said, 'and you protect all.' We have to add to the talents they have left us, and not to waste them. We have invited the experts, and we shall make every use of their advice. Nothing that we laymen say is final, we shall get the experts to test it with their knowledge and experience. We shall, therefore, always seek their advice and invite their criticism."

### Cow-worship of the Ancients

Parts of the speech of Shri Vinoba, who presided, might have appropriately preceded Gandhiji's speech, for whereas Gandhiji showed what a pathetic travesty we had made of the ancient ideal of cow-worship, Vinoba showed from his knowledge of the ancient Sanskrit lore what a wonderful ideal it was. The ancient word was, he said, cow-protection (e. g. in the Gita), but *go-seva* (service of the cow) was deliberately chosen instead, in that protection was too big a bite and we had not the strength to give the cow complete protection. He also showed that the service



meant service based on use as also use based on service, but neither divorced from the other. The Vedas had described the cow as yielding a thousand jets of milk ( which incidentally showed that there were in those days cows giving 50-60 lb. of milk, taking a jet as equal to an ounce of milk ), and also as the giver of lustre to a lustreless body, and therefore worthy of the most devoted service. And the ideal of service had not been depicted better than by that unique representative of Hindu civilisation, Kalidas, in *Raghuvamsha* :

स्थितः स्थितामुच्चलितः प्रयातां

निषेदुषीमासनवंधीरः ।

जलामिलापी जलमाददानां

छायेव तां भूपतिरन्वगच्छत् ॥

( Stopping as she stopped, and moving with her as she moved along,  
Sitting down to guard her when she set her down the trees among,  
\*Drinking water only after she had her fill of drink,  
Even like her constant shadow followed her the faithful king.)\*

Nowhere in the world's literature was to be found a nobler picture than that of the devoted king Dileepa serving the cow Nandini and following her as her shadow.

Speaking on the pledge, Shri Vinoba said: "The pledge in every sacred task was essential and helpful. The embarrassment it might cause to hosts was negligible when one thought of the service it would render to them. It was no good hiding one's light under a bushel, and we should go on scattering our fragrance as we go."

Citing the experience of a friend about the condition of cattle in famine, he said: "The first to die are male buffaloes, then comes the turn of cows, then that of buffaloes, and the last come the bullocks. Our partiality for the buffalo arises out of considerations of short-sighted economy, and though we know the value of bullocks and try to save them in preference to all other animals, we forget that there would be no bullocks without the cows." "There were some," he added, "who thought that we must discard the bullock and go in for tractors. What is then to be done with the bullocks? They complacently assert that they can be used for food by those who have no scruples against it. They forget that the plan will ruin our agricultural economy—tractors are no good for small holdings—and destroy the cow and her progeny. In the Argentine Republic 10,000 bullocks are slaughtered for meat every day. The war has made this thing impossible there as in Europe, and so medical men are now waxing eloquent on the superior virtues of milk over beef. The fact is there was meat-eating and even beef-eating in India at some period of our history, and it gave place to the exclusive use of milk, when the people saw the ruinous nature of the former from the point of view of national economy."

\* A very free rendering by me. M. D.

### The Buffalo v. the Cow

The resolutions passed reflect the result of the maximum of unanimity that was possible on some of the most controversial topics. Were the *goshalas* and *pinjrapols* to be asked to give exclusive preference to the cows? What was to be done with the buffalo? If she were to be completely 'boycotted', there would be so much dearth of milk and ghee, and a premium would be put upon vegetable ghee, and so on. Sardar Datarsingh had no doubt that a good cow was in the long run a better economic proposition than a good buffalo. His views, which he expressed at length, may be put down in his own words. They were sent to us five years ago, and they have not altered since:

"The buffalo is not an economical animal for the following reasons:

1. A buffalo matures on the average one year later than a good Indian milch bred cow.
2. The dry period, i. e. the time when she goes dry and up to the time she calves, is more than thrice that of a cow.
3. A good cow will give more milk than a buffalo.
4. The male calves of the buffaloes are practically quite useless for agricultural purposes, and if sold fetch very little price, and therefore they are generally slaughtered, while the male calves of a cow are used all over India for agricultural purposes and are equally useful as female calves and fetch good price.
5. A buffalo is more susceptible to diseases than a cow.
6. A buffalo requires more looking after and is only happy when there is a large grazing area with plenty of water which is not in the reach of a small zamindar.
7. A buffalo feels the heat and cold much more, which results in the deterioration of the milk yield; but it is not the case with a cow.
8. The only point in favour of keeping a buffalo is that she gives a much higher percentage of fat than a cow, but if all the details of the production are taken into account, a good cow beats a buffalo even in that respect."

Years ago in the columns of *Young India* a very interesting controversy took place between Pandit Satavalekar and the late Shri C. V. Vaidya about cow-sacrifice and beef-eating in ancient India. The former, I think, successfully demonstrated that, though the practice was not absent, it was never universal and the Vedic precept was to hold the cow as sacred—अध्या 'not to be killed'. (Rig Veda, viii, 101, 15-16) The discussion had no bearing on the present age beyond showing that beef-eating which was at one time prevalent was wisely given up by those who knew the principles of social economy, and that it is no use running at the throat of beef-eaters, who should be patiently persuaded that cow-slaughter is not in the interest of the nation. Kakasaheb Kalelkar, who was invited to speak on the resolution about *pinjrapols*, said that it was the cow herself who had taught us non-violence. "The story of Rantideva's sacrifice in the Mahabharata shows that the sacrifice of bovine animals and beef-eating were prevalent at a certain period in our history. But it was only when the cow began to yield sufficient milk and her progeny



began to be used for agriculture which gave us enough food and clothes that we ceased to look upon beef as an article of food. Enough clothes means proportionately less food—as I have seen with my own eyes in the case of sadhus—and the bullock as an agricultural animal has gone a great way in taking us near to ahimsa. And if we want to work towards a non-violent state, there is no alternative but to lay exclusive emphasis on protecting the cow and her progeny."

There seemed to be substantial agreement on these propositions, but no one seemed to be clear as regards the attitude to be adopted regarding the buffalo, and no one seemed to see how, if we saved the cow, the buffalo would also be saved. Did Gandhiji mean to say that even as khadi saved the Indian mill cloth, the protection of the cow would mean the protection of the buffalo?

"Yes," said Gandhiji, "but I mean something more. I have often said that I should not shed a single tear, if all the mills were to be destroyed. I would never say this regarding the buffalo."

"No," he said, explaining the matter at greater length. "My point is that, unless we protect the cow today, we will fail to save both the cow and the buffalo. And it is not possible to make a combined endeavour to save both. The combined endeavour will result in the buffalo devouring the cow. The cow is the more neglected animal, and that is why we should concentrate on the cow. But not even if Jamnalalji got a few crores of rupees can we achieve our object until we have converted the people to our view—especially the people who run *goshalas* and *pinjrapols*."

"There is no question of 'boycott', much less of the killing of buffaloes. Slaughter is a thing that suggests itself easily to Western economists. That is why they cut the Gordian knot by slaughtering the inferior breed of cows and bulls. But that solution is no good for me. It is my firm conviction that, if we master the real science of saving the cow, the science of saving the buffalo and other animals would automatically be revealed to us."

"But, supposing you were to boycott all the buffaloes in Sevagram, what would happen to them and their owners?" was a question put to Gandhiji.

"I promise to take charge of the buffalo in case you succeed in your mission of the cow to that extent. If the mill-owners voluntarily close down the mills, I shall dance with joy, but not if the owners of the buffaloes were to slaughter them. Western economics is divorced from ethics; our ethics and economics coincide or should, if they do not. My exclusive emphasis on the protection of the cow is due to the undue neglect of the cow although she in my opinion is a sound economic proposition. I do not need the aid of the Vedas to show me this, and this is a matter in which I would test the Vedic precept on the anvil of reason. Reason convinces me that, if I save the cow, I save the cow and the buffalo both. If anyone can convince me that the cow is dead beyond redemption, and that the buffalo alone needs to be protected, I am quite prepared to organise a

'Buffalo Protection Association'. But the reverse is the case. The buffalo needs no special protection; the cow needs it. The buffalo and the goat are as much my mothers as the cow. But I know that the poor goat cannot be saved, that the cow badly needs to be saved, and when we have saved the cow the buffalo will be automatically saved."

#### Grazing, Tannery, etc.

Various other questions were discussed—the most important one being that of grazing areas. There were several points on which even experts could not give definite guidance. Are grazing areas essential or would stall-feeding be enough for the cows? How far is the complaint just that the gradual disappearance of grazing areas has spelt the extinction of the cow and her progeny? If it is just, there should be an organised agitation for it. Sardar Datar Singh was of opinion that the essential was enough fodder and enough exercising area, and that more emphasis was necessary on fodder crops than on pasture land. Dr. Shahi, who had travelled a lot abroad, said that everywhere in Europe there were grazing areas attached to dairy farms. Shri Shrikant Mishra said that, if we depended entirely on grass land and gave the animal only grass, one head of cattle would require four acres of grass land. But if the land were to be put under fodder crops, an acre would be quite enough for one animal, and in canal areas an acre could maintain three heads of cattle, as three crops would be available. The need was for more production of fodder crops, as availability of grazing areas was very limited.

The whole question was beset with difficulties, and the Go-Seva Sangh will have to do plenty of research work before it can give proper guidance on the subject. Gandhiji tentatively suggested that co-operative owning of cows and co-operative owning of pasture for them would go a great length in improving both the breed and the milk yield and in helping to solve the question of grazing.

Regarding tannery a simple handbook on the essentials of skinning dead cattle, treating the hide, and disposal of the fleshing and the bones, is contemplated, and the experts have been told off to produce it without delay and make it available in all provincial languages.

#### The Programme

For the next year the Go-Seva Sangh should, suggested Gandhiji, concentrate on making cow's milk available throughout Wardha and its neighbourhood, on sending experts to *pinjrapols* in order to collect material, throw out suggestions, and help in making them approximate to the ideal *pinjrapol* contemplated by the Sangh, and on having a laboratory in Wardha for the testing of milk and ghee, and so on. The Sangh will also try to enlist at least a thousand members.

What Shri Vinoba said at the conclusion of the proceedings was worth pondering by every member of the Sangh. "We have had so many Sanghs," he said, "and we have a fresh one now. The A. I. S. A., though it had enlisted hundreds of sacrificing workers, may be said to have only begun the great



task that it has to achieve. Then came the Harijan Sevak Sangh. It took me to Nalwadi, where we now have a tannery and a *parishramalaya*. Then came the Village Industries Association which has set before itself a work as difficult as putting a thousand loose ends together, and in face of bazars teeming with foreign articles it looked almost a forlorn task to popularise village-made articles. Then came 'Nai Talim'—Basic Education—with regard to which we have made as yet little headway, and I have often been wondering whether I should not take up a school myself and work at it. Now this work has come upon us. It is far more difficult than those I have mentioned, and I feel nearly baffled. The whole day I have been thinking what exactly I have done for cow-protection today. For khadi I have done at least some work in that I was all the while plying my takli before you; but what did I do for cow-protection? The work needs all the skill and the resourcefulness and the purity that we can muster. I devoted twelve years to mastering the art and science of khadi, spinning eight hours a day for a long period of time. That has given me an insight which reveals me something new every day. We have, therefore, to apply ourselves to this new task with the devotion of King Dileepa and do something concrete every day for the cow as he did."

Sevagram, 7-2-42

M. D.

### BRITISH AND AMERICAN NAZISM

If Dr. George Washington Carver had been born a white man, his name would have been as famous in the world of science as that of Burbank, Edison, or the Curies. But he was born a Negro, and so—in spite of his epoch-making discoveries in the field of science—synthesising the products of pea-nuts and potatoes and making of floor marbles and building boards from waste materials, and showing the immense potentialities of his native soil—he remains in America the shunned Negro that he was nearly 80 years ago. He was born in 1864. And yet a British explorer of the reputation of Sir Harry Johnston wrote about him: "Prof. Carver, who teaches scientific agriculture, botany, agricultural chemistry, etc. at Tuskegee, is an absolute Negro; but in the soundness of his science, he might be professor of Botany, not at Tuskegee, but at Oxford or Cambridge. Any European botanist of distinction, after ten minutes' conversation with this man, would instinctively treat him as a man on a level with himself." Dr. Carver occasionally sends his pamphlets and messages to Gandhiji, and the latest to bring these was Dr. John who was on a visit to America and incidentally visited Tuskegee. "I will not accept the messages," said Gandhiji laughing, "unless Dr. Carver comes and delivers them himself." Dr. John said Dr. Carver was too old now to come to India. But he works nevertheless in his garden, getting up every day at 4 o'clock, and remembers Gandhiji whenever he has an Indian visitor. He is so humble and simple in his habits that for weeks Dr. John mistook him for a gardener. Dr. Carver has now prepared potato

powder which can keep for twenty years. The very first question that Gandhiji asked Dr. John about Dr. Carver was: "But even this genius suffers under the handicap of segregation, does not he?"

"Oh yes," said Dr. John, "as much as any Negro."

"And yet these people talk of democracy and equality! It is an utter lie," said Gandhiji in indignation.

"But," said Dr. John, "Dr. Carver is never bitter or resentful."

"I know," said Gandhiji, "that is what we believers in non-violence have to learn from him. But what about the claim of these people who are said to be fighting for democracy?"

Well he is "an absolute Negro", and when "equality" and "democracy" are mentioned the words "of the white races" are understood. That is what may be called American Nazism. *The New Statesman* of November 22, just to hand, describes what it terms a species of "British Nazism". The Southern Rhodesia Land Apportionment Act of 1941, which came into force in August 1941, divides the country into 49 million acres reserved for white ownership, 29 million acres for native ownership, and the rest as forest area and unassigned; it makes it obligatory on the natives now living in the "white" areas to leave by the end of 1942, unless they are labourers for Europeans. These 49 million acres are reserved for 55,000 Europeans, and the 29 million for 1,100,000 Africans. "The British Government has thus agreed to condemn a million British subjects to restriction to a third of their own country and service-villainage in the rest of it for the benefit of a minority of 55,000 British subjects. And Parliament has had no opportunity to prevent this application of a purely Nazi policy, and one, moreover, in flat contradiction of repeated Governmental statements of colonial principle, within the British Empire."

The League of Coloured Peoples addressed a memorial to the Colonial Secretary, which stated among other things: That the half of the area reserved for the European population (less than one-twentieth of the whole) includes most of the best and easily accessible lands of the country; the "Native areas" are overcrowded, inadequately watered, and infested with tsetse fly; that the policy is not even an honest policy of segregation but of compelling the blacks to toil for the whites and to own no land; that this is Hitler's plan for the conquered countries in Europe; that it is wrong to suggest that the policy is favoured by the natives; that white agriculture is a failure in Southern Rhodesia, propped up by subsidies; and that Lord Cranborne, the Colonial Secretary, should display the "backbone to stand up to the small gang of white settlers who dominate the territory." He has not the backbone. For this letter has elicited a reply signed by a Colonial Office official saying that "no useful purpose would be served by discussing the principles involved."

Sevagram, 8-2-42

M. D.



## THE ASHRAM PRAYER

(By M. K. Gandhi)

The Ashram prayer has become very popular. Its development has been spontaneous. The *Ashram Bhajanavali* (Hymn Book) has gone into several editions and is increasingly in demand. The birth and growth of this prayer has not been artificial. There is a history attached to almost every shloka and every selected bhajan. The *Bhajanavali* contains among others bhajans from Muslim Sufis and Fakirs, from Guru Nanak, and from the Christian Hymnary. Every religion seems to have found a natural setting in the prayer book.

Chinese, Burmese, Jews, Ceylonese, Muslims, Parsis, Europeans and Americans have all lived in the Ashram from time to time. In the same way two Japanese sadhus came to me in Maganwadi in 1935. One of them was with me till the other day when war broke out with Japan. He was an ideal inmate of our home in Sevagram. He took part in every activity with zest. I never heard of his quarrelling with anyone. He was a silent worker. He learnt as much Hindi as he could. He was a strict observer of his vows. Every morning and evening he could be seen going round with his drum and heard chanting his *mantra*. The evening worship always commenced with his *mantra* नम्यो हो रणे क्यो, which means "I bow to the Buddha, the giver of true religion." I shall never forget the quickness, the orderliness, and utter detachment with which he prepared himself the day the police came without notice to take him away from the Ashram. He took leave of me after reciting his favourite *mantra* and left his drum with me. "You are leaving us, but your *mantra* will remain an integral part of our Ashram prayer," were the words that came spontaneously to my lips. Since then, in spite of his absence, our morning and evening worship has commenced with the *mantra*. For me it is a constant reminder of Sadhu Keshav's purity and single-eyed devotion. Indeed its efficacy lies in that sacred memory.

While Sadhu Keshav was still with us Bibi Raihana Tyabji also came to stay at Sevagram for a few days. I knew her to be a devout Muslim but was not aware, before the death of her illustrious father, of how well-versed she was in Koran Sharif. When that jewel of Gujarat, Tyabji Saheb, expired no sound of weeping broke the awful silence in his room. The latter echoed with Bibi Raihana's sonorous recitation of verses from the Koran. Such as Abbas Tyabji Saheb cannot die. He is ever alive in the example of national service which he has left behind. Bibi Raihana is an accomplished singer with an ample repertory of bhajans of all kinds. She used to sing daily as well as recite beautiful verses from the Koran. I asked her to teach some verses to any of the inmates who could learn them, and she gladly did so. Like so many who come here she had become one of us. Raihana went away when her

visit was over, but she has left a fragrant reminder of herself. The well-known 'al Fateha' has been included in the Ashram worship. The following is a translation of it:

1. I take refuge in Allah from Satan the accursed,
2. Say: He is God, the one and only  
God, the Eternal, Absolute,  
He begetteth not nor is He begotten,  
And there is none like unto Him.
3. Praise be to God,  
The Cherisher and Sustainer of the worlds,  
Most Gracious, most Merciful,  
Master of the Day of Judgment,  
Thee do we worship  
And Thine aid we seek.  
Show us the straight way,  
The way of those on whom  
Thou hast bestowed Thy Grace,  
Those whose (portion) is not wrath  
And who go not astray."

I am writing this note in reply to an ardent Hindu friend who has thus gently reproached me: "You have now given the *Kalma* a place in the Ashram. What further remains to be done to kill your Hinduism?"

I am confident that my Hinduism and that of the other Ashram Hindus has grown thereby. There should be in us an equal reverence for all religions. Badshah Khan, whenever he comes, joins in the worship here with delight. He loves the tune to which the Ramayana is sung, and he listens intently to the Gita. His faith in Islam has not lessened thereby. Then why may I not listen to the Koran with equal reverence and adoration in my heart?

Vinoba and Pyarelal studied Arabic and learnt the Koran in jail. Their Hinduism has been enriched by this study. I believe that Hindu-Muslim unity will come only through such spontaneous mingling of hearts and no other. Rama is not known by only a thousand names. His names are innumerable, and He is the same whether we call him Allah, Khuda, Rahim, Razzak, the Breadgiver, or any name that comes from the heart of a true devotee.

Sevagram, 2-2-42

(From *Harijansevak*)

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[ TWO ANNAS

## JAMNALALJI

"The angel

Came again with a great wakening light,  
And showed the names whom love of God had  
blessed,

And lo! Sheth Jaman's name led all the rest."

Those who knew Jamnalalji — and the hundreds of telegrams that have been pouring in from places far and near show that the number of that blessed company was great — will not feel unhappy over the alteration I have made in Leigh Hunt's famous lines about Abou Ben Adhem. I do not know if on the fateful afternoon of the 11th Jamnalalji had a vision of any Angel come to receive him in the region of the blessed. But if he had, I am sure he must have spoken to him:

"Low but cheerly still; and said,

I pray thee then,

Write me as one that loves his fellowmen."

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Never since the sudden and premature death of Maganlal Gandhi in 1928 had any bereavement dealt such a staggering blow on Gandhiji as the sudden and premature death of Jamnalalji. Words fail me when I attempt to describe his feeling of desolation. For two days he bore up bravely consoling the bereaved widow and the aged mother, but on the third day he broke down as he was saying: "Childless people adopt sons. But Jamnalalji adopted me as father. He should have been an heir to my all. Instead he has left me an heir to his all." The feeling of desolation is, if I may say so, universal. Wardha and Sevagram, even with Bapu and Ba in it, look dreary without Jamnalalji. The numerous institutions he had founded or helped in founding will experience a piercing sense of void without his sunny presence. Even the meetings of the Congress Working Committee must be dull and dreary without his scintillating and outspoken commonsense.

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The feeling of loneliness that has come over most of us may be judged from these few lines from Vallabhbhai's letter:

"He had vowed not to sit in a train or a motor car, and his vow was to terminate on the 15th. He had promised thereafter to come and have rest with me in Hajira. Instead he has gone to his eternal rest. No death could have been better. But as the proverb goes, 'Let a hundred die, but not the nourisher of a hundred.' Hundreds upon hundreds of our workers in various parts of our country must be shedding silent tears in their cottages. Bapu has lost a true son; Jankidevi

and the family a true shelter; the country a loyal servant; the Congress a stately pillar; the cow her true friend and many institutions their patron; and we have lost a beloved blood brother. I feel so desolate and forlorn."

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Everyone mourns his loss. Amongst the mourners are not only his friends of the Working Committee, not only his friends in the business world like the Birlas and the Tatas, Sir Purushottamdas and others, not only his numerous co-workers the humblest of whom he had brothered and befriended, but countless others who received his help without the world ever knowing it. The meeting to mourn his death held in Wardha was addressed by members of the Hindu Mahasabha and the Muslim League, and a Muslim barrister paid him a fine tribute. He said without Jamnalalji's sympathy and timely help the Anglo-Urdu School would not have been in existence. He had the priceless gift of friendship which endeared him to all, and everyone under his roof felt completely at home. He had literally broken the barriers of the family of his blood relationship, and made himself member of a vaster family to which men and women of all races and creeds belonged. Above all he had broken the barrier that wealth and position often create. His employees and his servants were members of his family, and they shared their joys and sorrows with him in an unstinted measure. There are few wealthy men on earth so utterly void of affectation and snobbery, so utterly innocent of possession and propriety (I mean ownership), so utterly free from communalism or provincialism, and so overflowing with the milk of human kindness.

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Like some of those rare men who are gifted with the power of sublimating their desires and their passions, he was gifted with the power to sublimate his sense of possession. He followed the master cheerfully through all the numerous vicissitudes of the latter's life, because although 'he had great possessions', he had divested himself of the sense of proprietorship in them. Born of an obscure family in a waterless village in Jaipur State, he was adopted by a rich man from the same State who had settled in Wardha. Even the poor parents would not part with their child, until the rich Bachhrajji from Wardha promised to dig a well in the village. The boy was brought up by the adoptive father, and after two or three years in a Hindi school was put into business. Once he incurred



the rage of this hot-tempered father who reminded him of the riches he had come into possession of without labouring for them. He was just 17 then. He addressed a letter to the father couched in terms of humility and firmness characteristic of the Jamnalalji of future years. The letter is in Marwadi, and some of the idiom of the language is untranslatable. But the substance may be given here :

"You were so angry with me today. It was God's will, and you had a right to be angry in that you have adopted me. It is not your fault, rather is it the fault of those who gave me in adoption. The money is yours, and you may do whatever you like with it. I am sorry for the expenses you have incurred on me so far, but from this moment I will not touch a pie out of your money. I have no right against you, and I would implore you not to be anxious about me. May God keep you for many more years. Wherever I go I shall pray for your welfare. Pray pardon me for having irritated you. I hope you never believed that I served you because of your money. Please dismiss that thought from your mind, if you ever had it. I care not for wealth, I pray that I may never forget the name of God who alone can keep me happy in this and in the next life. And pray be of good cheer and don't sorrow over my going. All earthly relationship is hollow. The worldly possessions hold you in their grip. Thank God you have freed me today from their deadly grip. And please rest assured that I will not go to law to claim a pie of what is yours. This is a regular release-deed on a stamped paper, and it declares that you owe me no obligation whatsoever. I owe no debts that you need repay. Use your money in charity, swear not at sadhus and others, as is your wont, but please them with whatever money you can give. I am taking nothing from the house — nothing but the clothes that cover me."

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The father relented, implored the son tearfully to stay, and he stayed. Sturdy commonsense and innate business skill enabled him to earn lakhs and give in charity five times the wealth he had inherited from the adoptive father. If he stayed home in response to the father's importunations, he knew he was a trustee of the father's wealth. Consciously or unconsciously that was his first lesson in the theory of trusteeship. The father who had adopted him taught that first lesson, the father he later adopted initiated him into the deep implications of it.

Similarly he had the virtue of fearlessness which the absence of a slavish education had left unimpaired. He had silenced Tommies travelling first and second and trying to bully him; he would not serve wines at a party he gave in honour of a Governor; to a Commissioner who said that the Chief Commissioner would not open his school unless he promised to be more loyal, he had said he would do without that costly privilege, and to a D. S. P. whom he was interviewing and who had remarked: "How I wish the boat that is carrying Tilak to England may go to the bottom of the sea," he had said: "You forget that there are numerous Englishmen on the boat!"

This fearlessness came into full play during the twenty years of his public life under Gandhiji's leadership. President Kruger was unlettered and Generalissimo Chiang Kai-shek knows no English. Ignorance of English was no handicap to them. It had in fact left the native vigour of their minds unspoilt. Even so with Jamnalalji. He could see the implications of an intricately worded Congress resolution quicker than many other members, and he would often raise his warning voice lest the Committee should put their foot into seemingly innocent propositions. It was he who raised earliest the question of moral and material co-operation in the war and who said that a nation of shopkeepers could not be duped by the promise of moral co-operation.

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Treasurer of the nation's wealth he was also the treasurer of the nation's honour. He was among the very few capitalists who recklessly threw themselves in the fray for the nation's freedom and bore the rigours of imprisonment every time the call was made. His faith burnt brightest when that of others flickered in times of stress and strain and dark despair. It was to revive the faith of others that when Gandhiji was in jail under a six years' term of imprisonment that he donated Rs. 2,50,000 and founded the Gandhi Seva Sangh. Politics he could understand, but he often regarded it as a sorry game which might soil one's heart and soul. And so he had early set his heart on the constructive part of the Congress programme: Khadi to which he gave his wealth, his time, his organising ability and his devotion; Harijan uplift for which he risked the wrath of his hide-bound community, threw open the first big temple in India to the Harijans, and gave to Gandhiji the whole of the income of the Harijan village — Sevagram — for the Harijans' welfare; Hindu-Muslim unity for which he cheerfully bore heavy blows in the course of a riot, and earnestness for which won him distinguished men like the Khan Sahebs as brothers and women like Raihanaben and the Captain Sisters as sisters; Village industries for which he gave away a precious part of his patrimony; Women's cause to which he devoted a good deal of his wealth and time; and the Cow to whose cause he dedicated his life.

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Who could have been blessed with a richer life of service? And yet one could notice in various utterances of his a longing for something he had not yet achieved. His sense of truth and justice was keen even to harshness, so far at any rate as he was concerned. Before he met Gandhiji he had worshipped at many shrines. Gandhiji seemed to settle his mind, and Gandhiji's fierce passion for truth made him long to be his son. "Blessed will be the moment when I shall be worthy of being known as Mahatmaji's son," he wrote in 1923. "It is due to his infinite mercy that I have learnt at least to see my weaknesses and failings." He was often overwhelmed by a sense of his spiritual shortcomings, and he often longed to retire from all public activities. It was this spirit that endeared



him to Gandhiji more than the sacrifice of material possessions, almost incomparably great as this was. And that was what made him the proud recipient of two characteristic letters from Gandhiji written from jail. In one of these he wrote:

"As I proceed in my search for truth it grows upon me that Truth comprehends everything. It is not in ahimsa, but ahimsa is in it. What is perceived by a pure heart and intellect is truth for that moment. Cling to it, and it enables one to reach pure Truth. There is no question there of a divided duty. But often enough it is difficult to decide what is ahimsa. For instance, the use of disinfectants is himsa, and yet we cannot do without it. We have to live a life of ahimsa in the midst of a world of himsa, and that is possible only if we cling to truth. That is how I deduce ahimsa from truth. Out of truth emanate love, tenderness, humility. A votary of truth has to be humble as the dust. His humility increases with his observance of truth. I see this every moment of my life. I have a much vivid sense of truth and of my own littleness than I had a year ago. The wonderful implication of the great truth '*Brahma satyam jaganmithya*' (Brahman is real, all else unreal) grows on me from day to day. It teaches us patience. This will purge us of harshness and add to our tolerance. It will make us magnify the mole-hills of our errors into mountains, and minimise the mountains of others' errors into mole-hills. The body persists because of egoism. The utter extinction of the body of egoism is *moksha*. He who has achieved this will be the very image of Truth, or one may call it Brahman.

Therefore the loving name of God is *Dasanudas* (Servant of servants). Wife, children, friends, possessions—all should be held subservient to Truth. Each one of these should be sacrificed in the search for Truth. Only then can one be a satyagrahi. I have thrown myself into this movement with a view to making the observance of this principle comparatively easy, and it is with the same object that I do not hesitate to plunge men like you in it. Its outward form is Hind Swaraj. This Swaraj is being delayed because there is yet to be found a satyagrahi of that type. This, however, need not dismay us. It should spur us on to greater effort."

And another:

"*Moksha* is liberation from impure thought. Complete extinction of impure thought is impossible without ceaseless penance. There is only one way to achieve this. The moment an impure thought arises, confront it with a pure one. This is possible only with God's grace, and God's grace comes through ceaseless communion with Him and complete self-surrender. This communion may in the beginning be just a lip repetition of His name even disturbed by impure thoughts. But ultimately what is on the lips will possess the heart. And there is another thing to bear in mind. The mind may wander, but let not the senses wander with it. If the senses wander where the mind takes them, one is done for. But he who keeps control of the physical senses will some day be able to bring impure thoughts under control. . . . Impure thoughts need not dismay you. We are monarchs of the domain of Effort. God

is sole Monarch of the domain of Result. . . . You know what to do to create a pure atmosphere about you. Spare diet, sight fixed on the earth below, and impatience with oneself to the extent of plucking the eye out if 'it offends thee'."

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Nourished on food like this, he grew from self-introspection to more self-introspection. Constant companionship with Vinoba, who had managed the Satyagrahashram at Wardha since the beginning, was a great help in the process. He had immense self-confidence. He knew that, if some day the crown of thorns of Congress Presidentship were to be bestowed on him, he would be equal to the burden. But his heart quailed when he thought of the spiritual journey he had still to do before entering the Kingdom of Heaven. It was not because he had riches. Ownership in these he had cast away. But there were other things needed. And in order to purge himself of all dross he took the greatest step of his life—dedicating himself to the service of the cow. He left his house—the house which had lodged guests like Presidents of the Congress, Lord Lothian, H. E. Tai Chi Tao, Dr. John Mott, and the Egyptian Delegation—and went to live in a hut which he called *Gopuri*. Here he did his spinning, tended his cows with the devotion of King Dileepa, and kept a careful record of his thoughts and acts from day to day. As we visited the hut on the day he passed away we saw on the little desk in front of his feet his diary written up complete to the day of his death. Even so his life was complete and regular and God-fearing. He had dedicated this to Mother Cow, in order that she may be for him the *Kamadugha*\* that Cow Nandini had been to King Dileepa. Whether the death that came to him was the blessing given him by the Cow it is difficult to say. Perhaps it was. For no death could be more desirable. Almost until the last moment he was thinking of his Cow and his *Gopuri*, and when the end came it was so sudden and so quick that it seemed as though he had slipped into blissful peace. But whether the Cow had really proved his *Kamadugha*, there is no doubt that by his dedicated life he had rendered himself Gandhiji's *Kamadugha*. It was he who had made it possible for Gandhiji to settle first in Wardha and then in Sevagram, and it was he who was the living link between the outside world and Gandhiji. His death removes the link and leaves both Gandhiji and the outside world much poorer.

Sevagram, 16-2-42

M. D.

\* Fulfiller of all desires.

#### Notice

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Manager



# HARIJAN

Feb. 22

1942

## PLEA FOR CALMNESS

(By M. K. Gandhi)

The recent British reverses ought not to create panic in the land. In all the wars that Britain has fought or in which she has been engaged there have been reverses some of which may be considered disastrous. But the British have a knack of surviving them and turning them into stepping-stones to success. Hence the saying peculiar to them that they blunder through to success. Failures do not dismay or demoralise them. They take them with calmness and in a sportsmanlike spirit. Wars are for them a national game like football. The defeated team heartily congratulates the successful one almost as if it was a joint victory, and drowns the sorrow of defeat in an exchange of glasses of whisky. If we have learnt nothing worth from the contact with the British, let us at least learn their calmness in the face of misfortunes.

And is there the slightest cause for alarm? Certainly not for those who believe in non-violence. For fear and distrust of self are no part of their composition, nor are they part of a panoplied soldier. The attribute of non-violence is perhaps only a copy book maxim. We do not see it in actual practice in any measure. But this war is abundant proof that neither party though steeped in violence betrays any fear or distrust. I am filled with amazement and admiration at the reckless bravery displayed by combatants on either side. This war is a demonstration of the unthinkable nerve that human beings are capable of possessing. Looked at from either standpoint, therefore, we should be ashamed of fear, distrust and nervelessness in the face of danger. It is, therefore, the sacred duty of every worker to steel himself against cowardly panic and prevent its spread as far as he can. "Cowards die many times before their death." Let this not be proved of us.

The true danger exists only for cities. It may be very near due to the fall of Singapore and probable loss of Burma. One of the best precautions consists in those people who are not wanted in the cities or those who want to shun danger, migrating to the villages in an orderly manner. There should be no panicky rush. Those who must remain in the cities whether for business or otherwise should carry out instructions that may be issued by the authorities from time to time. Those who will not, for any reason whatsoever, should clear out in good time. If this simple precaution is taken, we may face the future without perturbation. More I cannot say, for we are a house divided against itself and there is no living bond between the rulers and the ruled. It is tragic but it is true. The tragedy is deepened by the knowledge that all parties feel so helpless.

On the train to Calcutta, 17-2-42

## QUESTION BOX

(By M. K. Gandhi)

### The Eternal Problem

Q. Why can't you see that whilst there is possession it must be defended against all odds? Therefore your insistence that violence should be eschewed in all circumstances is utterly unworkable and absurd. I think non-violence is possible only for select individuals.

A. This question has been answered often enough in some form or other in these columns as also in those of *Young India*. But it is an evergreen. I must answer it as often as it is put, especially when it comes from an earnest seeker as this one does. I claim that even now, though the social structure is not based on a conscious acceptance of non-violence, all the world over mankind lives and men retain their possessions on the sufferance of one another. If they had not done so, only the fewest and the most ferocious would have survived. But such is not the case. Families are bound together by ties of love, and so are groups in the so-called civilised society called nations. Only they do not recognise the supremacy of the law of non-violence. It follows, therefore, that they have not investigated its vast possibilities. Hitherto out of sheer inertia, shall I say, we have taken it for granted that complete non-violence is possible only for the few who take the vow of non-possession and the allied abstinences. Whilst it is true that the votaries alone can carry on research work and declare from time to time the new possibilities of the great eternal law governing man, if it is the law, it must hold good for all. The many failures we see are not of the law but of the followers, many of whom do not even know that they are under that law wilfully. When a mother dies for her child she unknowingly obeys the law. I have been pleading for the past fifty years for a conscious acceptance of the law and its zealous practice even in the face of failures. Fifty years' work has shown marvellous results and strengthened my faith. I do claim that by constant practice we shall come to a state of things when lawful possession will command universal and voluntary respect. No doubt such possession will not be tainted. It will not be an insolent demonstration of the inequalities that surround us everywhere. Nor need the problem of unjust and unlawful possessions appal the votary of non-violence. He has at his disposal the non-violent weapon of satyagraha and non-cooperation which hitherto has been found to be a complete substitute of violence whenever it has been applied honestly in sufficient measure. I have never claimed to present the complete science of non-violence. It does not lend itself to such treatment. So far as I know no single physical science does, not even the very precise science of mathematics. I am but a seeker, and I have fellow seekers like the questioner whom I invite to accompany me in the very difficult but equally fascinating search.

Sevagram, 9-2-42



## NOT NECESSARILY IMPURE

(By M. K. Gandhi)

Thus writes Shri Shankerrao Dev:

"In the last issue of *Harijan*, in your article 'A Deplorable Incident' you say to the rich: 'Earn your crores by all means. But understand that your wealth is not yours; it belongs to the people. Take what you require for your legitimate needs, and use the remainder for society.' When I read this, the first question that arose in my mind was: 'Why first earn crores and then use them for society? As society today is constituted the means of earning crores are bound to be impure; and one who earns crores by impure means cannot be expected to follow the *mantram* तेन त्यक्तेन भुञ्जीथाः; because in the very process of earning crores by impure means the man's character is bound to be tainted or vitiated. And moreover you have always been emphasising the purity of means. But I am afraid that there is a possibility of people misunderstanding that you are laying an emphasis here more on the ends than on the means.

I request you to emphasise as much, if not more, the purity of means of earning money as on spending. If purity of means is strictly observed, then, according to me, crores could not be accumulated at all and the difficulty of spending for society will assume a very minor prospect."

I must demur. Surely a man may conceivably make crores through strictly pure means, assuming that a man may legitimately possess riches. For the purpose of my argument, I have assumed that private possession itself is not held to be impure. If I own a mining lease and I tumble upon a diamond of rare value, I may suddenly find myself a millionaire without being held guilty of having used impure means. This actually happened when Cullinan diamond, much more valuable than the Kohinoor, was found. Such instances can be easily multiplied. My argument was surely addressed to such men. I have no hesitation in endorsing the proposition that generally rich men and for that matter most men are not particular as to the way they make money. In the application of the method of non-violence one must believe in the possibility of every person, however depraved, being reformed under humane and skilled treatment. We must appeal to the good in human beings and expect response. Is it not conducive to the well-being of society that every member uses all his talents, only not for personal aggrandisement but for the good of all? We do not want to produce a dead equality where every person becomes or is rendered incapable of using his ability to the utmost possible extent. Such a society must ultimately perish. I therefore suggest that my advice that monied men may earn their crores (honestly only, of course) but so as to dedicate them to the service of all is perfectly sound. तेन त्यक्तेन भुञ्जीथाः is a *mantra* based on uncommon knowledge. It is the surest method to evolve a new order of life of universal benefit in the place of the present one where each one lives for himself without regard to what happens to his neighbour.

Sevagram, 8-2-42

## NOT QUITE

(By K. G. Mashruwala)

"A pedagogue and psychiatrist" sends a short essay on 'The problem of violence' in which *inter alia* he says:

"Non-violence is not a negation of anything. It is a positive assertion of moral courage to take risks for resisting forces of evil. It is developed by an irresistible will for self-purification.....

The cure of violence consists in adopting an attitude of sympathetic indifference to its struggles and benevolent neutrality in its conflicts. Believers in non-violence should resort to a policy of non-participation and non-opposition to its attempts. It should be allowed to relax and be benefited by the punishment of its actions as it fails to profit by appeals of reason, fair play and justice.....

The whole life of violence is patterned on the Telugu proverb, *Maku arogyam, maku ayushyam, maku dhanam, miku rinam* (To us health, to us life, to us wealth, to you obligations)."

The conception of non-violence as expressed in the second paragraph of the correspondent's letter is not altogether correct. On closer examination it will be seen that it takes away a good deal of what is stated in the first paragraph. Non-violence would not justify itself fully, if it satisfied itself simply by "adopting an attitude of sympathetic indifference" and "benevolent neutrality" towards violence and resorting to a policy of "non-opposition to its attempts", and allowing it "to relax and be benefited by the punishment of its actions".

The fact that in the present war it is not possible to go beyond this attitude should not be taken to mean that non-violence has evolved and worked itself out to its fullest extent. It is the result of the unpreparedness of pacifists, who are yet no more than children in the kindergarten of non-violence.

If non-violence is a truly effective force, it should develop sufficient strength to intervene in violent conflicts in a very effective manner, and bring about a peaceful solution of the points of dispute *before* and not *after* the belligerents are exhausted and 'punished' by their own actions. It will have been no virtue of non-violence, if there is peace as a result of total destruction.

Extinguishing agents can take no credit, when a fire is extinguished because there is no more of inflammable material left for it to burn.

I have often heard it said that this total war itself is going to pave the way for a non-violent order. This is quite possible. But the compulsory adoption of a non-violent civilisation will not necessarily bring contentment and happiness to the world. Violence asleep is no more non-violence than the peace of 1918 was an end of war. Peace and non-violent order that will contribute to man's progress and happiness must result from the true awakening of the nations to an appreciation of non-violence and not from a state of coma after the war.

Sevagram, 18-1-42



## PASSING OF THE FIRST STAGE OF THE A. I. V. I. A.

( By J. C. Kumarappa )

The A. I. V. I. A. has just passed its first seven years and has entered the second and therefore more responsible stage. Thanks to our education most of us sophisticated ones are strangers to village industries and village conditions. We learn Western capitalistic economics and shout for "facts and figures", without knowing how to read them. We are strangers in our own land. It is this phenomenon that has necessitated the A. I. V. I. A. having to pass through this early stage. In these seven years we have cultivated a nodding acquaintance with a few village industries, have begun to recognise the rudiments of village economics, carried on a few experiments in the processes, and attempted a reorganisation of some industries.

Necessarily during this period the Association worked within a restricted area in a highly centralised manner. We now pass to the second stage. We find the country is awaiting a well-formulated constructive programme. In order to facilitate the spreading of the work of the Association we have to decentralise its work. To this end a new constitution has been framed so as to provide for provincial organisations working under Sanchalaks and Secretaries. Gandhiji himself has assumed the helm as President of the Association to steer it through the uncharted course before us in the immediate future, and the following members form the new Board of Management :

1. Shri Laxmidas P. Asar, 2. Shri Shankerlal Banker, 3. Smt. Goshiben Captain, 4. Shri Jairamdas Doulatram, 5. Shri Profulla Chandra Ghosh, 6. Shri Shrikrishnadas Jaju, 7. Shri Bharatan Kumarappa, 8. Shri J. C. Kumarappa (Secretary), 9. Shri Vaikunthrai L. Mehta, 10. Shri Dhiren Mazumdar, 11. Shri Shoorji Vallabhdas.

The provincial organisations will develop their own methods of carrying out the policy laid down by the Board. They may have a central institution, like Maganwadi, in a convenient rural setting where teaching and training of workers will go on side by side with the practical working of some industries chosen from the promising industries of the province. They will carry on propaganda to popularise the products of village industries and educate the people in the underlying philosophy of this movement. This war has helped to demonstrate to us, more clearly than ever, that our salvation lies in the strength of our village organisations. The seed of destruction innate in centralised organisations has sprouted with a vengeance, dispersing the overcrowded population of the cities, threatened by the avarice of invaders, back to the safety of their villages.

The Board met early this month and has framed rules to govern affiliation of allied institutions, recognition of producing centres, and certification of dealers in village products.

In view of the fact that most of the village tanned leather is from non-slaughtered animals, it

decided to give the support of the Association to the village tanning industry by confining sales of leather goods at shops certified by the Association to those made out of hide of non-slaughtered buffaloes, cows and bullocks.

We hope that in the next few years, with the unstinted co-operation of those who have a living faith in this non-violent foundation of economic structure of human activities, the country will be studded with A. I. V. I. A. centres radiating hope to the desperate, bringing food to the hungry and happiness to all.

[One would have thought that I had enough on my hands without taking the additional burden of the Presidentship of the A. I. V. I. A. I have been its guide ever since its inception, but the importunity of the Board was irresistible. Readers will lighten my task by sharing it with me by (a) becoming members, (b) contributing funds, (c) contributing solid work.

Sevagram, 9-2-42

M. K. G.]

### Three Essentials

Assuming the presence of the will among the millions, rapid spread of hand-spinning is possible only by the adoption of the following three things :

1. Use of unginne cotton from the nearest spot when it is not grown on one's own plot.

2. Ginning it on a polished board with an iron or smooth wooden rod and carding the cotton by manipulation of the cotton with fingers assisted by a wooden knife made on the spot. This process is called *tunai* (तुनाई).

3. Spinning the slivers on the dhanush takli.

Hand gins cannot be manufactured to order today. All available unginne cotton should be prepared first by the method explained in 2 above.

Where unginne cotton is not available ginned cotton from factories has got to be used. It too lends itself to *tunai*, though much more time is required for carding by the *tunai* process when bale cotton has to be used. Where a carding bow is available, naturally it will be used. But what is true of ginning is equally true of carding. It is not possible to manufacture bows and gut in a moment. *Tunai* is a method devised and being perfected by Shri Vinoba with an artist's skill and ardour.

When spinning spreads among the millions it will be impossible to supply slivers from a centre or centres. The utmost that is possible is for families or groups to set apart one or two hands per a fixed number for carding. The ideal, the best, and in the long run the quickest, way is for each one to prepare his own slivers. It makes spinning more interesting, and the variety of occupation breaks the monotony.

I suggest that, though the crisis is not yet felt and the mills are working, khadi workers will do well from now to adopt the suggestions I have made. When the crisis does come, we shall then be found ready.

Sevagram, 2-2-42

M. K. G.



## GOSEVA SANGH RESOLUTIONS

(Passed at the Conference recently held at Wardha)

1. Whereas India is primarily an agricultural country, 80 per cent of its people being dependent on agriculture, and whereas Indian agriculture depends on bullocks, and whereas the cow is not only the milk-and-ghee-giver but also the sole means of providing bullocks, this Conference is definitely of opinion that the improvement of the present condition and economic status of the cow and her progeny is more important than that of other cattle and indispensable in any scheme of economic planning on a national basis.

2. Whereas to underfeed animals, to keep them in an insanitary condition, to overload them, to take more work from them than they can give, to beat them, to torture them with spikes, and the cruel 'phooka' is wholly against humanitarian principles, and whereas such practices decrease the utility of the animals, this Conference appeals to the general public and in a special way to the members of the Goseva Sangh and other cow lovers to arouse the public conscience and make the utmost effort to put a stop to such inhuman treatment and where necessary to seek the assistance of the law.

3. Whereas the real object of *pinjrapols* and charitable *goshalas* is to give asylum to diseased, old and disabled cattle and save them from pain and slaughter, this Conference is of opinion that in order effectively to achieve the object the following reforms in their management and programme of work are essential:

(a) Every institution should provide proper maintenance and veterinary and other scientific facilities for cattle. These facilities should also be made available to the neighbouring public.

(b) It should be the duty of the institution to see to it that scrub animals are not allowed to procreate. It should be incumbent on the management to arrange for proper feeding and care of well-bred cows as also for improvement in the breed of cattle with a view to producing cows who will yield more milk and bullocks capable of doing more work.

(c) Every institution should keep good bulls whose services should be available to the general public also.

(d) Every institution should, as far as possible, make provision for spacious dry cattle farms where the dry cows and calves of the neighbouring public may be kept at concession rates. Good bulls should also be kept.

(e) Every institution should make arrangements for producing green grass and fodder in ample measure and for preserving the same by means of silage etc.

(f) The buildings of *pinjrapols* should be constructed so as to ensure cleanliness and healthy living. Wells, water troughs, etc. should be scientifically planned on a uniform model.

(g) There should be an expert in animal husbandry in charge of each institution. He should have thorough knowledge of cattle farming, fodder cultivation and veterinary science.

4. Whereas it is desirable that all those institutions which accept the Conference resolution regarding *pinjrapols* should be conducted on uniform lines and efficiently managed, the Conference recommends to them to obtain certificates from and affiliate themselves with the Goseva Sangh.

The Conference recommends to the Goseva Sangh to frame the necessary rules in order to facilitate certification and affiliation of institutions, and to invite existing *pinjrapols* and *goshalas* to get themselves affiliated to the Sangh.

## FOUR YEARS' WORK

The Basic Scheme of Education as propounded by Gandhiji over four years ago has met and continues to meet with a storm of opposition from certain quarters. It is in the nature of things that anything so wholly revolutionary should be opposed by those who have been nurtured on certain traditions. Most people admit that the present system of education has not been of the type suited to our conditions of life or in keeping with our rich heritage of culture, all deplore the fact that the vast majority in this land are wholly illiterate and uneducated, and yet because of political differences any scheme emanating from however pure a motive is apt to create prejudices in the minds of those belonging to a different school of political thought and therefore does not always get a fair trial. The Wardha scheme has had to battle against such odds. Inasmuch as compulsory primary education has always been declared impossible because of lack of funds, Gandhiji claimed that his scheme, apart from its own intrinsic value of method, had the additional qualification of becoming self-supporting up to a point and after a certain stage if the State would make provision for the sale of the articles produced in the schools. He still adheres to this claim, but nowhere did he even say that the schools would be self-supporting straightaway. It stands to reason that in all craft schools there must be an initial cost of equipment. Spinning was chosen in the first instance as the craft pre-eminently suitable for children of all ages and for village children in particular. It is the one craft about which, thanks to him, there is expert knowledge in our country. The main objections, however, to the scheme are that after a couple of years or in some cases only after a year the schools are not self-supporting and that spinning has not proved a suitable craft. There is nothing in the Zakir Husain Report to show that the sponsors of the scheme wanted spinning to be the only craft. But experts and text-books are lacking and cannot be produced in a day. Moreover the lack of trained teachers in an entirely new type of education cannot be made good in a short time either. All these handicaps the Talimi Sangh has had to face. In addition, Congress popular Governments, who were out to give the scheme as fair a trial as possible, went out of office, and hence in certain provinces the scheme suffered. Notwithstanding all these difficulties the third annual report of the Hindustani Talimi Sangh just published makes interesting reading and should be studied with an impartial mind.

### Basic Schools

The Governments of the C. P. and Berar, Bihar, U. P., and Orissa started a certain number of schools and training schools as an official experiment.



So have done the States of Kashmir and Rajgarh. In addition there are some non-government agencies who have taken up the scheme, such as the Jamia Millia Islamia in Delhi, The Rashtriya Gramshala at Thamna, Kheda Dt. Gujarat, the Tilak Maharashtra Vidyapith, Poona, the Gurukul at Kangri, the Ramakrishna Vidyalaya at Periyarayanpalayam, Coimbatore District, the Friends' Settlement at Hoshangabad, and the Vijay Vidyamandir of Avidha (Rajpipla State). The District Council of Raipur (C. P.) has had its teachers trained at the Vidyamandir training schools and has introduced the basic syllabus in 15 of its schools.

#### Progress

Naturally progress of the experiment varies from province to province and from institution to institution according to the interpretation of the fundamental principles of the scheme and the faith and efficiency of the teachers. But the various reports give one ample hope that, given the right type of workers, the experiment will fulfil its original expectations.

The Bihar Government, through its Board of Basic Education composed of officials and non-official educationists, was the only Government to make a careful assessment of the result of the experiment in its province, and the Sangh has published their report in the form of a booklet. Conferences and exhibitions, of which two have been held in Poona and Delhi, have been another means of finding out what progress is being made. The Delhi Conference among its various findings recorded "with satisfaction that the reports on the working of basic schools run by the Government, local bodies and by private enterprise are almost unanimous that general standards of health and behaviour as well as intellectual attainment are very encouraging. The children in basic schools are more active, cheerful, self-reliant, their power of self-expression is well developed, they are acquiring habits of co-operative work, and social prejudices are breaking down." The following from the report of the Board of Inspectors in Bihar bears quotation: "Champaran was specially selected as the first field of experiment as one of the most backward areas in the province. At the time of the introduction of basic education there were only five primary schools and one middle school in the entire area. . . . Everything in the home and life of the child tends to hinder the growth of children. . . . We had not only to examine whether the required habits of body and mind and the proper spirit were being acquired by the children, but also to find out how far the same could be attributed to the use of the media to which basic education attached importance." They then give their findings in detail. In regard to skill and efficiency in the craft the children had attained a fair measure of success, there being a marked improvement over the previous year. In regard to discipline too there seemed to be distinct progress not only in the class room but also in the playing field and in meetings and gatherings. There was an absence of noise and scramble for places, jostling and pushing, which are always present in

children's gatherings. Development of intelligence had been achieved to an appreciable extent. "Considering the backwardness of the area the results obtained were really very encouraging." Lethargy and listlessness were being gradually overcome, and children were finding pleasure in good work for its own sake. The progress in the development of habits of systematic and thorough work was not up to the required standard, nor had the children developed enough of the spirit of inquiry and power of observation. They were, however, becoming aware of their social environment, and there was noticeable progress in co-operation and service. Personal cleanliness, a sense of orderliness, self-expression had definitely developed, and there was a definite development in the whole personality of the child.

Kashmir reports that the mental content of the pupils has been considerably enriched under the basic syllabus. Teachers are looked upon as friends. The children are definitely neater, tidier, smarter, and show signs of an awakened sense of responsibility. The average attendance has shown a marked upward tendency, the children show a fairly good sense of colour harmony in their picture sketches, they take a delight in flowers and pet animals, and are keenly inquisitive, always eager to know the why, how and wherefore of the things and persons surrounding them, they take a keen interest in decorating their class rooms and the school museum, they have their own garden, they thoroughly enjoy monthly excursions, they edit their daily news bulletins themselves, they run a stationery shop and a savings bank of their own, the cleanliness of the class rooms is their own responsibility, they help in the village and in their homes in sweeping and scavenging, they have even repaired roads and dug drains.

The C. P. Government admits that children working under this syllabus are more alert, well-behaved, cleaner and more systematic in work than those in ordinary schools.

The Bombay Special Officer of Basic Education says their boys have been making steady progress in mental and physical development. A sense of service has been generated, and children are more attentive, accurate and frugal in habits.

The Vijay Vidyamandir in Rajpipla State notes a great change in the attitude of the children. They are cleaner and more keen on their studies, more alert and quick. They are slowly becoming self-supporting.

Sevagram, 22-1-42

A. K.

### Christian Missions

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## FIERY ORDEAL

(By M. K. Gandhi)

Twentytwo years ago a young man with the bloom of thirty springs upon him came to me and said, "I want to ask something of you."

"Ask, and it shall be given, if it is at all within my power to give," I replied with some surprise.

"Regard me as your son Devadas," the young man said.

"Agreed," I replied. "Only I am giving nothing, you are the giver."

The young man was no other than Jamnalal Bajaj. People know something of what this sacrament meant. But few know the extent of the part played by the self-adopted son. Never before, I can say, was a mortal blessed with a 'son' like him. Of course I have many sons and daughters in the sense that they have done some of my work. But Jamnalalji surrendered himself and his without reservation. There is hardly any activity of mine in which I did not receive his full-hearted co-operation and in which it did not prove to be of the greatest value. He was gifted with a quick intelligence. He was a merchant prince. He placed at my disposal his ample possessions. He became guardian of my time and my health. And he did it all for the public good. The day he died he and Jankidevi were to come to me. But he died almost at the very hour he should have been with me. Never before have I felt so forlorn except when Maganlal was snatched from me fourteen years ago. But I had no doubt then, as I have none now, that a calamity of that kind is a blessing in disguise. God wants to try me through and through. I live in the faith that He will give me the strength too to pass through the ordeal.

Sevagram, 16-2-42

(Adapted from *Harijansevak*)

## Notes

## Mean and Vindictive

Owing to my preoccupations due to the untimely death of Jamnalalji I have not been able to attend to even important matters. I have just learnt of the arrests of Shri Hare Krushna Mahtab, a staunch believer in non-violence, and other workers. Shri Mahtab wanted to be bailed out. But the application has been rejected. I hope the matter will be taken to the High Court. It is preposterous that bail should be refused in such cases. I have learnt further that the Orissa Ministry has effected these arrests in order to prevent a motion of no confidence being carried at the forthcoming meeting of the Orissa Legislature. If this is true, the action is mean and vindictive. Let us hope that the members of the Orissa Assembly will have the courage and gentlemanliness to support the motion of no confidence irrespective of party bias.

On the train to Calcutta, 17-2-42

## Oasis in a Desert

In the midst of the desert of adverse but ill-thought criticism of Government officials of basic

education it is refreshing to find the following appreciation of the basic schools of Bihar from the pen of Mr. E. R. J. R. Cousins, Adviser to H. E. the Governor of Bihar, received by Shri Aryanayakam, Secretary of the Hindustani Talimi Sangh:

"I am sorry that my programme for the inspection of the basic schools was interfered with by heavy rain and had to be curtailed. But I was able to meet the teachers and pupils of 18 out of the 27 schools, 6 at Brindaban-Rampurva and 12 at Chaubetola-Parukia, and I was extremely interested in all that I saw. We shall not of course be able to judge the experiment fully until the completion of all seven grades, but I was impressed with the cleanliness, intelligence and obvious pleasure of the pupils in their work, and I am confident that we are proceeding on the right lines, and that children of 14 who have gone through the entire basic curriculum will not fail in comparison with those who have gone through the ordinary school course up to the same age.

A particular encouraging feature, and one upon which I place the greatest emphasis, is that the schools have undoubtedly succeeded in capturing the goodwill and interest of the village people, and as long as this can be retained it is impossible for the system to fail of being a success. The public spirit displayed by the proprietors and the villagers of Chaubetola-Parukia in providing such excellent playgrounds for the school, in preparing roads and equipping the scouts troop, which is one of the largest I have ever seen, and above all in insisting that the village boys shall attend the school regularly is most commendable, and I am assured that similar proofs of public interest are exhibited in connection with other schools which I was not able to see. I feel confident that the efforts of the villagers will be well repaid, and that in addition to education in the ordinary sense the village boys of the future will acquire at the schools such attributes of mental alertness, manual dexterity, health and cleanliness as will make the villagers in 'future more healthy, attractive and enlightened places than they have been in the past.'

Sevagram, 16-2-42

## Eyes to the Blind

Though I had heard a lot about the reputation of Dr. Mathuradas of Moga, I had never had occasion to witness any of his famous operations for cataract, until I saw them in Wardha last month. He came specially at the invitation of Jamnalalji, and with his assistants restored eyes to about three hundred people who had been blinded by cataract.

These mass operations have been described as a *yajna* (sacrifice). And *yajna* it certainly is, as any act of selfless service is a sacrifice. This *yajna* began some years ago in the Bhagavad Bhakti Ashram at Rewari, with which Jamnalalji was closely connected. He therefore invited the doctor this time to Wardha. I bowed to Dr. Mathuradas in admiration for his unerring and quick surgical hand. He performed operations at the rate of one in a minute, there was scarcely a mishap. Thousands thus get back their eyes free, as he charges no fee to the poor.

The doctor told me that nowhere except in India was cataract so common as was also rhino-



plasty. These operations, therefore, place him in the forefront of the surgeons for cataract throughout the world. No doubt many doctors have now taken up the work and copy his example. It is just as it should be, for the medical profession should be one of selfless service. And there was no humanitarian mission for which Jamnalalji was not ready. It came to him as naturally as any of his business enterprises. That was why he had a scheme in hand for making these operations a periodical feature in C. P.

I hope that the scheme will not be interrupted by his death, and Dr. Mathuradas is always ready for these *yajnas*.

On the train to Calcutta, 17-2-42

(From *Harijansevak*)

#### **Limbdi Exodus Anniversary**

The Limbdi exodus has entered upon its fourth year. The *Hijratīs* who took part in it deserve congratulations. Some have dropped out, out of weakness, as happens in all movements. Not all that are born into this world live. Quite a lot die at birth. Many survive their childhood. Only a few cover the full span of life. Even so it is with human endeavour. Many rally to the call, but only a few persevere till the end. But those who do, vindicate the sacrifice of those who have dropped by the wayside, and serve as beacon-lights to subsequent generations. The *Hijratīs* must be prepared to prove their mettle in the final heat. Success will be theirs, only if they show themselves to be capable of making full sacrifice for the cause which they hold dear and to which they have dedicated themselves.

Sevagram, 15-2-42

(From *Harijanbandhu*)

M. K. G.

#### **'Nai Talim'**

With its January number *Nai Talim*, the organ of the Hindustani Talimi Sangh, entered on its fourth year of life. It began publication six months after the Talimi Sangh came into being and the experiment in basic education commenced. Workers were few; the road before the pioneers was beset with thorns. *Nai Talim* was started in order to help those who had dedicated their lives in this endeavour. The experiment in basic education is a revolutionary one. It is only by pooling experiences and recording failures no less than successes that we can hope to achieve our goal. Those engaged in the work must continue to help in making *Nai Talim* the source of information and guidance that is its role.

The office is being shifted to Patna. Acharya Badrinath, who has played an important part in making the experiment in Bihar a success, will now share the burden of editorship with Shrimati Ashadevi. The fact that there is a basic training centre in Patna and several basic schools in Champaran district should help *Nai Talim* to be in the closest touch with this new experiment.

While the organ is meant primarily to serve those engaged in teaching and promoting basic education, the Hindi and Urdu reading public will benefit themselves if they subscribe to this monthly. After all the aim of basic education is to make

useful and good citizens of our children. The scheme should, therefore, arouse the interest of all who are keen on bringing in a system which claims to bring light and life where so far there has been darkness and deadness.

The subscription is Rs. 1/4 per annum including postage, and the monthly can be had from the Talimi Sangh Office, Sevagram. There is an Urdu edition also published from the Jamia Millia, Delhi.

Sevagram, 21-1-42

A. K.

#### **HELL IN AJMER**

(By *Rameshwari Nehru*)

During our recent wanderings Thakkar Bapa and I had the opportunity of going round the Harijan bastis in Ajmer City. As was expected by us we had almost to wade through pools of filth in the Mehtars' localities. The lanes seemed never to have even cultivated an acquaintance with the broom. Open drains fouled the whole atmosphere, and these were the habitations of the very people who kept the whole city clean!

But the most painful sight was the night-soil reservoir, of the city, unmentionably dirty but situated close to many sweepers' and other houses. Six years ago I saw it, though, in spite of my efforts, I could not stop there to watch its working. But its memory had stayed with me like a nightmare. I had tried then to get the public of Ajmer as well as others interested in it. The matter was also brought to the notice of the authorities of the Municipality. But evidently to no effect.

Learning that this reservoir was still in the same old condition, Thakkar Bapa and I went to see it, though once again I found it impossible to stand there for long. Thakkar Bapa, of course, courageously and carefully went round the whole place and said with a simplicity, characteristic of him, that he could swear in a court of law that nowhere else in India did such a bad system of night-soil disposal exist. And Thakkar Bapa knows almost every Harijan basti in our country!

The reservoir consists of two rectangular tanks, about 100'x20'x10' each, which are used alternately. The night-soil mixed up with sewage water is shovelled into one of the tanks from a platform above, from a distance, thus exposing to view all the dirt. A Mehtar has to shovel the matter into the tank with something like a scraper attached to a long pole while his feet are immersed in the semi-liquid filth. The tanks are open, and the foul smell from the night-soil of a whole city of one and a quarter lakhs of population can better be imagined than described.

The most painful and inhuman part of the whole business is that about half a dozen Mehtars have every day to get right down into the tank in the midst of all the filth it contains, in order to see that the outlet from the tank is not choked with solid material. They have to wade through liquid filth, 1 to 2 ft. deep. While doing so it is difficult for them to save even their hands and other parts of the body from getting soiled. From the tank the liquid is taken out in an open channel, 2 miles



long, and then utilised as manure. The whole thing is a revolting sight and a standing disgrace to civilised society.

We approached the President of the Municipal Committee and impressed on him the need to cover these tanks, to arrange for the shifting of night-soil straight from the cart to the tank through man-holes, and to provide sanitary implements for the Mehtars to do the work so that they may not be forced to touch the filth with their hands or feet. The present arrangement is inhuman and must be replaced by more scientific and sanitary arrangements. It is the least that can be expected from the Municipality. The President gave us an assurance that our suggestions would be accepted by the Committee. We anxiously await the results.

Sojat, 1-2-42

## MODEL SCHOOLS FOR HARIJANS

(By M. K. Gandhi)

Seth Ghanashyamdas Birla, President of the Harijan Sevak Sangh, writes:

"We are thinking of establishing a few residential schools mainly for educating Harijan boys, though not exclusively. So far, whenever we have talked of Harijan, hostels or schools, we have thereby meant cheap schools or cheap hostels conducted by ill-educated and ill-paid teachers and wardens with boys half-starved. So long as we educate Harijans or children of poor parents in these cheap institutions, the boys will never succeed in shedding the inferiority complex from which they often suffer. And what will they learn from these unqualified and ill-paid teachers? These boys never get the opportunity to mix with the other boys. The harm due to this lack of contact between the poor and the well-to-do or between Harijans and Savarnas is mutual. I therefore propose that we should have a few residential schools established in pleasing environment. They should be of a standard that would compare favourably in every respect with a well-conducted public school. We should start a few such schools first of all as a trial.

They should be of the matriculation standard and affiliated to a university. They should, of course, be mostly residential. Personal attention to students should be a speciality. Education should be imparted through the medium of the mother-tongue. English should be taught as a second language. During the period of this education, the boys should be taught useful handicrafts chosen for their educative value.

In order to make this education thorough and self-sufficient, we should take two years more than the time needed for the matriculation examination. These two years should be utilised in giving extra training to the boys besides what they learn for the matriculation course.

We propose to have three crafts, one of which will be taken up by every boy at his option. These will be:

Either (1) Carding, Spinning, Weaving, Dyeing and Bleaching; or (2) Carpentry and Smithy; or (3) Paper-making, Book-binding, and Ordinary Composing.

It is intended to employ a superior staff, adequately paid, to ensure good qualifications. The underlying idea is that the boys may not feel the want of a college

education. There will be no bar to such. The boys, it is hoped, will not find it difficult to earn an honest livelihood after finishing the course. It will be the duty of the Board to accommodate such boys as may like to be.

Besides the university course and craft, special attention will be given to increasing their general knowledge and hygiene. Music, games, exercises, riding, swimming, etc. should be taught. Religious or moral training should not be neglected. Equal respect for all religions should be inculcated, along with a good grounding in the principles of Hinduism and the peculiar beauties of our own culture.

Half the number of the students should be Harijans who would have free education and free boarding and lodging. The other half of the students, i. e. Savarnas, should be charged fees.

This is a very rough and brief outline of my idea of a good high school.

But there is difference amongst us about this outline. Some say: Why should we have the matriculation course? Others say: We should not undertake costly education as this will be a bad example to set. It is argued that we may employ most qualified men, but only if they come on a bare maintenance and out of a spirit of sacrifice. In other words, in their opinion, in this school there would be no room for teachers other than those prepared to lead a simple life of sacrifice. Some go to the extent of saying that we should rather have no school than start one which is not manned by a highly self-sacrificing staff.

I consider all this impractical. I need not give my arguments. They are obvious.

Will you express your views on this question?"

I whole-heartedly support Seth Ghanashyamdas's scheme. The arguments advanced in opposition seem to be based more on caution than on principle. I too should side with the opposition, if the scheme was to be financed out of the meagre funds of the Harijan Board. But I assume that the model schools would be financed by special donations enough to guarantee their full working. Having lived in South Africa for twenty years where every Indian is treated almost as a pariah, I know how sensitive the mind becomes under unnatural treatment. I took some time to regain my balance though I never lost the sensitiveness. I felt that I was a strange creature in the company of the general body of Europeans. The plight of Harijans in India is much worse because of their much greater ignorance and still greater poverty. Therefore, if we are to break down the double complex, we have to bring up a fair number of Harijan lads in surroundings in no way inferior to those that are available to the well-to-do class boys. The scheme under examination does not contemplate the production of clerks who would be too big for their boots and who would be naturally discontented because no one would have them as clerks. Boys trained under the scheme would be in no way inferior in knowledge to the other matriculates. But these will be better placed because their bodies will be specially looked after and their hands will have their cunning fully developed. Such boys



will have their future assured. They will have self-confidence. They will not be torn from their kith and kin; on the contrary, they will be expected to serve fellow Harijans and give them benefit of the teaching they have received.

It may be objected that I am inconsistent in that I have written and spoken against the present system of education. The objection would be superficial. In the first place, the worst features of the system will be eliminated in that the training will be in the mother-tongue and the boys will be taught handicrafts which should enable them to earn an independent and decent living. Secondly, an objection that may be applicable to boys who can be better educated cannot be held good in the case of boys who have no choice and who smart under the knowledge that they cannot have the education that thousands of boys have simply because they are not Harijans. I would not insult Harijan lads by arguing with them that what the thousands of non-Harijan lads are doing is wrong, and that therefore they had better be satisfied with the shanties which Seth Ghanashyamdas has referred to in his letter.

I plump for his scheme. I wish him all success. The sooner it is launched, the better for Harijans and better for India. These schools will be potent instruments for exorcising the demon of untouchability.

Sevagram, 16-2-42

## FROM THE OLDEST CONGRESSMAN

Dear Mahatmaji,

I congratulate you upon your dissociation with the believers of violence as far as possible. God gave you an opportunity to do so at Poona, but at Bombay you forgot all about that God-given opportunity. At Bardoli God gave you that opportunity again. I am exceedingly glad that you did not make the same mistake at Wardha as you had done at Bombay. God never forsakes him whose surrender to Him is complete.

Life of everything other than the Eternal is limited by the laws of Nature. Violence was created by God who gave it a limited life. God in His infinite wisdom now finds that violence was given a trial and found wanting in preserving world peace. How and for what purpose armament was created is not known, but it is now certain that armament at the present time is used by violence for indiscriminate man-slaughter throughout the world, and the inevitable result is annihilation of mankind and a deluge of blood all over the world. This is threatening the whole world with wholesale extermination of mankind. The only reassuring circumstance is that Nature gave both violence and armament only limited life to live, and it is high time that they should quit the world. All that violence and armament did during their tenure of life was war and nothing but war. Now the world war is complete, and violence and armament are exhausting themselves to be entirely finished.

This world war may not be the longest but it must be the last, and a new world with perfect peace and tranquillity will emerge out of the ashes of violence and armament for the benefit of mankind.

The outgoing world is almost entirely enveloped by a cloud of disbelief in God. A considerable number of the disbelievers not only deny the very existence of God but they assert that belief in God is a moral weakness, if not delinquency and a bar to human progress. The rest of the disbelievers think that God is more dead than alive, and that they are the masters of all they survey. The total number of these disbelievers is the largest, and they are responsible for the world war. Then come the waverers who entertain the idea of God differently in accordance with their different temperaments. The pictures of God that they draw up in their minds are accordingly different. But those waverers agree in forgetting that God is more living than they suppose Him to be. To them the words 'Omnipresent', 'Omniscient' and 'Omnipotent' are for the expression of lip-loyalty to God and not for the enlightenment of their minds about Him.

God-believing India will not have man-given violence and armament-controlled freedom for exploiting the weaker section of humanity. She must have God-given freedom for their service — *seva*.

God-given freedom can be obtained only by satyagraha, sufferings for which can be successfully undertaken only by those whose surrender to Him is complete. The number of satyagrahis is steadily increasing. Let the advocates of violence say and do whatever they may, the number of believers in non-violence will steadily go on increasing and the world will have real peace.

Chandpur, 24-1-42

Hara Dayal Nag

[Though the foregoing has an intrinsic value as an expression of robust faith, it is printed as being from the pen of the oldest living Congressman who clings to non-violence as an infant to its mother's breast.

Sevagram, 9-2-42

M. K. G.]

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# HARIJAN

12 Pages

Editor : MAHADEV DESAI

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[ TWO ANNAS

## JAMNALALJI

"The angel

Came again with a great wakening light,  
And showed the names whom love of God had  
blessed,

And lo! Sheth Jaman's name led all the rest."

Those who knew Jamnalalji — and the hundreds of telegrams that have been pouring in from places far and near show that the number of that blessed company was great — will not feel unhappy over the alteration I have made in Leigh Hunt's famous lines about Abou Ben Adhem. I do not know if on the fateful afternoon of the 11th Jamnalalji had a vision of any Angel come to receive him in the region of the blessed. But if he had, I am sure he must have spoken to him:

"Low but cheerily still; and said,  
I pray thee then,

Write me as one that loves his fellowmen."

Never since the sudden and premature death of Maganlal Gandhi in 1928 had any bereavement dealt such a staggering blow on Gandhiji as the sudden and premature death of Jamnalalji. Words fail me when I attempt to describe his feeling of desolation. For two days he bore up bravely consoling the bereaved widow and the aged mother, but on the third day he broke down as he was saying: "Childless people adopt sons. But Jamnalalji adopted me as father. He should have been an heir to my all. Instead he has left me an heir to his all." The feeling of desolation is, if I may say so, universal. Wardha and Sevagram, even with Bapu and Ba in it, look dreary without Jamnalalji. The numerous institutions he had founded or helped in founding will experience a piercing sense of void without his sunny presence. Even the meetings of the Congress Working Committee must be dull and dreary without his scintillating and outspoken commonsense.

The feeling of loneliness that has come over most of us may be judged from these few lines from Vallabhbhai's letter:

"He had vowed not to sit in a train or a motor car, and his vow was to terminate on the 15th. He had promised thereafter to come and have rest with me in Hajira. Instead he has gone to his eternal rest. No death could have been better. But as the proverb goes, 'Let a hundred die, but not the nourisher of a hundred.' Hundreds upon hundreds of our workers in various parts of our country must be shedding silent tears in their cottages. Bapu has lost a true son; Jankidevi

and the family a true shelter; the country a loyal servant; the Congress a stately pillar; the cow her true friend and many institutions their patron; and we have lost a beloved blood brother. I feel so desolate and forlorn."

Everyone mourns his loss. Amongst the mourners are not only his friends of the Working Committee, not only his friends in the business world like the Birlas and the Tatas, Sir Purushottamdas and others, not only his numerous co-workers the humblest of whom he had brothered and befriended, but countless others who received his help without the world ever knowing it. The meeting to mourn his death held in Wardha was addressed by members of the Hindu Mahasabha and the Muslim League, and a Muslim barrister paid him a fine tribute. He said without Jamnalalji's sympathy and timely help the Anglo-Urdu School would not have been in existence. He had the priceless gift of friendship which endeared him to all, and everyone under his roof felt completely at home. He had literally broken the barriers of the family of his blood relationship, and made himself member of a vaster family to which men and women of all races and creeds belonged. Above all he had broken the barrier that wealth and position often create. His employees and his servants were members of his family, and they shared their joys and sorrows with him in an unstinted measure. There are few wealthy men on earth so utterly void of affectation and snobbery, so utterly innocent of possession and propriety (I mean ownership), so utterly free from communalism or provincialism, and so overflowing with the milk of human kindness.

Like some of those rare men who are gifted with the power of sublimating their desires and their passions, he was gifted with the power to sublimate his sense of possession. He followed the master cheerfully through all the numerous vicissitudes of the latter's life, because although 'he had great possessions', he had divested himself of the sense of proprietorship in them. Born of an obscure family in a waterless village in Jaipur State, he was adopted by a rich man from the same State who had settled in Wardha. Even the poor parents would not part with their child, until the rich Bachhrajji from Wardha promised to dig a well in the village. The boy was brought up by the adoptive father, and after two or three years in a Hindi school was put into business. Once he incurred



the rage of this hot-tempered father who reminded him of the riches he had come into possession of without labouring for them. He was just 17 then. He addressed a letter to the father couched in terms of humility and firmness characteristic of the Jamnalalji of future years. The letter is in Marwadi, and some of the idiom of the language is untranslatable. But the substance may be given here :

"You were so angry with me today. It was God's will, and you had a right to be angry in that you have adopted me. It is not your fault, rather is it the fault of those who gave me in adoption. The money is yours, and you may do whatever you like with it. I am sorry for the expenses you have incurred on me so far, but from this moment I will not touch a pie out of your money. I have no right against you, and I would implore you not to be anxious about me. May God keep you for many more years. Wherever I go I shall pray for your welfare. Pray pardon me for having irritated you. I hope you never believed that I served you because of your money. Please dismiss that thought from your mind, if you ever had it. I care not for wealth, I pray that I may never forget the name of God who alone can keep me happy in this and in the next life. And pray be of good cheer and don't sorrow over my going. All earthly relationship is hollow. The worldly possessions hold you in their grip. Thank God you have freed me today from their deadly grip. And please rest assured that I will not go to law to claim a pie of what is yours. This is a regular release-deed on a stamped paper, and it declares that you owe me no obligation whatsoever. I owe no debts that you need repay. Use your money in charity, swear not at sadhus and others, as is your wont, but please them with whatever money you can give. I am taking nothing from the house — nothing but the clothes that cover me."

The father relented, implored the son tearfully to stay, and he stayed. Sturdy commonsense and innate business skill enabled him to earn lakhs and give in charity five times the wealth he had inherited from the adoptive father. If he stayed home in response to the father's importunations, he knew he was a trustee of the father's wealth. Consciously or unconsciously that was his first lesson in the theory of trusteeship. The father who had adopted him taught that first lesson, the father he later adopted initiated him into the deep implications of it.

Similarly he had the virtue of fearlessness which the absence of a slavish education had left unimpaired. He had silenced Tommies travelling first and second and trying to bully him; he would not serve wines at a party he gave in honour of a Governor; to a Commissioner who said that the Chief Commissioner would not open his school unless he promised to be more loyal, he had said he would do without that costly privilege, and to a D. S. P. whom he was interviewing and who had remarked: "How I wish the boat that is carrying Tilak to England may go to the bottom of the sea," he had said: "You forget that there are numerous Englishmen on the boat!"

This fearlessness came into full play during the twenty years of his public life under Gandhiji's leadership. President Kruger was unlettered and Generalissimo Chiang Kai-shek knows no English. Ignorance of English was no handicap to them. It had in fact left the native vigour of their minds unspoilt. Even so with Jamnalalji. He could see the implications of an intricately worded Congress resolution quicker than many other members, and he would often raise his warning voice lest the Committee should put their foot into seemingly innocent propositions. It was he who raised earliest the question of moral and material co-operation in the war and who said that a nation of shopkeepers could not be duped by the promise of moral co-operation.

Treasurer of the nation's wealth he was also the treasurer of the nation's honour. He was among the very few capitalists who recklessly threw themselves in the fray for the nation's freedom and bore the rigours of imprisonment every time the call was made. His faith burnt brightest when that of others flickered in times of stress and strain and dark despair. It was to revive the faith of others that when Gandhiji was in jail under a six years' term of imprisonment that he donated Rs. 2,50,000 and founded the Gandhi Seva Sangh. Politics he could understand, but he often regarded it as a sorry game which might soil one's heart and soul. And so he had early set his heart on the constructive part of the Congress programme: Khadi to which he gave his wealth, his time, his organising ability and his devotion; Harijan uplift for which he risked the wrath of his hide-bound community, threw open the first big temple in India to the Harijans, and gave to Gandhiji the whole of the income of the Harijan village — Sevagram — for the Harijans' welfare; Hindu-Muslim unity for which he cheerfully bore heavy blows in the course of a riot, and earnestness for which won him distinguished men like the Khan Sahebs as brothers and women like Raihanaben and the Captain Sisters as sisters; Village industries for which he gave away a precious part of his patrimony; Women's cause to which he devoted a good deal of his wealth and time; and the Cow to whose cause he dedicated his life.

Who could have been blessed with a richer life of service? And yet one could notice in various utterances of his a longing for something he had not yet achieved. His sense of truth and justice was keen even to harshness, so far at any rate as he was concerned. Before he met Gandhiji he had worshipped at many shrines. Gandhiji seemed to settle his mind, and Gandhiji's fierce passion for truth made him long to be his son. "Blessed will be the moment when I shall be worthy of being known as Mahatmaji's son," he wrote in 1923. "It is due to his infinite mercy that I have learnt at least to see my weaknesses and failings." He was often overwhelmed by a sense of his spiritual shortcomings, and he often longed to retire from all public activities. It was this spirit that endeared



him to Gandhiji more than the sacrifice of material possessions, almost incomparably great as this was. And that was what made him the proud recipient of two characteristic letters from Gandhiji written from jail. In one of these he wrote:

"As I proceed in my search for truth it grows upon me that Truth comprehends everything. It is not in ahimsa, but ahimsa is in it. What is perceived by a pure heart and intellect is truth for that moment. Cling to it, and it enables one to reach pure Truth. There is no question there of a divided duty. But often enough it is difficult to decide what is ahimsa. For instance, the use of disinfectants is himsa, and yet we cannot do without it. We have to live a life of ahimsa in the midst of a world of himsa, and that is possible only if we cling to truth. That is how I deduce ahimsa from truth. Out of truth emanate love, tenderness, humility. A votary of truth has to be humble as the dust. His humility increases with his observance of truth. I see this every moment of my life. I have a much vivid sense of truth and of my own littleness than I had a year ago. The wonderful implication of the great truth '*Brahma satyam jaganmilhya*' (Brahman is real, all else unreal) grows on me from day to day. It teaches us patience. This will purge us of harshness and add to our tolerance. It will make us magnify the mole-hills of our errors into mountains, and minimise the mountains of others' errors into mole-hills. The body persists because of egoism. The utter extinction of the body of egoism is *moksha*. He who has achieved this will be the very image of Truth, or one may call it Brahman.

Therefore the loving name of God is *Dasanudas* (Servant of servants). Wife, children, friends, possessions—all should be held subservient to Truth. Each one of these should be sacrificed in the search for Truth. Only then can one be a satyagrahi. I have thrown myself into this movement with a view to making the observance of this principle comparatively easy, and it is with the same object that I do not hesitate to plunge men like you in it. Its outward form is Hind Swaraj. This Swaraj is being delayed because there is yet to be found a satyagrahi of that type. This, however, need not dismay us. It should spur us on to greater effort."

And another:

"*Moksha* is liberation from impure thought. Complete extinction of impure thought is impossible without ceaseless penance. There is only one way to achieve this. The moment an impure thought arises, confront it with a pure one. This is possible only with God's grace, and God's grace comes through ceaseless communion with Him and complete self-surrender. This communion may in the beginning be just a lip repetition of His name even disturbed by impure thoughts. But ultimately what is on the lips will possess the heart. And there is another thing to bear in mind. The mind may wander, but let not the senses wander with it. If the senses wander where the mind takes them, one is done for. But he who keeps control of the physical senses will some day be able to bring impure thoughts under control. . . . Impure thoughts need not dismay you. We are monarchs of the domain of Effort. God

is sole Monarch of the domain of Result. . . . You know what to do to create a pure atmosphere about you. Spare diet, sight fixed on the earth below, and impatience with oneself to the extent of plucking the eye out if 'it offends thee'."

\* \* \*

Nourished on food like this, he grew from self-introspection to more self-introspection. Constant companionship with Vinoba, who had managed the Satyagrahashram at Wardha since the beginning, was a great help in the process. He had immense self-confidence. He knew that, if some day the crown of thorns of Congress Presidentship were to be bestowed on him, he would be equal to the burden. But his heart quailed when he thought of the spiritual journey he had still to do before entering the Kingdom of Heaven. It was not because he had riches. Ownership in these he had cast away. But there were other things needed. And in order to purge himself of all dross he took the greatest step of his life—dedicating himself to the service of the cow. He left his house—the house which had lodged guests like Presidents of the Congress, Lord Lothian, H. E. Tai Chi Tao, Dr. John Mott, and the Egyptian Delegation—and went to live in a hut which he called *Gopuri*. Here he did his spinning, tended his cows with the devotion of King Dileepa, and kept a careful record of his thoughts and acts from day to day. As we visited the hut on the day he passed away we saw on the little desk in front of his feet his diary written up complete to the day of his death. Even so his life was complete and regular and God-fearing. He had dedicated this to Mother Cow, in order that she may be for him the *Kamadugha*\* that Cow Nandini had been to King Dileepa. Whether the death that came to him was the blessing given him by the Cow it is difficult to say. Perhaps it was. For no death could be more desirable. Almost until the last moment he was thinking of his Cow and his *Gopuri*, and when the end came it was so sudden and so quick that it seemed as though he had slipped into blissful peace. But whether the Cow had really proved his *Kamadugha*, there is no doubt that by his dedicated life he had rendered himself Gandhiji's *Kamadugha*. It was he who had made it possible for Gandhiji to settle first in Wardha and then in Sevagram, and it was he who was the living link between the outside world and Gandhiji. His death removes the link and leaves both Gandhiji and the outside world much poorer.

Sevagram, 16-2-42

M. D.

\* Fulfiller of all desires.

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*Manager*



# HARIJAN

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## PLEA FOR CALMNESS

(By M. K. Gandhi)

The recent British reverses ought not to create panic in the land. In all the wars that Britain has fought or in which she has been engaged there have been reverses some of which may be considered disastrous. But the British have a knack of surviving them and turning them into stepping-stones to success. Hence the saying peculiar to them that they blunder through to success. Failures do not dismay or demoralise them. They take them with calmness and in a sportsmanlike spirit. Wars are for them a national game like football. The defeated team heartily congratulates the successful one almost as if it was a joint victory, and drowns the sorrow of defeat in an exchange of glasses of whisky. If we have learnt nothing worth from the contact with the British, let us at least learn their calmness in the face of misfortunes.

And is there the slightest cause for alarm? Certainly not for those who believe in non-violence. For fear and distrust of self are no part of their composition, nor are they part of a panoplied soldier. The attribute of non-violence is perhaps only a copy book maxim. We do not see it in actual practice in any measure. But this war is abundant proof that neither party though steeped in violence betrays any fear or distrust. I am filled with amazement and admiration at the reckless bravery displayed by combatants on either side. This war is a demonstration of the unthinkable nerve that human beings are capable of possessing. Looked at from either standpoint, therefore, we should be ashamed of fear, distrust and nervelessness in the face of danger. It is, therefore, the sacred duty of every worker to steel himself against cowardly panic and prevent its spread as far as he can. "Cowards die many times before their death." Let this not be proved of us.

The true danger exists only for cities. It may be very near due to the fall of Singapore and probable loss of Burma. One of the best precautions consists in those people who are not wanted in the cities or those who want to shun danger, migrating to the villages in an orderly manner. There should be no panicky rush. Those who must remain in the cities whether for business or otherwise should carry out instructions that may be issued by the authorities from time to time. Those who will not, for any reason whatsoever, should clear out in good time. If this simple precaution is taken, we may face the future without perturbation. More I cannot say, for we are a house divided against itself and there is no living bond between the rulers and the ruled. It is tragic but it is true. The tragedy is deepened by the knowledge that all parties feel so helpless.

On the train to Calcutta, 17-2-42

## QUESTION BOX

(By M. K. Gandhi)

### The Eternal Problem

Q. Why can't you see that whilst there is possession it must be defended against all odds? Therefore your insistence that violence should be eschewed in all circumstances is utterly unworkable and absurd. I think non-violence is possible only for select individuals.

A. This question has been answered often enough in some form or other in these columns as also in those of *Young India*. But it is an evergreen. I must answer it as often as it is put, especially when it comes from an earnest seeker as this one does. I claim that even now, though the social structure is not based on a conscious acceptance of non-violence, all the world over mankind lives and men retain their possessions on the sufferance of one another. If they had not done so, only the fewest and the most ferocious would have survived. But such is not the case. Families are bound together by ties of love, and so are groups in the so-called civilised society called nations. Only they do not recognise the supremacy of the law of non-violence. It follows, therefore, that they have not investigated its vast possibilities. Hitherto out of sheer inertia, shall I say, we have taken it for granted that complete non-violence is possible only for the few who take the vow of non-possession and the allied abstinences. Whilst it is true that the votaries alone can carry on research work and declare from time to time the new possibilities of the great eternal law governing man, if it is the law, it must hold good for all. The many failures we see are not of the law but of the followers, many of whom do not even know that they are under that law willynilly. When a mother dies for her child she unknowingly obeys the law. I have been pleading for the past fifty years for a conscious acceptance of the law and its zealous practice even in the face of failures. Fifty years' work has shown marvellous results and strengthened my faith. I do claim that by constant practice we shall come to a state of things when lawful possession will command universal and voluntary respect. No doubt such possession will not be tainted. It will not be an insolent demonstration of the inequalities that surround us everywhere. Nor need the problem of unjust and unlawful possessions appal the votary of non-violence. He has at his disposal the non-violent weapon of satyagraha and non-cooperation which hitherto has been found to be a complete substitute of violence whenever it has been applied honestly in sufficient measure. I have never claimed to present the complete science of non-violence. It does not lend itself to such treatment. So far as I know no single physical science does, not even the very precise science of mathematics. I am but a seeker, and I have fellow seekers like the questioner whom I invite to accompany me in the very difficult but equally fascinating search.

Sevagram, 9-2-42



## NOT NECESSARILY IMPURE

(By M. K. Gandhi)

Thus writes Shri Shankarrao Dev:

"In the last issue of *Harijan*, in your article 'A Deplorable Incident' you say to the rich: 'Earn your crores by all means. But understand that your wealth is not yours; it belongs to the people. Take what you require for your legitimate needs, and use the remainder for society.' When I read this, the first question that arose in my mind was: 'Why first earn crores and then use them for society? As society today is constituted the means of earning crores are bound to be impure; and one who earns crores by impure means cannot be expected to follow the *mantram* तेन त्यक्तेन भुञ्जीथाः; because in the very process of earning crores by impure means the man's character is bound to be tainted or vitiated. And moreover you have always been emphasising the purity of means. But I am afraid that there is a possibility of people misunderstanding that you are laying an emphasis here more on the ends than on the means.

I request you to emphasise as much, if not more, the purity of means of earning money as on spending. If purity of means is strictly observed, then, according to me, crores could not be accumulated at all and the difficulty of spending for society will assume a very minor prospect."

I must demur. Surely a man may conceivably make crores through strictly pure means, assuming that a man may legitimately possess riches. For the purpose of my argument, I have assumed that private possession itself is not held to be impure. If I own a mining lease and I tumble upon a diamond of rare value, I may suddenly find myself a millionaire without being held guilty of having used impure means. This actually happened when Cullinan diamond, much more valuable than the Kohinoor, was found. Such instances can be easily multiplied. My argument was surely addressed to such men. I have no hesitation in endorsing the proposition that generally rich men and for that matter most men are not particular as to the way they make money. In the application of the method of non-violence one must believe in the possibility of every person, however depraved, being reformed under humane and skilled treatment. We must appeal to the good in human beings and expect response. Is it not conducive to the well-being of society that every member uses all his talents, only not for personal aggrandisement but for the good of all? We do not want to produce a dead equality where every person becomes or is rendered incapable of using his ability to the utmost possible extent. Such a society must ultimately perish. I therefore suggest that my advice that monied men may earn their crores (honestly only, of course) but so as to dedicate them to the service of all is perfectly sound. तेन त्यक्तेन भुञ्जीथाः is a *mantra* based on uncommon knowledge. It is the surest method to evolve a new order of life of universal benefit in the place of the present one where each one lives for himself without regard to what happens to his neighbour. Sevagram, 8-2-42

## NOT QUITE

(By K. G. Mashruwala)

"A pedagogue and psychiatrist" sends a short essay on 'The problem of violence' in which *inter alia* he says:

"Non-violence is not a negation of anything. It is a positive assertion of moral courage to take risks for resisting forces of evil. It is developed by an irresistible will for self-purification.....

The cure of violence consists in adopting an attitude of sympathetic indifference to its struggles and benevolent neutrality in its conflicts. Believers in non-violence should resort to a policy of non-participation and non-opposition to its attempts. It should be allowed to relax and be benefited by the punishment of its actions as it fails to profit by appeals of reason, fair play and justice.....

The whole life of violence is patterned on the Telugu proverb, *Maku arogyam, maku ayushyam, maku dhanam, miku rinam* (To us health, to us life, to us wealth, to you obligations)."

The conception of non-violence as expressed in the second paragraph of the correspondent's letter is not altogether correct. On closer examination it will be seen that it takes away a good deal of what is stated in the first paragraph. Non-violence would not justify itself fully, if it satisfied itself simply by "adopting an attitude of sympathetic indifference" and "benevolent neutrality" towards violence and resorting to a policy of "non-opposition to its attempts", and allowing it "to relax and be benefited by the punishment of its actions".

The fact that in the present war it is not possible to go beyond this attitude should not be taken to mean that non-violence has evolved and worked itself out to its fullest extent. It is the result of the unpreparedness of pacifists, who are yet no more than children in the kindergarten of non-violence.

If non-violence is a truly effective force, it should develop sufficient strength to intervene in violent conflicts in a very effective manner, and bring about a peaceful solution of the points of dispute *before* and not *after* the belligerents are exhausted and 'punished' by their own actions. It will have been no virtue of non-violence, if there is peace as a result of total destruction.

Extinguishing agents can take no credit, when a fire is extinguished because there is no more of inflammable material left for it to burn.

I have often heard it said that this total war itself is going to pave the way for a non-violent order. This is quite possible. But the compulsory adoption of a non-violent civilisation will not necessarily bring contentment and happiness to the world. Violence asleep is no more non-violence than the peace of 1918 was an end of war. Peace and non-violent order that will contribute to man's progress and happiness must result from the true awakening of the nations to an appreciation of non-violence and not from a state of coma after the war.

Sevagram, 18-1-42



## PASSING OF THE FIRST STAGE OF THE A. I. V. I. A.

(By J. C. Kumarappa)

The A. I. V. I. A. has just passed its first seven years and has entered the second and therefore more responsible stage. Thanks to our education most of us sophisticated ones are strangers to village industries and village conditions. We learn Western capitalistic economics and shout for "facts and figures", without knowing how to read them. We are strangers in our own land. It is this phenomenon that has necessitated the A. I. V. I. A. having to pass through this early stage. In these seven years we have cultivated a nodding acquaintance with a few village industries, have begun to recognise the rudiments of village economics, carried on a few experiments in the processes, and attempted a reorganisation of some industries.

Necessarily during this period the Association worked within a restricted area in a highly centralised manner. We now pass to the second stage. We find the country is awaiting a well-formulated constructive programme. In order to facilitate the spreading of the work of the Association we have to decentralise its work. To this end a new constitution has been framed so as to provide for provincial organisations working under Sanchalaks and Secretaries. Gandhiji himself has assumed the helm as President of the Association to steer it through the uncharted course before us in the immediate future, and the following members form the new Board of Management:

1. Shri Laxmidas P. Asar, 2. Shri Shankerlal Banker, 3. Smt. Goshiben Captain, 4. Shri Jairamdas Doulatram, 5. Shri Profulla Chandra Ghosh, 6. Shri Shrikrishnadas Jaju, 7. Shri Bharatan Kumarappa, 8. Shri J. C. Kumarappa (Secretary), 9. Shri Vaikunthrai L. Mehta, 10. Shri Dhiren Mazumdar, 11. Shri Shoorji Vallabhdas.

The provincial organisations will develop their own methods of carrying out the policy laid down by the Board. They may have a central institution, like Maganwadi, in a convenient rural setting where teaching and training of workers will go on side by side with the practical working of some industries chosen from the promising industries of the province. They will carry on propaganda to popularise the products of village industries and educate the people in the underlying philosophy of this movement. This war has helped to demonstrate to us, more clearly than ever, that our salvation lies in the strength of our village organisations. The seed of destruction innate in centralised organisations has sprouted with a vengeance, dispersing the overcrowded population of the cities, threatened by the avarice of invaders, back to the safety of their villages.

The Board met early this month and has framed rules to govern affiliation of allied institutions, recognition of producing centres, and certification of dealers in village products.

In view of the fact that most of the village tanned leather is from non-slaughtered animals, it

decided to give the support of the Association to the village tanning industry by confining sales of leather goods at shops certified by the Association to those made out of hide of non-slaughtered buffaloes, cows and bullocks.

We hope that in the next few years, with the unstinted co-operation of those who have a living faith in this non-violent foundation of economic structure of human activities, the country will be studded with A. I. V. I. A. centres radiating hope to the desperate, bringing food to the hungry and happiness to all.

[One would have thought that I had enough on my hands without taking the additional burden of the Presidentship of the A. I. V. I. A. I have been its guide ever since its inception, but the importunity of the Board was irresistible. Readers will lighten my task by sharing it with me by (a) becoming members, (b) contributing funds, (c) contributing solid work.

Sevagram, 9-2-42

M. K. G.]

### Three Essentials

Assuming the presence of the will among the millions, rapid spread of hand-spinning is possible only by the adoption of the following three things:

1. Use of unginned cotton from the nearest spot when it is not grown on one's own plot.

2. Ginning it on a polished board with an iron or smooth wooden rod and carding the cotton by manipulation of the cotton with fingers assisted by a wooden knife made on the spot. This process is called *tunai* (तुनाई).

3. Spinning the slivers on the dhanush takli.

Hand gins cannot be manufactured to order today. All available unginned cotton should be prepared first by the method explained in 2 above.

Where unginned cotton is not available ginned cotton from factories has got to be used. It too lends itself to *tunai*, though much more time is required for carding by the *tunai* process when bale cotton has to be used. Where a carding bow is available, naturally it will be used. But what is true of ginning is equally true of carding. It is not possible to manufacture bows and gut in a moment. *Tunai* is a method devised and being perfected by Shri Vinoba with an artist's skill and ardour.

When spinning spreads among the millions it will be impossible to supply slivers from a centre or centres. The utmost that is possible is for families or groups to set apart one or two hands per a fixed number for carding. The ideal, the best, and in the long run the quickest, way is for each one to prepare his own slivers. It makes spinning more interesting, and the variety of occupation breaks the monotony.

I suggest that, though the crisis is not yet felt and the mills are working, khadi workers will do well from now to adopt the suggestions I have made. When the crisis does come, we shall then be found ready.

Sevagram, 2-2-42

M. K. G.



## GOSEVA SANGH RESOLUTIONS

(Passed at the Conference recently held at Wardha)

1. Whereas India is primarily an agricultural country, 80 per cent of its people being dependent on agriculture, and whereas Indian agriculture depends on bullocks, and whereas the cow is not only the milk-and-ghee-giver but also the sole means of providing bullocks, this Conference is definitely of opinion that the improvement of the present condition and economic status of the cow and her progeny is more important than that of other cattle and indispensable in any scheme of economic planning on a national basis.

2. Whereas to underfeed animals, to keep them in an insanitary condition, to overload them, to take more work from them than they can give, to beat them, to torture them with spikes, and the cruel 'phooka' is wholly against humanitarian principles, and whereas such practices decrease the utility of the animals, this Conference appeals to the general public and in a special way to the members of the Goseva Sangh and other cow lovers to arouse the public conscience and make the utmost effort to put a stop to such inhuman treatment and where necessary to seek the assistance of the law.

3. Whereas the real object of *pinjrapols* and charitable *goshalas* is to give asylum to diseased, old and disabled cattle and save them from pain and slaughter, this Conference is of opinion that in order effectively to achieve the object the following reforms in their management and programme of work are essential:

(a) Every institution should provide proper maintenance and veterinary and other scientific facilities for cattle. These facilities should also be made available to the neighbouring public.

(b) It should be the duty of the institution to see to it that scrub animals are not allowed to procreate. It should be incumbent on the management to arrange for proper feeding and care of well-bred cows as also for improvement in the breed of cattle with a view to producing cows who will yield more milk and bullocks capable of doing more work.

(c) Every institution should keep good bulls whose services should be available to the general public also.

(d) Every institution should, as far as possible, make provision for spacious dry cattle farms where the dry cows and calves of the neighbouring public may be kept at concession rates. Good bulls should also be kept.

(e) Every institution should make arrangements for producing green grass and fodder in ample measure and for preserving the same by means of silage etc.

(f) The buildings of *pinjrapols* should be constructed so as to ensure cleanliness and healthy living. Wells, water troughs, etc. should be scientifically planned on a uniform model.

(g) There should be an expert in animal husbandry in charge of each institution. He should have thorough knowledge of cattle farming, fodder cultivation and veterinary science.

4. Whereas it is desirable that all those institutions which accept the Conference resolution regarding *pinjrapols* should be conducted on uniform lines and efficiently managed, the Conference recommends to them to obtain certificates from and affiliate themselves with the Goseva Sangh.

The Conference recommends to the Goseva Sangh to frame the necessary rules in order to facilitate certification and affiliation of institutions, and to invite existing *pinjrapols* and *goshalas* to get themselves affiliated to the Sangh.

## FOUR YEARS' WORK

### I

The Basic Scheme of Education as propounded by Gandhiji over four years ago has met and continues to meet with a storm of opposition from certain quarters. It is in the nature of things that anything so wholly revolutionary should be opposed by those who have been nurtured on certain traditions. Most people admit that the present system of education has not been of the type suited to our conditions of life or in keeping with our rich heritage of culture, all deplore the fact that the vast majority in this land are wholly illiterate and uneducated, and yet because of political differences any scheme emanating from however pure a motive is apt to create prejudices in the minds of those belonging to a different school of political thought and therefore does not always get a fair trial. The Wardha scheme has had to battle against such odds. Inasmuch as compulsory primary education has always been declared impossible because of lack of funds, Gandhiji claimed that his scheme, apart from its own intrinsic value of method, had the additional qualification of becoming self-supporting up to a point and after a certain stage if the State would make provision for the sale of the articles produced in the schools. He still adheres to this claim, but nowhere did he even say that the schools would be self-supporting straightaway. It stands to reason that in all craft schools there must be an initial cost of equipment. Spinning was chosen in the first instance as the craft pre-eminently suitable for children of all ages and for village children in particular. It is the one craft about which, thanks to him, there is expert knowledge in our country. The main objections, however, to the scheme are that after a couple of years or in some cases only after a year the schools are not self-supporting and that spinning has not proved a suitable craft. There is nothing in the Zakir Husain Report to show that the sponsors of the scheme wanted spinning to be the only craft. But experts and text-books are lacking and cannot be produced in a day. Moreover the lack of trained teachers in an entirely new type of education cannot be made good in a short time either. All these handicaps the Talimi Sangh has had to face. In addition, Congress popular Governments, who were out to give the scheme as fair a trial as possible, went out of office, and hence in certain provinces the scheme suffered. Notwithstanding all these difficulties the third annual report of the Hindustani Talimi Sangh just published makes interesting reading and should be studied with an impartial mind.

### Basic Schools

The Governments of the C. P. and Berar, Bihar, U. P., and Orissa started a certain number of schools and training schools as an official experiment.



So have done the States of Kashmir and Rajgarh. In addition there are some non-government agencies who have taken up the scheme, such as the Jamia Millia Islamia in Delhi, The Rashtriya Gramshala at Thamna, Kheda Dt. Gujarat, the Tilak Maharashtra Vidyapith, Poona, the Gurukul at Kangri, the Ramakrishna Vidyalyaya at Periyannayakanpalayam, Coimbatore District, the Friends' Settlement at Hoshangabad, and the Vijay Vidyamandir of Avidha (Rajpipla State). The District Council of Raipur (C. P.) has had its teachers trained at the Vidya-mandir training schools and has introduced the basic syllabus in 15 of its schools.

#### Progress

Naturally progress of the experiment varies from province to province and from institution to institution according to the interpretation of the fundamental principles of the scheme and the faith and efficiency of the teachers. But the various reports give one ample hope that, given the right type of workers, the experiment will fulfil its original expectations.

The Bihar Government, through its Board of Basic Education composed of officials and non-official educationists, was the only Government to make a careful assessment of the result of the experiment in its province, and the Sangh has published their report in the form of a booklet. Conferences and exhibitions, of which two have been held in Poona and Delhi, have been another means of finding out what progress is being made. The Delhi Conference among its various findings recorded "with satisfaction that the reports on the working of basic schools run by the Government, local bodies and by private enterprise are almost unanimous that general standards of health and behaviour as well as intellectual attainment are very encouraging. The children in basic schools are more active, cheerful, self-reliant, their power of self-expression is well developed, they are acquiring habits of co-operative work, and social prejudices are breaking down." The following from the report of the Board of Inspectors in Bihar bears quotation: "Champaran was specially selected as the first field of experiment as one of the most backward areas in the province. At the time of the introduction of basic education there were only five primary schools and one middle school in the entire area. . . . Everything in the home and life of the child tends to hinder the growth of children. . . . We had not only to examine whether the required habits of body and mind and the proper spirit were being acquired by the children, but also to find out how far the same could be attributed to the use of the media to which basic education attached importance." They then give their findings in detail. In regard to skill and efficiency in the craft the children had attained a fair measure of success, there being a marked improvement over the previous year. In regard to discipline too there seemed to be distinct progress not only in the class room but also in the playing field and in meetings and gatherings. There was an absence of noise and scramble for places, jostling and pushing, which are always present in

children's gatherings. Development of intelligence had been achieved to an appreciable extent. "Considering the backwardness of the area the results obtained were really very encouraging." Lethargy and listlessness were being gradually overcome, and children were finding pleasure in good work for its own sake. The progress in the development of habits of systematic and thorough work was not up to the required standard, nor had the children developed enough of the spirit of inquiry and power of observation. They were, however, becoming aware of their social environment, and there was noticeable progress in co-operation and service. Personal cleanliness, a sense of orderliness, self-expression had definitely developed, and there was a definite development in the whole personality of the child.

Kashmir reports that the mental content of the pupils has been considerably enriched under the basic syllabus. Teachers are looked upon as friends. The children are definitely neater, tidier, smarter, and show signs of an awakened sense of responsibility. The average attendance has shown a marked upward tendency, the children show a fairly good sense of colour harmony in their picture sketches, they take a delight in flowers and pet animals, and are keenly inquisitive, always eager to know the why, how and wherefore of the things and persons surrounding them, they take a keen interest in decorating their class rooms and the school museum, they have their own garden, they thoroughly enjoy monthly excursions, they edit their daily news bulletins themselves, they run a stationery shop and a savings bank of their own, the cleanliness of the class rooms is their own responsibility, they help in the village and in their homes in sweeping, and scavenging, they have even repaired roads and dug drains.

The C. P. Government admits that children working under this syllabus are more alert, well-behaved, cleaner and more systematic in work than those in ordinary schools.

The Bombay Special Officer of Basic Education says their boys have been making steady progress in mental and physical development. A sense of service has been generated, and children are more attentive, accurate and frugal in habits.

The Vijay Vidyamandir in Rajpipla State notes a great change in the attitude of the children. They are cleaner and more keen on their studies, more alert and quick. They are slowly becoming self-supporting.

Sevagram, 22-1-42

A. K.

### Christian Missions

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## FIERY ORDEAL

(By M. K. Gandhi)

Twentytwo years ago a young man with the bloom of thirty springs upon him came to me and said, "I want to ask something of you."

"Ask, and it shall be given, if it is at all within my power to give," I replied with some surprise.

"Regard me as your son Devadas," the young man said.

"Agreed," I replied. "Only I am giving nothing, you are the giver."

The young man was no other than Jamnalal Bajaj. People know something of what this sacrament meant. But few know the extent of the part played by the self-adopted son. Never before, I can say, was a mortal blessed with a 'son' like him. Of course I have many sons and daughters in the sense that they have done some of my work. But Jamnalalji surrendered himself and his without reservation. There is hardly any activity of mine in which I did not receive his full-hearted co-operation and in which it did not prove to be of the greatest value. He was gifted with a quick intelligence. He was a merchant prince. He placed at my disposal his ample possessions. He became guardian of my time and my health. And he did it all for the public good. The day he died he and Jankidevi were to come to me. But he died almost at the very hour he should have been with me. Never before have I felt so forlorn except when Maganlal was snatched from me fourteen years ago. But I had no doubt then, as I have none now, that a calamity of that kind is a blessing in disguise. God wants to try me through and through. I live in the faith that He will give me the strength too to pass through the ordeal.

Sevagram, 16-2-42

(Adapted from *Harijansevak*)

## Notes

## Mean and Vindictive

Owing to my preoccupations due to the untimely death of Jamnalalji I have not been able to attend to even important matters. I have just learnt of the arrests of Shri Hare Krushna Mahtab, a staunch believer in non-violence, and other workers. Shri Mahtab wanted to be bailed out. But the application has been rejected. I hope the matter will be taken to the High Court. It is preposterous that bail should be refused in such cases. I have learnt further that the Orissa Ministry has effected these arrests in order to prevent a motion of no confidence being carried at the forthcoming meeting of the Orissa Legislature. If this is true, the action is mean and vindictive. Let us hope that the members of the Orissa Assembly will have the courage and gentlemanliness to support the motion of no confidence irrespective of party bias.

On the train to Calcutta, 17-2-42

## Oasis in a Desert

In the midst of the desert of adverse but ill-thought criticism of Government officials of basic

education it is refreshing to find the following appreciation of the basic schools of Bihar from the pen of Mr. E. R. J. R. Cousins, Adviser to H. E. the Governor of Bihar, received by Shri Aryanayakam, Secretary of the Hindustani Talimi Sangh:

"I am sorry that my programme for the inspection of the basic schools was interfered with by heavy rain and had to be curtailed. But I was able to meet the teachers and pupils of 18 out of the 27 schools, 6 at Brindaban-Rampurva and 12 at Chaubetola-Parukia, and I was extremely interested in all that I saw. We shall not of course be able to judge the experiment fully until the completion of all seven grades, but I was impressed with the cleanliness, intelligence and obvious pleasure of the pupils in their work, and I am confident that we are proceeding on the right lines, and that children of 14 who have gone through the entire basic curriculum will not fail in comparison with those who have gone through the ordinary school course up to the same age.

A particular encouraging feature, and one upon which I place the greatest emphasis, is that the schools have undoubtedly succeeded in capturing the goodwill and interest of the village people, and as long as this can be retained it is impossible for the system to fail of being a success. The public spirit displayed by the proprietors and the villagers of Chaubetola-Parukia in providing such excellent playgrounds for the school, in preparing roads and equipping the scouts troop, which is one of the largest I have ever seen, and above all in insisting that the village boys shall attend the school regularly is most commendable, and I am assured that similar proofs of public interest are exhibited in connection with other schools which I was not able to see. I feel confident that the efforts of the villagers will be well repaid, and that in addition to education in the ordinary sense the village boys of the future will acquire at the schools such attributes of mental alertness, manual dexterity, health and cleanliness as will make the villagers in future more healthy, attractive and enlightened places than they have been in the past."

Sevagram, 16-2-42

## Eyes to the Blind

Though I had heard a lot about the reputation of Dr. Mathuradas of Moga, I had never had occasion to witness any of his famous operations for cataract, until I saw them in Wardha last month. He came specially at the invitation of Jamnalalji, and with his assistants restored eyes to about three hundred people who had been blinded by cataract.

These mass operations have been described as a *yajna* (sacrifice). And *yajna* it certainly is, as any act of selfless service is a sacrifice. This *yajna* began some years ago in the Bhagavad Bhakti Ashram at Rewari, with which Jamnalalji was closely connected. He therefore invited the doctor this time to Wardha. I bowed to Dr. Mathuradas in admiration for his unerring and quick surgical hand. He performed operations at the rate of one in a minute, there was scarcely a mishap. Thousands thus get back their eyes free, as he charges no fee to the poor.

The doctor told me that nowhere except in India was cataract so common as was also rhino-



plasty. These operations, therefore, place him in the forefront of the surgeons for cataract throughout the world. No doubt many doctors have now taken up the work and copy his example. It is just as it should be, for the medical profession should be one of selfless service. And there was no humanitarian mission for which Jamnalalji was not ready. It came to him as naturally as any of his business enterprises. That was why he had a scheme in hand for making these operations a periodical feature in C. P.

I hope that the scheme will not be interrupted by his death, and Dr. Mathuradas is always ready for these *yajnas*.

On the train to Calcutta, 17-2-42

(From *Harijansevak*)

### Limbdi Exodus Anniversary

The Limbdi exodus has entered upon its fourth year. The *Hijrat*is who took part in it deserve congratulations. Some have dropped out, out of weakness, as happens in all movements. Not all that are born into this world live. Quite a lot die at birth. Many survive their childhood. Only a few cover the full span of life. Even so it is with human endeavour. Many rally to the call, but only a few persevere till the end. But those who do, vindicate the sacrifice of those who have dropped by the wayside, and serve as beacon-lights to subsequent generations. The *Hijrat*is must be prepared to prove their mettle in the final heat. Success will be theirs, only if they show themselves to be capable of making full sacrifice for the cause which they hold dear and to which they have dedicated themselves.

Sevagram, 15-2-42

(From *Harijanbandhu*)

M. K. G.

### 'Nai Talim'

With its January number *Nai Talim*, the organ of the Hindustani Talimi Sangh, entered on its fourth year of life. It began publication six months after the Talimi Sangh came into being and the experiment in basic education commenced. Workers were few; the road before the pioneers was beset with thorns. *Nai Talim* was started in order to help those who had dedicated their lives in this endeavour. The experiment in basic education is a revolutionary one. It is only by pooling experiences and recording failures no less than successes that we can hope to achieve our goal. Those engaged in the work must continue to help in making *Nai Talim* the source of information and guidance that is its role.

The office is being shifted to Patna. Acharya Badrinath, who has played an important part in making the experiment in Bihar a success, will now share the burden of editorship with Shrimati Asha-devi. The fact that there is a basic training centre in Patna and several basic schools in Champaran district should help *Nai Talim* to be in the closest touch with this new experiment.

While the organ is meant primarily to serve those engaged in teaching and promoting basic education, the Hindi and Urdu reading public will benefit themselves if they subscribe to this monthly. After all the aim of basic education is to make

useful and good citizens of our children. The scheme should, therefore, arouse the interest of all who are keen on bringing in a system which claims to bring light and life where so far there has been darkness and deadness.

The subscription is Rs. 1/4 per annum including postage, and the monthly can be had from the Talimi Sangh Office, Sevagram. There is an Urdu edition also published from the Jamia Millia, Delhi, Sevagram, 21-1-42

A. K.

### HELL IN AJMER

(By *Rameshwari Nehru*)

During our recent wanderings Thakkar Bapa and I had the opportunity of going round the Harijan bastis in Ajmer City. As was expected by us we had almost to wade through pools of filth in the Mehtars' localities. The lanes seemed never to have even cultivated an acquaintance with the broom. Open drains fouled the whole atmosphere, and these were the habitations of the very people who kept the whole city clean!

But the most painful sight was the night-soil reservoir of the city, unmentionably dirty but situated close to many sweepers' and other houses. Six years ago I saw it, though, in spite of my efforts, I could not stop there to watch its working. But its memory had stayed with me like a nightmare. I had tried then to get the public of Ajmer as well as others interested in it. The matter was also brought to the notice of the authorities of the Municipality. But evidently to no effect.

Learning that this reservoir was still in the same old condition, Thakkar Bapa and I went to see it, though once again I found it impossible to stand there for long. Thakkar Bapa, of course, courageously and carefully went round the whole place and said with a simplicity, characteristic of him, that he could swear in a court of law that nowhere else in India did such a bad system of night-soil disposal exist. And Thakkar Bapa knows almost every Harijan basti in our country!

The reservoir consists of two rectangular tanks, about 100'x20'x10' each, which are used alternately. The night-soil mixed up with sewage water is shovelled into one of the tanks from a platform above, from a distance, thus exposing to view all the dirt. A Mehtar has to shovel the matter into the tank with something like a scraper attached to a long pole while his feet are immersed in the semi-liquid filth. The tanks are open, and the foul smell from the night-soil of a whole city of one and a quarter lakhs of population can better be imagined than described.

The most painful and inhuman part of the whole business is that about half a dozen Mehtars have every day to get right down into the tank in the midst of all the filth it contains, in order to see that the outlet from the tank is not choked with solid material. They have to wade through liquid filth, 1 to 2 ft. deep. While doing so it is difficult for them to save even their hands and other parts of the body from getting soiled. From the tank the liquid is taken out in an open channel, 2 miles



long, and then utilised as manure. The whole thing is a revolting sight and a standing disgrace to civilised society.

We approached the President of the Municipal Committee and impressed on him the need to cover these tanks, to arrange for the shifting of night-soil straight from the cart to the tank through man-holes, and to provide sanitary implements for the Mehtars to do the work so that they may not be forced to touch the filth with their hands or feet. The present arrangement is inhuman and must be replaced by more scientific and sanitary arrangements. It is the least that can be expected from the Municipality. The President gave us an assurance that our suggestions would be accepted by the Committee. We anxiously await the results.

Sojat, 1-2-42

## MODEL SCHOOLS FOR HARIJANS

(By M. K. Gandhi)

Seth Ghanashyamdas Birla, President of the Harijan Sevak Sangh, writes:

"We are thinking of establishing a few residential schools mainly for educating Harijan boys, though not exclusively. So far, whenever we have talked of Harijan hostels or schools, we have thereby meant cheap schools or cheap hostels conducted by ill-educated and ill-paid teachers and wardens with boys half-starved. So long as we educate Harijans or children of poor parents in these cheap institutions, the boys will never succeed in shedding the inferiority complex from which they often suffer. And what will they learn from these unqualified and ill-paid teachers? These boys never get the opportunity to mix with the other boys. The harm due to this lack of contact between the poor and the well-to-do or between Harijans and Savarnas is mutual. I therefore propose that we should have a few residential schools established in pleasing environment. They should be of a standard that would compare favourably in every respect with a well-conducted public school. We should start a few such schools first of all as a trial.

They should be of the matriculation standard and affiliated to a university. They should, of course, be mostly residential. Personal attention to students should be a speciality. Education should be imparted through the medium of the mother-tongue. English should be taught as a second language. During the period of this education, the boys should be taught useful handicrafts chosen for their educative value.

In order to make this education thorough and self-sufficient, we should take two years more than the time needed for the matriculation examination. These two years should be utilised in giving extra training to the boys besides what they learn for the matriculation course.

We propose to have three crafts, one of which will be taken up by every boy at his option. These will be:

Either (1) Carding, Spinning, Weaving, Dyeing and Bleaching; or (2) Carpentry and Smithy; or (3) Paper-making, Book-binding, and Ordinary Composing.

It is intended to employ a superior staff, adequately paid, to ensure good qualifications. The underlying idea is that the boys may not feel the want of a college

education. There will be no bar to such. The boys, it is hoped, will not find it difficult to earn an honest livelihood after finishing the course. It will be the duty of the Board to accommodate such boys as may like to be.

Besides the university course and craft, special attention will be given to increasing their general knowledge and hygiene. Music, games, exercises, riding, swimming, etc. should be taught. Religious or moral training should not be neglected. Equal respect for all religions should be inculcated, along with a good grounding in the principles of Hinduism and the peculiar beauties of our own culture.

Half the number of the students should be Harijans who would have free education and free boarding and lodging. The other half of the students, i. e. Savarnas, should be charged fees.

This is a very rough and brief outline of my idea of a good high school.

But there is difference amongst us about this outline. Some say: Why should we have the matriculation course? Others say: We should not undertake costly education as this will be a bad example to set. It is argued that we may employ most qualified men, but only if they come on a bare maintenance and out of a spirit of sacrifice. In other words, in their opinion, in this school there would be no room for teachers other than those prepared to lead a simple life of sacrifice. Some go to the extent of saying that we should rather have no school than start one which is not manned by a highly self-sacrificing staff.

I consider all this unpractical. I need not give my arguments. They are obvious.

Will you express your views on this question?"

I whole-heartedly support Seth Ghanashyamdas's scheme. The arguments advanced in opposition seem to be based more on caution than on principle. I too should side with the opposition, if the scheme was to be financed out of the meagre funds of the Harijan Board. But I assume that the model schools would be financed by special donations enough to guarantee their full working. Having lived in South Africa for twenty years where every Indian is treated almost as a pariah, I know how sensitive the mind becomes under unnatural treatment. I took some time to regain my balance though I never lost the sensitiveness. I felt that I was a strange creature in the company of the general body of Europeans. The plight of Harijans in India is much worse because of their much greater ignorance and still greater poverty. Therefore, if we are to break down the double complex, we have to bring up a fair number of Harijan lads in surroundings in no way inferior to those that are available to the well-to-do class boys. The scheme under examination does not contemplate the production of clerks who would be too big for their boots and who would be naturally discontented because no one would have them as clerks. Boys trained under the scheme would be in no way inferior in knowledge to the other matriculates. But these will be better placed because their bodies will be specially looked after and their hands will have their cunning fully developed. Such boys



will have their future assured. They will have self-confidence. They will not be torn from their kith and kin; on the contrary, they will be expected to serve fellow Harijans and give them benefit of the teaching they have received.

It may be objected that I am inconsistent in that I have written and spoken against the present system of education. The objection would be superficial. In the first place, the worst features of the system will be eliminated in that the training will be in the mother-tongue and the boys will be taught handicrafts which should enable them to earn an independent and decent living. Secondly, an objection that may be applicable to boys who can be better educated cannot be held good in the case of boys who have no choice and who smart under the knowledge that they cannot have the education that thousands of boys have simply because they are not Harijans. I would not insult Harijan lads by arguing with them that what the thousands of non-Harijan lads are doing is wrong, and that therefore they had better be satisfied with the shanties which Seth Ghanashyamdas has referred to in his letter.

I plump for his scheme. I wish him all success. The sooner it is launched, the better for Harijans and better for India. These schools will be potent instruments for exorcising the demon of untouchability.

Sevagram, 16-2-42

#### FROM THE OLDEST CONGRESSMAN

Dear Mahatmaji,

I congratulate you upon your dissociation with the believers of violence as far as possible. God gave you an opportunity to do so at Poona, but at Bombay you forgot all about that God-given opportunity. At Bardoli God gave you that opportunity again. I am exceedingly glad that you did not make the same mistake at Wardha as you had done at Bombay. God never forsakes him whose surrender to Him is complete.

Life of everything other than the Eternal is limited by the laws of Nature. Violence was created by God who gave it a limited life. God in His infinite wisdom now finds that violence was given a trial and found wanting in preserving world peace. How and for what purpose armament was created is not known, but it is now certain that armament at the present time is used by violence for indiscriminate man-slaughter throughout the world, and the inevitable result is annihilation of mankind and a deluge of blood all over the world. This is threatening the whole world with wholesale extermination of mankind. The only reassuring circumstance is that Nature gave both violence and armament only limited life to live, and it is high time that they should quit the world. All that violence and armament did during their tenure of life was war and nothing but war. Now the world war is complete, and violence and armament are exhausting themselves to be entirely finished.

This world war may not be the longest but it must be the last, and a new world with perfect peace and tranquillity will emerge out of the ashes of violence and armament for the benefit of mankind.

The outgoing world is almost entirely enveloped by a cloud of disbelief in God. A considerable number of the disbelievers not only deny the very existence of God but they assert that belief in God is a moral weakness, if not delinquency and a bar to human progress. The rest of the disbelievers think that God is more dead than alive, and that they are the masters of all they survey. The total number of these disbelievers is the largest, and they are responsible for the world war. Then come the waverers who entertain the idea of God differently in accordance with their different temperaments. The pictures of God that they draw up in their minds are accordingly different. But those waverers agree in forgetting that God is more living than they suppose Him to be. To them the words 'Omnipresent', 'Omniscient' and 'Omnipotent' are for the expression of lip-loyalty to God and not for the enlightenment of their minds about Him.

God-believing India will not have man-given violence and armament-controlled freedom for exploiting the weaker section of humanity. She must have God-given freedom for their service — *seva*.

God-given freedom can be obtained only by satyagraha, sufferings for which can be successfully undertaken only by those whose surrender to Him is complete. The number of satyagrahis is steadily increasing. Let the advocates of violence say and do whatever they may, the number of believers in non-violence will steadily go on increasing and the world will have real peace.

Chandpur, 24-1-42

Hara Dayal Nag

[Though the foregoing has an intrinsic value as an expression of robust faith, it is printed as being from the pen of the oldest living Congressman who clings to non-violence as an infant to its mother's breast.

Sevagram, 9-2-42

M. K. G.]

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[ FIVE PICE

## A HISTORIC MEETING

### Why in Calcutta ?

So much has appeared in the press about the possibility of Gandhiji meeting the Generalissimo of China, that a few facts must be placed before the reader. The very first intimation of the Generalissimo's desire to see Gandhiji at Sevagram was received from Pandit Jawaharlal. The next intimation came from the Deputy Commissioner at Wardha who had received a message from the Governor to go and enquire of Gandhiji if he would meet the Generalissimo. Gandhiji was expecting to hear about the date of the distinguished visitor's coming. But after this nothing was heard of the visit until Pandit Jawaharlal informed us that for some reasons beyond the Generalissimo's control the visit could not come off, that he would be the last man to think of troubling Gandhiji to go to Delhi, and that it would be with the deepest regret that he would have to go away without seeing him. Thereupon Gandhiji sent a letter to General Chiang Kai-shek expressing his willingness to go to any place in India, and also sent a telegram to the same effect. The Deputy Commissioner at Wardha was all the while asking me when the guest was coming! And I kept on telling him that I was no less ignorant than he. At last when we had almost given the thing up, came a message from Jawaharlalji to the effect that General Chiang Kai-shek could not possibly go away without seeing Gandhiji, and asking me if Gandhiji could possibly go to Shantiniketan where the Generalissimo was expected to arrive on the 18th. This, I said, was impossible, for Gandhiji had to be back for the important meeting of Jamnalalji's friends that Gandhiji had called on the 20th to consider the ways and means of continuing his great work. Then Pandit Jawaharlalji suggested Calcutta. Gandhiji immediately agreed, and he said he would gladly perform the 48 hours' journey, if only to have five or six precious hours with the Hero of China.

That is how the meeting came about. We were staying in Birla Park where the Generalissimo and his distinguished wife were good enough to call on Gandhiji within an hour of his arrival. The plan was to have a sort of 'courtesy' meeting and then for both to meet again in the afternoon. "I would not think of asking you to come to the Government House," said the Generalissimo. "We would come again, after you have had your meal and rest." "But," said Gandhiji, "I have had my meal on the train in order to give you the whole of my

time here, and I would suggest, if it were not inconvenient to you, to stay here, have an Indian meal with us, and we can then talk until the minute of my departure. We can thus save the time of going to and coming back from Barrackpore." And so the guests stayed, gave the Birla sons the honour of a meal in their house, and talked with Gandhiji until the moment of his departure for the station.

### The Unique Pair

There are few pairs comparable in history to the Chiangs. The Generalissimo is of humble birth. He went to Japan when nineteen for military training, entered the Military Staff College, is said to have served several years in the Japanese army. It was in Japan that he met the late Dr. Sun Yat-sen, the maker of free China, who gave him the revolutionary inspiration. His life may be said to have been dedicated to working for the Chinese Revolution and the freedom of China since then. He entered for a time into business, but by 1925 was Chairman of the Standing Committee of the Kuomintang, and "when Dr. Sun Yat-sen died, he assumed office as Commander of the nationalist army."

I cannot go into the history of the Generalissimo's efforts to unify China and to prepare the country for an indomitable endeavour to fight Japan's aggression. The bare facts of his life I have taken from Gunther's *Inside Asia*, but I hesitate to adopt his version of the General's career of unification by conquest and the "ten weary years of civil war", for the simple reason that I have had no opportunity of verifying and checking the facts.

The Generalissimo married the Madame, a distinguished daughter of the famous Soong family, in 1927. Madame Chiang, the daughter of a Methodist, has taken all her education in America, and thus functions as the interpreter for her husband who knows no foreign language except Japanese. But she is very much more than his interpreter. She has been his trusted adviser and faithful companion in all that the Generalissimo has passed through. Great is his devotion to her. Reference must be made, even in this scrappy account of their career, to the heroic part played by both in what is known as the Sian episode, in which the General was kidnapped and imprisoned by Chang Hsueh-liang at Sian where the General had gone to investigate into something going amiss. Chang Hsueh-liang, known as the Young Marshal, had been asked by the Generalissimo to fight the Communists. Instead he flirted and fraternised with them, and when he was called to account by the



Generalissimo, the latter found himself surrounded and imprisoned. The Generalissimo "refused to eat, refused to talk, refused to listen." The dialogue between the captor and the captive has been recorded by the Generalissimo in his own diary. Said the captor: "If Your Excellency accepts my suggestions, I shall obey your orders."

The captive replied: "Which are you, my subordinate or my enemy? If my subordinate, you should obey my orders. If you are my enemy, you should kill me without delay. You should choose either of the two steps, but say nothing more, for I will not listen to you."

Then the captor said: "I think you are the only great man of this age, but why won't you yield a little, comply with our requests, and lead us on in this revolution so that we may achieve something instead of your merely sacrificing your life?"

To which the Generalissimo replied: "If I stand firm and would rather sacrifice my life than compromise my principles, I shall be able to maintain my integrity till death, and my spirit will live for ever."

Whilst this drama was being enacted in Sian, the Madame was pleading with the Kuomintang Generals to be patient and not to attempt to crush the mutiny by force. Donald, the Chiangs' Australian adviser, and the Madame were concerned not so much in freeing the Generalissimo as in keeping the forces in check. If these had not been kept in check, the mutiny might have been crushed but the Generalissimo might also have been lost for ever to the Revolution. She "fought on two feet like a man", keeping throughout her wonderful presence of mind, and acting with cool courage and tact which sometimes become the essence of non-violence. She flew to Sian, delivered herself into the hands of her husband's captor, putting him on his honour, and had her husband honourably released. The husband would sign no terms. He had written to her: "I will never allow myself to do anything to make my wife ashamed of me or become unworthy of being a follower of Dr. Sun Yat-sen. Since I was born for the Revolution I will gladly die for the same cause. I will return my body unspotted to my parents." When at last she went and rescued him, he exclaimed in the words of Jeremiah: "Jehovah will now do a new thing, and that is, He will make a woman protect a man." (Let me say in passing that the Generalissimo was a Buddhist. When he was courting Madame his suit was rejected because he was not a Christian. But he said that was the last thing he would do since he should fall in her estimation by changing one's religion for the sake of gaining her hand; he would study Christianity seriously and then would adopt it if he felt inner conversion. The plea told, and it was three years after marriage that he became a Christian.)

The Generalissimo has tremendous self-introspection. Like Gandhiji he often blames himself for the shortcomings of his followers, and he indeed assumed responsibility for the mutineers who imprisoned him at Sian. And after honourable release

by the mutineers who later begged his pardon, the Generalissimo repeatedly offered his resignation.

The character of the Generalissimo's heroism during his single-handed mortal combat with Japan is very well known. English historians usually disdain to think of an oriental hero's military achievements with respect and admiration. But China's four years' heroic struggle has begun to extort their admiration, maybe because China is now their ally. "Japan's invasion of China," writes Mr. A. G. Gardiner, "was the first great move in the drama. She had torn up the Nine Power Treaty which guaranteed the integrity of China, and neither Britain nor the United States—which like Japan herself were signatories to that Treaty—lifted a finger to save China... Japan thought she had a walk-over..... Instead a miracle happened—the greatest miracle of this war, perhaps in its effect the most pregnant miracle in history—China did not collapse in three months. Her Government did not surrender, her people did not cry for mercy. They perished men, women, and children by the hundred thousand and by the million... In the fifth year of the war which was to be over in three months, Japan finds herself bogged in China... She has not destroyed a nation, she has made a nation. ....China has been hammered in the furnace of pain and sacrifice into one of the great nations of the earth.....The secret of that resurrection is due to the inspired leadership of Chiang Kai-shek."

But to return to the Madame. She is in charge of the air force and is the life and soul of the New Life Movement, which is almost on the lines of our constructive programme—organisation of the villages and villagers, teaching them sanitation, hygiene, orderliness and cleanliness, freedom from vice and intoxicating drugs and liquors, and so on.

In life and in work the Madame and her husband are inseparable, a common revolutionary urge and a common ambition to save their country being the real indissoluble bond between them—as was the case between Lenin and his wife, and Dr. Sun Yat-sen and his wife (who, by the by, is Madame Chiang Kai-shek's elder sister).

#### Generalissimo's Philosophy of Action

Those are the bare facts of their life. Though they stayed nearly five hours at Birla House, the interview was all too brief. Both the Generalissimo and Gandhiji were talking against time. Besides, the Generalissimo's sole preoccupation is the winning of the war, and therefore beyond his inflexible will and the grim determination that you find almost written in his iron frame and chiselled features as also in the slow and deliberate manner of his talk, sometimes lit up by an almost imperceptible smile, you can get no inkling of his philosophy of action from his talk. What is of tremendous importance to us, who are in the same case as China, is this philosophy. Thanks to the China Information Bureau, Gandhiji had with him a pamphlet issued by them entitled *A Philosophy of Action* by the Generalissimo. The pamphlet was put into his hands by Pyarelal who thought he should read it before meeting the Generalissimo. The translation from the Chinese is



by the Madame, as I found out from her, who said that infinite pains were taken over the preparation of this great document. The faithful interpreter has appended a brief foreword and notes to this "speech given by a man equal in stature to the tremendous scene speaking quietly in an age of lone desolation", and has shown by means of these learned notes that when the head of revolutionary China "expounds the philosophical basis for the revolution, we find in his mouth the words of the ancients."

It may sound strange — though it need not, inasmuch as ancient Chinese wisdom and ancient Indian wisdom are very nearly identical — but it is a fact that the philosophy of action expounded in this lecture is practically the same as the philosophy of the Gita. "Work or action is life," says the Generalissimo, and adds that "when we speak of action, we should mean action performed in the service of life, i. e. the life of mankind." "No one," says the Gita, "stays for a moment without action; everyone is made to act by the very essence of his nature." (3. 5) Says the Generalissimo: "From birth to death, while he is subject to space and time, a man cannot withdraw himself from the sphere of action; he grows up in action and his character is formed and elevated by action." Again, "perform," says the Gita, "work determined for thyself;" "thou shalt not attain sin if thou performest action determined by thy own nature." (18.47) "We need only concern ourselves," says the Generalissimo, "as to whether what is done is in harmony with the laws of man's innate character . . . The action of which I have been speaking is the operation of man's innate faculties according to the true natural laws of his being." This action — selfless, detached action for the good of the world — is the law as much of our being as of Nature. The Gita sternly says: "He who does not turn the wheel thus revolving leads a sinful life of ease, he lives in vain." (3.16) Says the Generalissimo: "Such motion as that of the revolving globe we ought not to call mere motion; that ceaseless axial and orbital rotation is a phenomenon called in ancient times the activity of nature; and it may serve as the best possible illustration of the qualities of action."

Here comes a distinction which the Generalissimo has drawn between right action (what we might call *yajna* or selfless action, in the language of the Gita) and wrong action, inaction or quiescence, or mere futile motion. It is a luminous passage which I am tempted to quote at some length: "Action differs from motion. Action is continuous, whereas motion is intermittent; action is spontaneous, whereas motion is usually due to the application of external force. Action is in response to the supreme order of things and in harmony with the nature of man. Motion is impulsive response to some fortuitous external stimulus . . . As an illustration, action may be compared to a ceaseless flow of water, in the words of Confucius, 'racing on, unpausing day and night'. Motion on the other hand may be compared to the impact of a stone upon water into which it is thrown. The water is violently

agitated and leaps high into the air; its movement is tumultuous while it lasts, but subsides when after a moment or so the extraneous force that caused it is expended. Such motion is therefore transitory, simply because the motive force comes from without." Another picturesque simile revealing the peculiar genius of the Chinese language: "A man who lives by passion and impulse, who *moves* rather than acts, is like a bell, which when struck vibrates and emits sound but unless struck is silent." The man who does not know the essence of right action, says the Gita, is swayed by the triple passions of lust, anger and greed, but the man of equipoise and right understanding "acts and enjoys life through Self, is satisfied through Self, and is content through Self." (3.17) He does not act, he is in repose. But repose is not quiescence or inaction. "Repose can have a positive function," says the Generalissimo. "What I call the philosophy of action permits of no distinction between motion and repose, a distinction which is superficial." In the Gita says the Lord: "I am always in sleepless, ceaseless action" (3. 23), and yet it is repose. As the Madame says in her notes: "A suitable image would be that of the spinning top or gyroscope, which achieves equilibrium by virtue of the very speed of its rotation, and attains in fact a repose which in the case of the top is colloquially so quaintly but forcibly described as its sleeping." Or in the language of the Chinese philosopher quoted by the Generalissimo, Tseng Kuo-fan: "There is no question of shutting oneself up in oneself and turning one's mind to dead ash. That is not true repose at all: in fact, any such state of mind may be converted into bewildered agitation by some fortuitous cause of disturbance."

And then the Gita teaching of acting without an eye to the result finds a beautiful echo in these words of the Generalissimo: "We are, everyone, men born of woman and passing our days between heaven and earth; not for us to vex ourselves with fear of failure, the only failure is in failing to act."

The last but the most important point. The spring of right action is right knowledge,—compare the whole of the second discourse of the Gita dealing with right knowledge,—and then, says the Generalissimo: "Just as action proceeds from knowledge, action in its turn engenders knowledge. . . . In all our undertakings practice will yield us true knowledge, and action alone will give us the ability to extend and enrich our knowledge." (Cf. Gita, 4.33; 18.57; 10.10.) — *Buddhiyoga* in these references being the word corresponding to knowledge.

To one who has grasped this gospel the rest of the message will be crystal clear. "Work is indeed life; unless a man be totally incapable, he will inevitably require the means of expression for his abilities, and particularly such expression as will accrue to the benefit of somebody beyond himself. Even a little child is conscious of the intense satisfaction to be derived from doing one's best in the service of others. Though no praise be awarded the child, it is aware of an extraordinary complaisance within

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# HARIJAN

Mar. 1

1942

## CRIMINAL ASSAULTS

(By M. K. Gandhi)

The whole world is on trial today. No one can escape from the war. Whilst the Ramayana and the Mahabharata are products of poets' imagination, their authors were not mere rhymsters. They were seers. What they depicted is happening before our very eyes today. Ravana is warring with each other. They are showing matchless strength. They throw their deadly weapons from the air. No deed of bravery in the battlefield is beyond their capacity or imagination.

Man would not fight in this manner, certainly not the gods. Only brutes can. Soldiers drunk with the pride of physical strength loot shops and are not even ashamed to take liberties with women. The administration is powerless in war time to prevent such happenings. The army fulfils their primary need, and they wink the eye at their misdeeds. Where a whole nation is militarised the way of military life becomes part and parcel of its civilisation. Therefore a soldier's taking such liberties is not a matter for condemnation. But it would take generations for India to become so.

Hence arise questions like the following which a sister sends me:

"(1) If a soldier commits an assault on a woman, can she be said to have lost her virtue?

(2) Is such a woman to be condemned and ostracised by society?

(3) What should women and the public do under such circumstances?"

Whilst the woman has in point of fact lost her virtue, the loss cannot in any way render her liable to be condemned or treated as an outcast. She is entitled to our sympathy for she has been cruelly injured, and we should tend her wounds as we would those of any injured person.

A woman is worthy of condemnation only when she is a willing party to her dishonour. In no case are adultery and criminal assault synonymous terms. If we were to view the matter in this light, we would not hide such instances as has thus far been our wont. Public opinion against such conduct on the part of men towards women would then be created and freely exercised.

If the press carried on a sustained agitation, soldiers white or brown would probably cease to behave in this manner. Their officers would be compelled to prevent such misbehaviour.

My advice to women is that they should leave the cities and migrate to the villages where a wide field of service awaits them. There is comparatively little risk of their being assaulted in villages. They must, however, live simple lives and make themselves one with the poor. If they will display their wealth by dressing in silks and satins and wearing

jewellery, they will, in running away from one danger, expose themselves to a double. Naturally the advice cannot refer to those whom duty compels to live in cities.

The main thing, however, is for women to know how to be fearless. It is my firm conviction that a fearless woman who knows that her purity is her best shield can never be dishonoured. However beastly the man, he will bow in shame before the flame of her dazzling purity. There are examples even in modern times of women who have thus defended themselves. I can, as I write, recall two such instances. I therefore recommend women who read this article to try to cultivate this courage. They will become wholly fearless, if they can and cease to tremble as they do today at the mere thought of assaults. It is not, however, necessary for a woman to go through a bitter experience for the sake of passing a test of courage. These experiences mercifully do not come in the way of lakhs or even thousands. Every soldier is not a beast. It is a minority that loses all sense of decency. Only twenty per cent of snakes are poisonous, and out of these a few only bite. They do not attack unless trodden on. But this knowledge does not help those who are full of fear and tremble at the sight of a snake. Parents and husbands should, therefore, instruct women in the art of becoming fearless. It can best be learnt from a living faith in God. Though He is invisible, He is one's unfailing protector. He who has this faith is the most fearless of all.

But such faith or courage cannot be acquired in a day. Meantime we must try to explore other means. When a woman is assaulted she may not stop to think in terms of himsa or ahimsa. Her primary duty is self-protection. She is at liberty to employ every method or means that come to her mind in order to defend her honour. God has given her nails and teeth. She must use them with all her strength and, if need be, die in the effort. The man or woman who has shed all fear of death will be able not only to protect himself or herself but others also through laying down his life. In truth we fear death most, and hence we ultimately submit to superior physical force. Some will bend the knee to the invader, some will resort to bribery, some will crawl on their bellies or submit to other forms of humiliation, and some women will even give their bodies rather than die. I have not written this in a carping spirit. I am only illustrating human nature. Whether we crawl on our bellies or whether a woman yields to the lust of man is symbolic of that same love of life which makes us stoop to anything. Therefore only he who loses his life shall save it; तेन त्यक्तेन भुञ्जीथाः । Every reader should commit this matchless shloka to memory. But mere lip loyalty to it will be of no avail. It must penetrate deep down to the innermost recesses of his heart. To enjoy life one should give up the lure of life. That should be part of our nature.

So much for what a woman should do. But what about a man who is witness to such crimes? The answer is implied in the foregoing. He must



not be a passive onlooker. He must protect the woman. He must not run for police help; he must not rest satisfied by pulling the alarm chain in the train. If he is able to practise non-violence, he will die in doing so and thus save the woman in jeopardy. If he does not believe in non-violence or cannot practise it, he must try to save her by using all the force he may have. In either way there must be readiness on his part to lay down his life.

If old, decrepit and toothless, as I am, I were to plead non-violence and be a helpless witness of assault on the honour of a sister, my so-called Mahatmaship would be ridiculed, dishonoured and lost. If I or those like me were to intervene and lay down our lives whether violently or non-violently, we would surely save the prey and at any rate we would not remain living witnesses to her dishonour.

So much about the witnesses. But if the courageous spirit pervades the entire atmosphere of our country and it is known that no Indian will stand women being assaulted, I venture to say that no soldier will dare to touch them. That such a spirit does not exist is a matter of shame for us. But it will be something, if persons ready to wipe out this blot are forthcoming.

Those who have influence with the Government will try to get the authorities to take the necessary action. But self-help is best help. In the present circumstances we may rely only on our own strength and God's help.

On the train to Wardha, 19-2-42

(From *Harijanbandhu*)

## A LEGITIMATE GRIEVANCE

(By M. K. Gandhi)

A Bengali correspondent writes:

"I am sorry to inform you that Dr. Suresh Bannerji has been interned within Naria P. S. in the district of Faridpur. Naria is his village home; but nobody lives in the village house and there is no qualified medical man available in the vicinity. The nearest steamer station is 20 miles from the village, where the conveyance is a country boat. Internment without trial is bad enough, but the present order savours even of vindictiveness. At first a gagging order was served on him in December last, whereby he was asked not to deliver any speech or conduct any procession. That was in the last week of December. He did not defy the order. After that there was a labour strike in the Budge Budge jute mill area. Labourers wanted dearness allowance, and I believe that demand was justified. If Dr. Bannerji's stay in the labour area was undesirable in the opinion of the Government, they could have externed him from the labour area.

There is another case also which you should know. Shri Pitabas Das, of village Kakra, post Gopinathpur in the Contai sub-division of Midnapur, has been interned in his village. He had been offering satyagraha for nine months and was moving from village to village and uttered the slogan as usual. He was not arrested. He stopped satyagraha on 30th December after the Bardoli resolution. Then on the 23rd of January, he was served with an internment order to reside within his village and not to communicate or

converse with several Congressmen. Before joining the satyagraha movement he and his wife together were doing khadi work. When he joined satyagraha his wife was in full charge of the khadi work and conducted it very efficiently. There is not a single village in Bengal where so many people use khadi. Out of a total population of 3,000 there are about 1,000 khadi wearers in that village. I cannot understand why a man who was not arrested for reciting the anti-war slogan for months together is interned under the Defence of India Rules as soon as he stops satyagraha. I know Pitabas Babu thoroughly well. He is perfectly non-violent. I cannot understand this action of the Bengal Government which is supposed to depend for its existence upon the vote of Congressmen who are in the legislature."

The action against Dr. Suresh Bannerji is decidedly cruel. Vindictive may be a strong word to use in this connection. I prefer to use the word cruel, for Suresh Babu is not an unknown man. He is himself a member of the Bengal legislature. He is known to be an ill man. He was dying of tuberculosis of the bone. But by his indomitable will to live, not for the sake of living but for the sake of the country, he survived the fell disease. He put himself in a plaster of Paris jacket for a long time, rigorously carried out medical instructions, and reached a workable condition. All this is known to the Bengal Government. They know that he needs constant medical advice. He needs careful nursing and the use of medical amenities. It is therefore cruel to intern Dr. Bannerji. I do not know how far the Bengal Government are justified in externing the doctor. I do not know their side of the case. But there can be no case for his internment, and that in a place, though his own village, where he cannot keep his health and where medical aid and other comforts are not easily procurable. I do hope that the Bengal Government will redress this palpable grievance.

The other case my correspondent refers to is of a different category. To all intents and purposes there seems to be no cause for the internment of Pitabas Babu. The Bengal Government is responsible to the people. The order could not have been passed over their heads by the Governor. They cannot enforce the Defence of India Act in an arbitrary manner. They must justify to the public every action they take. The Assembly, if it is to justify its existence, has to keep itself informed of the reasons for the acts of the responsible executive. The taunt of the correspondent against the Congress members of the Bengal legislature has substance behind it. They have a special reason to demand justification of steps like those taken against Suresh Babu and Pitabas Babu.

On the train to Wardha, 19-2-42

## To Agents

The attention of the agents is drawn to the agency term No. 1 about maintaining with us a deposit equivalent to at least the price of one month's copies required by them. This rule will be strictly observed, and the supply to defaulters will be stopped at once.



## A HISTORIC MEETING

(Continued from p. 59)

itself. . . . Life from childhood to old age is the energetic, ceaseless use of our faculties at first chiefly for the satisfaction of the needs of one's own existence, to secure one's own footing in life, but next, as one's mental perspective broadens, the family, the village, the community, the nation, and mankind become objects of the desire to express oneself and give of oneself. . . . A man worthy of his place in the ranks of the Revolution will regard as nothing extraordinary difficulties and dangers that would daunt others. His revolutionary spirit, which is the very spirit of action, gives him a sublime indifference to whatever may be the magnitude of the demands his duty makes upon him; whatever his principles, faith and responsibility involve is "all in the day's work" for him, though it be ordeal by fire and water or the abnegation of everything dearest to him. He takes no account of difficulty, and fear is a thing still stranger to him. It is in the sense that to a man with such an attitude action is *easy* that I use the word." And in the great words of Tseng Kuo-fan he sounds a homely warning: "Again and again have you been delinquent in your duties and endeavours, and been swayed by material possessions; but no one has ever heard of your being unpunctual at meal-times!!"

These, if I may say so, read almost as though they were paragraphs from *Harijan* or *Young India*. And naturally, because the Generalissimo's business, like Gandhiji's, "for 99.9 per cent of his time, is to practise, not preach" (Madame).

## The Talk

But, the reader will impatiently exclaim, what about the talks? Two passengers asked Gandhiji at the Howrah station, "Have you arrived at some settlement?" As though Gandhiji had gone to strike some bargain or arrive at some settlement with him! There was no such thing in the mind of either. All they wanted to do was to know and understand each other, and that they have been able to do somewhat. I say "somewhat". For part of the time was taken up by Gandhiji in explaining the genesis and course of satyagraha and non-cooperation, and also in demonstrating to the Generalissimo and the Madame the action of his "weapon of war"—a weapon which, as he explained, "makes no noise, which does not kill, but which, if anything, gives life." The Madame watched the working of the dhanush takli and said: "You will have to teach me this." "Come to Sevagram, and I shall teach it to you. Let the Generalissimo leave you here as his ambassador, and I adopt you as my daughter." He could speak thus intimately to them as he had already at the end of the day developed those relations with them. For half an hour or so the official interpreter who accompanied the Generalissimo interpreted him. Then, said Gandhiji: "But surely ours is not a formal official talk. Why should not the Madame interpret you?" "Now, now, Mahatmaji, that is devastating," she said. "Now I know how everyone succumbs to you.

My husband is most taxing. Whenever there is something very difficult to interpret, some delicate nuances of his thought to be conveyed, I must interpret him. But for one year I have been having an easy time asking the official interpreter to do it for me." "That means that you are a faithless wife," said Gandhiji laughing. "Surely," retorted the Madame. "He did not marry an interpreter, he married a woman." And so on, and so forth. No wonder at the end of the first talk the Madame said: "I have met too many men to succumb to anyone. But the Mahatma has captivated me." The rest of the talk had better be guessed. The Generalissimo was sure that non-cooperation was good for India, but he was not sure that it would serve equally well for other countries—unless of course they were like India in their circumstances and environments. He was naturally full of indignation at what Japan had done and was doing in China, and he had grave fears of India having to go through China's terrible fate if the Japanese overran India. It was not possible for Gandhiji to discuss the whole of our non-violent technique, but he left the Generalissimo in no doubt that Japan or Germany would be confronted with fierce non-cooperation or civil resistance. "Your civil resistance," said the Generalissimo, "is not mere passivity. I am sure. But these foes may not listen to active civil resistance, and may make even the preaching of non-violence impossible."

"All I can say," said Gandhiji, "is that God gives me the guidance to react to situations as they arise. Though, therefore, I cannot say how exactly I will react in case of an invasion, I know that God will give me the proper guidance. But this talk cannot, I know, satisfy you. I would invite you to come to Sevagram where we can discuss the subject quietly for days. I know of course that it is an impossible request, for you cannot possibly stay."

"Who knows," said the Madame, "we may be back here sooner than later. And after all Calcutta is only 12 hours from Chungking."

"Then you will pay me a monthly visit," said Gandhiji as he bade a hearty good-bye to the distinguished visitors.

"Where's my wheel?" said the Madame. "Where's my wheel?" as she was leaving the Birla Park. It had by mistake been taken to the station along with our other luggage. "You shall have it," said Gandhiji. "I shall send it on to you from the station."

And now the dhanush takli is part of her luggage on her way back to China. She may or may not work it, but it is sure to appeal to the simple and artistic workmanship of China, and will be either copied or improved upon for the poor of that land.

On the train to Wardha, 19-2-42

M. D.

## Notice

Intimation of a change of address to be effective for the week should be received by Thursday. The register No. should always be given.

Manager



## Notes

### 'Harijan' in Marathi

A Marathi edition of *Harijan* will be published from Bajajwadi, Wardha, from March 1st. The subscription will be Rs. 5 per annum. Shri Gopalrao Kale, one of the early members of Satyagrahashram, is the Editor. He will be assisted by Shri Dada Dharmadhikari of *Sarvodaya*. I have advised that the weekly ought not to be published unless it becomes self-supporting. Shri Gopalrao and his associates have accepted the advice. I hope that the venture will be supported by the Marathi reading public.

Sevagram, 23-2-42

### Khadi Students

I have been asked to write something in regard to khadi students of today. I have already written a little, but it cannot be too clearly stated nor enough stressed that knowledge of spinning, carding and the other processes alone does not constitute true khadi learning. That may be termed its mechanics. To understand the inner meaning of khadi one has to know why it has to be turned out by hand and not by power machinery. Why should innumerable hands be employed when a single person can manipulate an engine which can produce the same amount of cloth in far less time? If khadi has to be produced by hand, why not by the takli only? And if the takli, why not the bamboo takli? And if we could get the necessary work by suspending yarn by means of a stone, why even a takli? Such questions are perfectly natural. To find proper answers to all such is a necessary part of khadi research. I do not want to discuss these questions here. All I want to say is that true knowledge of khadi goes far beyond the mechanical processes, and requires patient research. We have not the means of imparting such knowledge today. Therefore khadi instructors have to improve their knowledge even whilst they are teaching. And students have to acquire knowledge through their own diligence. In olden times when no scientific knowledge was available students used to be their own teachers and became first rate scholars and experts. We are more or less in the same position today.

(From *Khadi Jagat*)

Sevagram, 22-2-42

M. K. G.

### Price Control Anarchy

A correspondent, who is fully conversant with the situation regarding price control obtaining in various parts of the country, writes:

"I have read your article on 'Price Control' in *Harijan* of the 8th inst.

The position with regard to wheat supplies in Calcutta continues to be very acute. I am mentioning some facts below:

While the controlled price in Punjab and U. P. is fixed at Rs. 4-6-0 per maund, the wholesale selling price in Bengal is fixed by the Provincial Controller at Rs. 5-12-0. This difference of Rs. 1-6-0 does not leave sufficient margin for the importer who has to incur about Rs. 1-8-0 to Rs. 1-9-0 per maund as charges in respect of freight, bags, handling, shortage,

interest, etc. The result has been that importers are not at all interested in importing wheat in Bengal. Of course at present the difficulty has been aggravated by the action of the Government of Punjab in placing a restriction on the export of wheat from that province and also due to shortage of railway wagons. It is understood that out of about 7 to 8 thousand *chakkis* in the city less than 500 are working at present.

*The Statesman* has been carrying on a ceaseless propaganda against those leaving Calcutta but, leaving aside the first rush created by genuine panic just after the declaration of war by Japan, one of the main reasons why the poorer classes are now leaving Calcutta is that they are unable to get foodstuffs at reasonable rates owing to shortage.

I have also received reports from certain upcountry teachers employed in our schools here in Harijan bustees, which had to be closed down owing to the emergency, that in certain U. P. districts no wheat is available, and that the worst quality of rice is being sold at Rs. 8 per maund owing to scarcity.

You have referred in *Harijan* to the Price Control Conference which was held in Delhi in the first week of February. That Conference is a purely official gathering convened from time to time by the Commerce Member, and does not include any representatives of non-official public or the mercantile community."

The sooner this anarchy is ended the better. I know that the Price Control Conference is a purely official body, but if the Conference is to serve the interests of the poor by keeping in touch with the realities of the situation and acquainting itself from time to time with the effects of the policy pursued by Government, it is its duty to consult representatives of the non-official mercantile community.

Sevagram, 22-2-42

M. D.

### A Sister's Tribute

The beautiful tributes that will be paid to the memory of Shri Jamnalalji will be as universal as the sorrow that is felt all over the country. To know him was to love him. A kindlier and more sympathetic personality it is difficult to imagine.

Amongst his many labours for the cause of social reform—for he was primarily an ardent reformer—his bold stand for the woman's cause deserves special mention. He belonged to a community, singularly conservative in its ideas regarding women's rights. But, as in so many other things in his own life, he fearlessly brought about drastic changes in this sphere in his family circle. His task was not an easy one. He told me he found it difficult to make Shrimati Jankibai give up certain old customs, but his faith in the woman's cause was undaunted and he won through. He gave his daughters the same opportunities for education as he did to his sons; in the matter of marriage he gave them liberty of choice, and he gave them dowries to make them economically independent. The Mahila Ashram, Wardha, was, perhaps, the institution dearest to his heart among the many that he has founded. He often told me that he wanted to see women doing well in every sphere of life, that he wanted them to become fearless, to lead simple lives, to devote



themselves to the service of the country, and to be able to hold their own against men. Women have lost a very doughty champion in Jamnalalji. But we have not really lost him. His example is there for all time as also his blessings. It remains for us to make ourselves worthy examples of the high ideals which he had for womankind.

Sevagram, 12-2-42

#### Gleanings from A. I. V. I. A. Minutes

Shri Jairamdas Daulatram has been co-opted as a member of the Board. The Board has equipped the children's playground in front of the Udyog Bhavan, Wardha, with swings, see-saws, etc., at a cost of Rs. 89-6-0. This is in keeping with the Association's ideal for its centres to render service to all their neighbours. There were 214 ordinary members, 28 agents and 29 certified shops on the rolls of the Association on December 31st 1941. At the request of Shrimati Mridula Sarabhai to afford facilities for training women workers, the Board decided to train women who have passed the spinning examination of the A. I. S. A. and are likely to make use of their training in future. Scholarships to deserving women will in future be awarded on the same basis as to men.

Savagram, 19-2-42

A. K.

#### QUESTION BOX

(By M. K. Gandhi)

Hindustani

Q. Will you tell me what I should do? You should know that I believe in the Wardha resolution.

A. That is to say, you believe that, if the Congress demand is satisfied, you will take your full share in the war effort. But whatever happens the Wardha resolution on the constructive programme invites you to contribute your full quota to the fourteenfold constructive programme. Therefore, and even apart from it, I suggest your learning Hindustani so as to be able to establish contact with the masses. And Hindustani, as I have shown, means today Hindi and Urdu till a chemical compound is formed of the two. You may not quarrel with this labour of love. Your earnestness will make everything easy. You know some Hindi. You should make considerable advance in it. The Persian script is very easy to learn. There are very few fundamental signs to represent thirtyseven letters. No doubt the joining of the letters causes some difficulty, but learning of the alphabet including the joining is a matter of a week at the most, if you give one hour every day. Then it is a question of daily practice for half an hour, and you will have a workable knowledge of Urdu in six months. Surely it is a fascinating study to compare the two scripts and the two styles for the same speech. All this would be true, if you have love of the country and its people. If our minds were not fatigued by the effort to master the difficult English language, we should find it a light labour, or rather recreation, to study provincial languages.

But the learning of Hindustani in its double form is but the beginning of the constructive

programme. You have also to spin regularly, if you are to identify yourself with the poorest in the land, and then add to this the many things in the programme whose complete fulfilment is Complete Independence in the truest sense of the word.

#### Test of Honesty?

Q. What you have said about Congressmen in the Muslim majority provinces is true enough. But your honesty will be tested by the readiness with which Congressmen follow your advice.

A. I must emphatically repudiate the test. I have begun to write about the subject in order to educate the Congress mind. If I had carried conviction to the members of the Working Committee, I would not have needed to preach my solution. It would have been reduced to practice long ago. But I failed. The step I have advised carries weighty implications without whose acceptance the solution has no meaning. One implication is confidence in the truth of one's step. I admit it is unusual. The general tendency is to make use of the opportunities which seem to be open to you for seizing power. It is difficult for people to understand when I suggest that the opportunity is a trap. To my mind it has already proved to be so. But it is not so clear to the average Congressman. I hope through these columns to make clear what is at present obscure. Those who doubt my honesty do not help me or themselves. But whether they do or not, I must continue to preach so long as I hold to the truth of my solution.

On the train to Wardha, 19-2-42

#### How to Serve with the Body?

Q. You say we should devote our body, intellect and wealth to Jamnalalji's many activities. I can understand giving and to some extent I can understand how we can serve with our intellect. But how with the body?

A. A's heart may lean towards cow service or khadi. But he has no money, he has to earn his own living, then how can he spare time for either service? When he can spare a few moments after his day's work he can persuade his friends to become members of the Goseva Sangh. He can sell and distribute literature without charge; he can do propaganda for and sell cow's milk and ghee or sandals made from non-violent cow hide; he can sell khadi too. If he wants to devote his whole life to the cause, he can do so by entering on a living wage the service of the Sanghs concerned.

Sevagram, 23-2-42

(From Harijansevak)

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# HARIJAN

Editor: MAHADEV DESAI

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[FIVE PICE

## A HISTORIC MEETING

### Why in Calcutta?

So much has appeared in the press about the possibility of Gandhiji meeting the Generalissimo of China, that a few facts must be placed before the reader. The very first intimation of the Generalissimo's desire to see Gandhiji at Sevagram was received from Pandit Jawaharlal. The next intimation came from the Deputy Commissioner at Wardha who had received a message from the Governor to go and enquire of Gandhiji if he would meet the Generalissimo. Gandhiji was expecting to hear about the date of the distinguished visitor's coming. But after this nothing was heard of the visit until Pandit Jawaharlal informed us that for some reasons beyond the Generalissimo's control the visit could not come off, that he would be the last man to think of troubling Gandhiji to go to Delhi, and that it would be with the deepest regret that he would have to go away without seeing him. Thereupon Gandhiji sent a letter to General Chiang Kai-shek expressing his willingness to go to any place in India, and also sent a telegram to the same effect. The Deputy Commissioner at Wardha was all the while asking me when the guest was coming! And I kept on telling him that I was no less ignorant than he. At last when we had almost given the thing up, came a message from Jawaharlalji to the effect that General Chiang Kai-shek could not possibly go away without seeing Gandhiji, and asking me if Gandhiji could possibly go to Shantiniketan where the Generalissimo was expected to arrive on the 18th. This, I said, was impossible, for Gandhiji had to be back for the important meeting of Jamnalalji's friends that Gandhiji had called on the 20th to consider the ways and means of continuing his great work. Then Pandit Jawaharlalji suggested Calcutta. Gandhiji immediately agreed, and he said he would gladly perform the 48 hours' journey, if only to have five or six precious hours with the Hero of China.

That is how the meeting came about. We were staying in Birla Park where the Generalissimo and his distinguished wife were good enough to call on Gandhiji within an hour of his arrival. The plan was to have a sort of 'courtesy' meeting and then for both to meet again in the afternoon. "I would not think of asking you to come to the Government House," said the Generalissimo. "We would come again, after you have had your meal and rest." "But," said Gandhiji, "I have had my meal on the train in order to give you the whole of my

time here, and I would suggest, if it were not inconvenient to you, to stay here, have an Indian meal with us, and we can then talk until the minute of my departure. We can thus save the time of going to and coming back from Barrackpore." And so the guests stayed, gave the Birla sons the honour of a meal in their house, and talked with Gandhiji until the moment of his departure for the station.

### The Unique Pair

There are few pairs comparable in history to the Chiangs. The Generalissimo is of humble birth. He went to Japan when nineteen for military training, entered the Military Staff College, is said to have served several years in the Japanese army. It was in Japan that he met the late Dr. Sun Yat-sen, the maker of free China, who gave him the revolutionary inspiration. His life may be said to have been dedicated to working for the Chinese Revolution and the freedom of China since then. He entered for a time into business, but by 1925 was Chairman of the Standing Committee of the Kuomintang, and "when Dr. Sun Yat-sen died, he assumed office as Commander of the nationalist army."

I cannot go into the history of the Generalissimo's efforts to unify China and to prepare the country for an indomitable endeavour to fight Japan's aggression. The bare facts of his life I have taken from Gunther's *Inside Asia*, but I hesitate to adopt his version of the General's career of unification by conquest and the "ten weary years of civil war", for the simple reason that I have had no opportunity of verifying and checking the facts.

The Generalissimo married the Madame, a distinguished daughter of the famous Soong family, in 1927. Madame Chiang, the daughter of a Methodist, has taken all her education in America, and thus functions as the interpreter for her husband who knows no foreign language except Japanese. But she is very much more than his interpreter. She has been his trusted adviser and faithful companion in all that the Generalissimo has passed through. Great is his devotion to her. Reference must be made, even in this scrappy account of their career, to the heroic part played by both in what is known as the Sian episode, in which the General was kidnapped and imprisoned by Chang Hsueh-liang at Sian where the General had gone to investigate into something going amiss. Chang Hsueh-liang, known as the Young Marshal, had been asked by the Generalissimo to fight the Communists. Instead he flirted and fraternised with them, and when he was called to account by the



Generalissimo, the latter found himself surrounded and imprisoned. The Generalissimo "refused to eat, refused to talk, refused to listen." The dialogue between the captor and the captive has been recorded by the Generalissimo in his own diary. Said the captor: "If Your Excellency accepts my suggestions, I shall obey your orders."

The captive replied: "Which are you, my subordinate or my enemy? If my subordinate, you should obey my orders. If you are my enemy, you should kill me without delay. You should choose either of the two steps, but say nothing more, for I will not listen to you."

Then the captor said: "I think you are the only great man of this age, but why won't you yield a little, comply with our requests, and lead us on in this revolution so that we may achieve something instead of your merely sacrificing your life?"

To which the Generalissimo replied: "If I stand firm and would rather sacrifice my life than compromise my principles, I shall be able to maintain my integrity till death, and my spirit will live for ever."

Whilst this drama was being enacted in Sian, the Madame was pleading with the Kuomintang Generals to be patient and not to attempt to crush the mutiny by force. Donald, the Chiangs' Australian adviser, and the Madame were concerned not so much in freeing the Generalissimo as in keeping the forces in check. If these had not been kept in check, the mutiny might have been crushed but the Generalissimo might also have been lost for ever to the Revolution. She "fought on two feet like a man", keeping throughout her wonderful presence of mind, and acting with cool courage and tact which sometimes become the essence of non-violence. She flew to Sian, delivered herself into the hands of her husband's captor, putting him on his honour, and had her husband honourably released. The husband would sign no terms. He had written to her: "I will never allow myself to do anything to make my wife ashamed of me or become unworthy of being a follower of Dr. Sun Yat-sen. Since I was born for the Revolution I will gladly die for the same cause. I will return my body unspotted to my parents." When at last she went and rescued him, he exclaimed in the words of Jeremiah: "Jehovah will now do a new thing, and that is, He will make a woman protect a man." (Let me say in passing that the Generalissimo was a Buddhist. When he was courting Madame his suit was rejected because he was not a Christian. But he said that was the last thing he would do since he should fall in her estimation by changing one's religion for the sake of gaining her hand; he would study Christianity seriously and then would adopt it if he felt inner conversion. The plea told, and it was three years after marriage that he became a Christian.)

The Generalissimo has tremendous self-introspection. Like Gandhiji he often blames himself for the shortcomings of his followers, and he indeed assumed responsibility for the mutineers who imprisoned him at Sian. And after honourable release

by the mutineers who later begged his pardon, the Generalissimo repeatedly offered his resignation.

The character of the Generalissimo's heroism during his single-handed mortal combat with Japan is very well known. English historians usually disdain to think of an oriental hero's military achievements with respect and admiration. But China's four years' heroic struggle has begun to extort their admiration, maybe because China is now their ally. "Japan's invasion of China," writes Mr. A. G. Gardiner, "was the first great move in the drama. She had torn up the Nine Power Treaty which guaranteed the integrity of China, and neither Britain nor the United States—which like Japan herself were signatories to that Treaty—lifted a finger to save China... Japan thought she had a walk-over..... Instead a miracle happened—the greatest miracle of this war, perhaps in its effect the most pregnant miracle in history—China did not collapse in three months. Her Government did not surrender, her people did not cry for mercy. They perished men, women, and children by the hundred thousand and by the million... In the fifth year of the war which was to be over in three months, Japan finds herself bogged in China... She has not destroyed a nation, she has made a nation. ....China has been hammered in the furnace of pain and sacrifice into one of the great nations of the earth.....The secret of that resurrection is due to the inspired leadership of Chiang Kai-shek."

But to return to the Madame. She is in charge of the air force and is the life and soul of the New Life Movement, which is almost on the lines of our constructive programme—organisation of the villages and villagers, teaching them sanitation, hygiene, orderliness and cleanliness, freedom from vice and intoxicating drugs and liquors, and so on.

In life and in work the Madame and her husband are inseparable, a common revolutionary urge and a common ambition to save their country being the real indissoluble bond between them—as was the case between Lenin and his wife, and Dr. Sun Yat-sen and his wife (who, by the by, is Madame Chiang Kai-shek's elder sister).

#### Generalissimo's Philosophy of Action

Those are the bare facts of their life. Though they stayed nearly five hours at Birla House, the interview was all too brief. Both the Generalissimo and Gandhiji were talking against time. Besides, the Generalissimo's sole preoccupation is the winning of the war, and therefore beyond his inflexible will and the grim determination that you find almost written in his iron frame and chiselled features as also in the slow and deliberate manner of his talk, sometimes lit up by an almost imperceptible smile, you can get no inkling of his philosophy of action from his talk. What is of tremendous importance to us, who are in the same case as China, is this philosophy. Thanks to the China Information Bureau, Gandhiji had with him a pamphlet issued by them entitled *A Philosophy of Action* by the Generalissimo. The pamphlet was put into his hands by Pyarelal who thought he should read it before meeting the Generalissimo. The translation from the Chinese is



by the Madame, as I found out from her, who said that infinite pains were taken over the preparation of this great document. The faithful interpreter has appended a brief foreword and notes to this "speech given by a man equal in stature to the tremendous scene speaking quietly in an age of lone desolation", and has shown by means of these learned notes that when the head of revolutionary China "expounds the philosophical basis for the revolution, we find in his mouth the words of the ancients."

It may sound strange — though it need not, inasmuch as ancient Chinese wisdom and ancient Indian wisdom are very nearly identical — but it is a fact that the philosophy of action expounded in this lecture is practically the same as the philosophy of the Gita. "Work or action is life," says the Generalissimo, and adds that "when we speak of action, we should mean action performed in the service of life, i. e. the life of mankind." "No one," says the Gita, "stays for a moment without action; everyone is made to act by the very essence of his nature." (3. 5) Says the Generalissimo: "From birth to death, while he is subject to space and time, a man cannot withdraw himself from the sphere of action; he grows up in action and his character is formed and elevated by action." Again, "perform," says the Gita, "work determined for thyself;" "thou shalt not attain sin if thou performest action determined by thy own nature." (18.47) "We need only concern ourselves," says the Generalissimo, "as to whether what is done is in harmony with the laws of man's innate character . . . The action of which I have been speaking is the operation of man's innate faculties according to the true natural laws of his being." This action — selfless, detached action for the good of the world — is the law as much of our being as of Nature. The Gita sternly says: "He who does not turn the wheel thus revolving leads a sinful life of ease, he lives in vain." (3.16) Says the Generalissimo: "Such motion as that of the revolving globe we ought not to call mere motion; that ceaseless axial and orbital rotation is a phenomenon called in ancient times the activity of nature; and it may serve as the best possible illustration of the qualities of action."

Here comes a distinction which the Generalissimo has drawn between right action (what we might call *yajna* or selfless action, in the language of the Gita) and wrong action, inaction or quiescence, or mere futile motion. It is a luminous passage which I am tempted to quote at some length: "Action differs from motion. Action is continuous, whereas motion is intermittent; action is spontaneous, whereas motion is usually due to the application of external force. Action is in response to the supreme order of things and in harmony with the nature of man. Motion is impulsive response to some fortuitous external stimulus . . . As an illustration, action may be compared to a ceaseless flow of water, in the words of Confucius, 'racing on, unpausing day and night'. Motion on the other hand may be compared to the impact of a stone upon water into which it is thrown. The water is violently

agitated and leaps high into the air; its movement is tumultuous while it lasts, but subsides when after a moment or so the extraneous force that caused it is expended. Such motion is therefore transitory, simply because the motive force comes from without." Another picturesque simile revealing the peculiar genius of the Chinese language: "A man who lives by passion and impulse, who *moves* rather than acts, is like a bell, which when struck vibrates and emits sound but unless struck is silent." The man who does not know the essence of right action, says the Gita, is swayed by the triple passions of lust, anger and greed, but the man of equipoise and right understanding "acts and enjoys life through Self, is satisfied through Self, and is content through Self." (3.17) He does not act, he is in repose. But repose is not quiescence or inaction. "Repose can have a positive function," says the Generalissimo. "What I call the philosophy of action permits of no distinction between motion and repose, a distinction which is superficial." In the Gita says the Lord: "I am always in sleepless, ceaseless action" (3. 23), and yet it is repose. As the Madame says in her notes: "A suitable image would be that of the spinning top or gyroscope, which achieves equilibrium by virtue of the very speed of its rotation, and attains in fact a repose which in the case of the top is colloquially so quaintly but forcibly described as its sleeping." Or in the language of the Chinese philosopher quoted by the Generalissimo, Tseng Kuo-fan: "There is no question of shutting oneself up in oneself and turning one's mind to dead ash. That is not true repose at all: in fact, any such state of mind may be converted into bewildered agitation by some fortuitous cause of disturbance."

And then the Gita teaching of acting without an eye to the result finds a beautiful echo in these words of the Generalissimo: "We are, everyone, men born of woman and passing our days between heaven and earth; not for us to vex ourselves with fear of failure, the only failure is in failing to act."

The last but the most important point. The spring of right action is right knowledge,—compare the whole of the second discourse of the Gita dealing with right knowledge,—and then, says the Generalissimo: "Just as action proceeds from knowledge, action in its turn engenders knowledge. . . . In all our undertakings practice will yield us true knowledge, and action alone will give us the ability to extend and enrich our knowledge." (Cf. Gita, 4.33; 18.57; 10.10.) — *Buddhiyoga* in these references being the word corresponding to knowledge.

To one who has grasped this gospel the rest of the message will be crystal clear. "Work is indeed life; unless a man be totally incapable, he will inevitably require the means of expression for his abilities, and particularly such expression as will accrue to the benefit of somebody beyond himself. Even a little child is conscious of the intense satisfaction to be derived from doing one's best in the service of others. Though no praise be awarded the child, it is aware of an extraordinary comeliness within

(Continued on p. 62)



# HARIJAN

Mar. 1

1942

## CRIMINAL ASSAULTS

(By M. K. Gandhi)

The whole world is on trial today. No one can escape from the war. Whilst the Ramayana and the Mahabharata are products of poets' imagination, their authors were not mere rhymsters. They were seers. What they depicted is happening before our very eyes today. Ravana is warring with each other. They are showing matchless strength. They throw their deadly weapons from the air. No deed of bravery in the battlefield is beyond their capacity or imagination.

Man would not fight in this manner, certainly not the gods. Only brutes can. Soldiers drunk with the pride of physical strength loot shops and are not even ashamed to take liberties with women. The administration is powerless in war time to prevent such happenings. The army fulfils their primary need, and they wink the eye at their misdeeds. Where a whole nation is militarised the way of military life becomes part and parcel of its civilisation. Therefore a soldier's taking such liberties is not a matter for condemnation. But it would take generations for India to become so.

Hence arise questions like the following which a sister sends me :

"(1) If a soldier commits an assault on a woman, can she be said to have lost her virtue?

(2) Is such a woman to be condemned and ostracised by society?

(3) What should women and the public do under such circumstances?"

Whilst the woman has in point of fact lost her virtue, the loss cannot in any way render her liable to be condemned or treated as an outcast. She is entitled to our sympathy for she has been cruelly injured, and we should tend her wounds as we would those of any injured person.

A woman is worthy of condemnation only when she is a willing party to her dishonour. In no case are adultery and criminal assault synonymous terms. If we were to view the matter in this light, we would not hide such instances as has thus far been our wont. Public opinion against such conduct on the part of men towards women would then be created and freely exercised.

If the press carried on a sustained agitation, soldiers white or brown would probably cease to behave in this manner. Their officers would be compelled to prevent such misbehaviour.

My advice to women is that they should leave the cities and migrate to the villages where a wide field of service awaits them. There is comparatively little risk of their being assaulted in villages. They must, however, live simple lives and make themselves one with the poor. If they will display their wealth by dressing in silks and satins and wearing

jewellery, they will, in running away from one danger, expose themselves to a double. Naturally the advice cannot refer to those whom duty compels to live in cities.

The main thing, however, is for women to know how to be fearless. It is my firm conviction that a fearless woman who knows that her purity is her best shield can never be dishonoured. However beastly the man, he will bow in shame before the flame of her dazzling purity. There are examples even in modern times of women who have thus defended themselves. I can, as I write, recall two such instances. I therefore recommend women who read this article to try to cultivate this courage. They will become wholly fearless, if they can and cease to tremble as they do today at the mere thought of assaults. It is not, however, necessary for a woman to go through a bitter experience for the sake of passing a test of courage. These experiences mercifully do not come in the way of lakhs or even thousands. Every soldier is not a brute. It is a minority that loses all sense of decency. Only twenty per cent of snakes are poisonous, and out of these a few only bite. They do not attack unless trodden on. But this knowledge does not help those who are full of fear and tremble at the sight of a snake. Parents and husbands should, therefore, instruct women in the art of becoming fearless. It can best be learnt from a living faith in God. Though He is invisible, He is one's unfailing protector. He who has this faith is the most fearless of all.

But such faith or courage cannot be acquired in a day. Meantime we must try to explore other means. When a woman is assaulted she may not stop to think in terms of himsa or ahimsa. Her primary duty is self-protection. She is at liberty to employ every method or means that come to her mind in order to defend her honour. God has given her nails and teeth. She must use them with all her strength and, if need be, die in the effort. The man or woman who has shed all fear of death will be able not only to protect himself or herself but others also through laying down his life. In truth we fear death most, and hence we ultimately submit to superior physical force. Some will bend the knee to the invader, some will resort to bribery, some will crawl on their bellies or submit to other forms of humiliation, and some women will even give their bodies rather than die. I have not written this in a carping spirit. I am only illustrating human nature. Whether we crawl on our bellies or whether a woman yields to the lust of man is symbolic of that same love of life which makes us stoop to anything. Therefore only he who loses his life shall save it; तेन त्यक्तेन भुञ्जीथाः । Every reader should commit this matchless shloka to memory. But mere lip loyalty to it will be of no avail. It must penetrate deep down to the innermost recesses of his heart. To enjoy life one should give up the lure of life. That should be part of our nature.

So much for what a woman should do. But what about a man who is witness to such crimes? The answer is implied in the foregoing. He must



not be a passive onlooker. He must protect the woman. He must not run for police help; he must not rest satisfied by pulling the alarm chain in the train. If he is able to practise non-violence, he will die in doing so and thus save the woman in jeopardy. If he does not believe in non-violence or cannot practise it, he must try to save her by using all the force he may have. In either way there must be readiness on his part to lay down his life.

If old, decrepit and toothless, as I am, I were to plead non-violence and be a helpless witness of assault on the honour of a sister, my so-called Mahatmaship would be ridiculed, dishonoured and lost. If I or those like me were to intervene and lay down our lives whether violently or non-violently, we would surely save the prey and at any rate we would not remain living witnesses to her dishonour.

So much about the witnesses. But if the courageous spirit pervades the entire atmosphere of our country and it is known that no Indian will stand women being assaulted, I venture to say that no soldier will dare to touch them. That such a spirit does not exist is a matter of shame for us. But it will be something, if persons ready to wipe out this blot are forthcoming.

Those who have influence with the Government will try to get the authorities to take the necessary action. But self-help is best help. In the present circumstances we may rely only on our own strength and God's help.

On the train to Wardha, 19-2-42

(From *Harijanbandhu*)

## A LEGITIMATE GRIEVANCE

(By M. K. Gandhi)

A Bengali correspondent writes:

"I am sorry to inform you that Dr. Suresh Bannerji has been interned within Naria P. S. in the district of Faridpur. Naria is his village home; but nobody lives in the village house and there is no qualified medical man available in the vicinity. The nearest steamer station is 20 miles from the village, where the conveyance is a country boat. Internment without trial is bad enough, but the present order savours even of vindictiveness. At first a gagging order was served on him in December last, whereby he was asked not to deliver any speech or conduct any procession. That was in the last week of December. He did not defy the order. After that there was a labour strike in the Budge Budge jute mill area. Labourers wanted dearness allowance, and I believe that demand was justified. If Dr. Bannerji's stay in the labour area was undesirable in the opinion of the Government, they could have externed him from the labour area.

There is another case also which you should know. Shri Pitabas Das, of village Kakra, post Gopinathpur in the Contai sub-division of Midnapur, has been interned in his village. He had been offering satyagraha for nine months and was moving from village to village and uttered the slogan as usual. He was not arrested. He stopped satyagraha on 30th December after the Bardoli resolution. Then on the 23rd of January, he was served with an internment order to reside within his village and not to communicate or

converse with several Congressmen. Before joining the satyagraha movement he and his wife together were doing khadi work. When he joined satyagraha his wife was in full charge of the khadi work and conducted it very efficiently. There is not a single village in Bengal where so many people use khadi. Out of a total population of 3,000 there are about 1,000 khadi wearers in that village. I cannot understand why a man who was not arrested for reciting the anti-war slogan for months together is interned under the Defence of India Rules as soon as he stops satyagraha. I know Pitabas Babu thoroughly well. He is perfectly non-violent. I cannot understand this action of the Bengal Government which is supposed to depend for its existence upon the vote of Congressmen who are in the legislature."

The action against Dr. Suresh Bannerji is decidedly cruel. Vindictive may be a strong word to use in this connection. I prefer to use the word cruel, for Suresh Babu is not an unknown man. He is himself a member of the Bengal legislature. He is known to be an ill man. He was dying of tuberculosis of the bone. But by his indomitable will to live, not for the sake of living but for the sake of the country, he survived the fell disease. He put himself in a plaster of Paris jacket for a long time, rigorously carried out medical instructions, and reached a workable condition. All this is known to the Bengal Government. They know that he needs constant medical advice. He needs careful nursing and the use of medical amenities. It is therefore cruel to intern Dr. Bannerji. I do not know how far the Bengal Government are justified in externing the doctor. I do not know their side of the case. But there can be no case for his internment, and that in a place, though his own village, where he cannot keep his health and where medical aid and other comforts are not easily procurable. I do hope that the Bengal Government will redress this palpable grievance.

The other case my correspondent refers to is of a different category. To all intents and purposes there seems to be no cause for the internment of Pitabas Babu. The Bengal Government is responsible to the people. The order could not have been passed over their heads by the Governor. They cannot enforce the Defence of India Act in an arbitrary manner. They must justify to the public every action they take. The Assembly, if it is to justify its existence, has to keep itself informed of the reasons for the acts of the responsible executive. The taunt of the correspondent against the Congress members of the Bengal legislature has substance behind it. They have a special reason to demand justification of steps like those taken against Suresh Babu and Pitabas Babu.

On the train to Wardha, 19-2-42

## To Agents

The attention of the agents is drawn to the agency term No. 1 about maintaining with us a deposit equivalent to at least the price of one month's copies required by them. This rule will be strictly observed, and the supply to defaulters will be stopped at once.



## A HISTORIC MEETING

( Continued from p. 59 )

itself. . . . Life from childhood to old age is the energetic, ceaseless use of our faculties at first chiefly for the satisfaction of the needs of one's own existence, to secure one's own footing in life, but next, as one's mental perspective broadens, the family, the village, the community, the nation, and mankind become objects of the desire to express oneself and give of oneself. . . . A man worthy of his place in the ranks of the Revolution will regard as nothing extraordinary difficulties and dangers that would daunt others. His revolutionary spirit, which is the very spirit of action, gives him a sublime indifference to whatever may be the magnitude of the demands his duty makes upon him; whatever his principles, faith and responsibility involve is "all in the day's work" for him, though it be ordeal by fire and water or the abnegation of everything dearest to him. He takes no account of difficulty, and fear is a thing still stranger to him. It is in the sense that to a man with such an attitude action is *easy* that I use the word." And in the great words of Tseng Kuo-fan he sounds a homely warning: "Again and again have you been delinquent in your duties and endeavours, and been swayed by material possessions; but no one has ever heard of your being unpunctual at meal-times!!"

These, if I may say so, read almost as though they were paragraphs from *Harijan* or *Young India*. And naturally, because the Generalissimo's business, like Gandhiji's, "for 99.9 per cent of his time, is to practise, not preach" (Madame).

## The Talk

But, the reader will impatiently exclaim, what about the talks? Two passengers asked Gandhiji at the Howrah station, "Have you arrived at some settlement?" As though Gandhiji had gone to strike some bargain or arrive at some settlement with him! There was no such thing in the mind of either. All they wanted to do was to know and understand each other, and that they have been able to do somewhat. I say "somewhat". For part of the time was taken up by Gandhiji in explaining the genesis and course of satyagraha and non-cooperation, and also in demonstrating to the Generalissimo and the Madame the action of his "weapon of war"—a weapon which, as he explained, "makes no noise, which does not kill, but which, if anything, gives life." The Madame watched the working of the dhanush takli and said: "You will have to teach me this." "Come to Sevagram, and I shall teach it to you. Let the Generalissimo leave you here as his ambassador, and I adopt you as my daughter." He could speak thus intimately to them as he had already at the end of the day developed those relations with them. For half an hour or so the official interpreter who accompanied the Generalissimo interpreted him. Then, said Gandhiji: "But surely ours is not a formal official talk. Why should not the Madame interpret you?" "Now, now, Mahatmaji, that is devastating," she said. "Now I know how everyone succumbs to you.

My husband is most taxing. Whenever there is something very difficult to interpret, some delicate nuances of his thought to be conveyed, I must interpret him. But for one year I have been having an easy time asking the official interpreter to do it for me." "That means that you are a faithless wife," said Gandhiji laughing. "Surely," retorted the Madame. "He did not marry an interpreter, he married a woman." And so on, and so forth. No wonder at the end of the first talk the Madame said: "I have met too many men to succumb to anyone. But the Mahatma has captivated me." The rest of the talk had better be guessed. The Generalissimo was sure that non-cooperation was good for India, but he was not sure that it would serve equally well for other countries—unless of course they were like India in their circumstances and environments. He was naturally full of indignation at what Japan had done and was doing in China, and he had grave fears of India having to go through China's terrible fate if the Japanese overran India. It was not possible for Gandhiji to discuss the whole of our non-violent technique, but he left the Generalissimo in no doubt that Japan or Germany would be confronted with fierce non-cooperation or civil resistance. "Your civil resistance," said the Generalissimo, "is not mere passivity, I am sure. But these foes may not listen to active civil resistance, and may make even the preaching of non-violence impossible."

"All I can say," said Gandhiji, "is that God gives me the guidance to react to situations as they arise. Though, therefore, I cannot say how exactly I will react in case of an invasion, I know that God will give me the proper guidance. But this talk cannot, I know, satisfy you. I would invite you to come to Sevagram where we can discuss the subject quietly for days. I know of course that it is an impossible request, for you cannot possibly stay."

"Who knows," said the Madame, "we may be back here sooner than later. And after all Calcutta is only 12 hours from Chunking."

"Then you will pay me a monthly visit," said Gandhiji as he bade a hearty good-bye to the distinguished visitors.

"Where's my wheel?" said the Madame. "Where's my wheel?" as she was leaving the Birla Park. It had by mistake been taken to the station along with our other luggage. "You shall have it," said Gandhiji. "I shall send it on to you from the station."

And now the dhanush takli is part of her luggage on her way back to China. She may or may not work it, but it is sure to appeal to the simple and artistic workmanship of China, and will be either copied or improved upon for the poor of that land.

On the train to Wardha, 19-2-42

M. D.

## Notice

Intimation of a change of address to be effective for the week should be received by Thursday. The register No. should always be given. *Manager*



## Notes

## 'Harijan' in Marathi

A Marathi edition of *Harijan* will be published from Bajajwadi, Wardha, from March 1st. The subscription will be Rs. 5 per annum. Shri Gopalrao Kale, one of the early members of Satyagrahashram, is the Editor. He will be assisted by Shri Dada Dharmadhikari of *Sarvodaya*. I have advised that the weekly ought not to be published unless it becomes self-supporting. Shri Gopalrao and his associates have accepted the advice. I hope that the venture will be supported by the Marathi reading public.

Sevagram, 23-2-42

## Khadi Students

I have been asked to write something in regard to khadi students of today. I have already written a little, but it cannot be too clearly stated nor enough stressed that knowledge of spinning, carding and the other processes alone does not constitute true khadi learning. That may be termed its mechanics. To understand the inner meaning of khadi one has to know why it has to be turned out by hand and not by power machinery. Why should innumerable hands be employed when a single person can manipulate an engine which can produce the same amount of cloth in far less time? If khadi has to be produced by hand, why not by the takli only? And if the takli, why not the bamboo takli? And if we could get the necessary work by suspending yarn by means of a stone, why even a takli? Such questions are perfectly natural. To find proper answers to all such is a necessary part of khadi research. I do not want to discuss these questions here. All I want to say is that true knowledge of khadi goes far beyond the mechanical processes, and requires patient research. We have not the means of imparting such knowledge today. Therefore khadi instructors have to improve their knowledge even whilst they are teaching. And students have to acquire knowledge through their own diligence. In olden times when no scientific knowledge was available students used to be their own teachers and became first rate scholars and experts. We are more or less in the same position today.

(From *Khadi Jagat*)

Sevagram, 22-2-42

M. K. G.

## Price Control Anarchy

A correspondent, who is fully conversant with the situation regarding price control obtaining in various parts of the country, writes:

"I have read your article on 'Price Control' in *Harijan* of the 8th inst.

The position with regard to wheat supplies in Calcutta continues to be very acute. I am mentioning some facts below:

While the controlled price in Punjab and U. P. is fixed at Rs. 4-6-0 per maund, the wholesale selling price in Bengal is fixed by the Provincial Controller at Rs. 5-12-0. This difference of Rs. 1-6-0 does not leave sufficient margin for the importer who has to incur about Rs. 1-8-0 to Rs. 1-9-0 per maund as charges in respect of freight, bags, handling, shortage,

interest, etc. The result has been that importers are not at all interested in importing wheat in Bengal. Of course at present the difficulty has been aggravated by the action of the Government of Punjab in placing a restriction on the export of wheat from that province and also due to shortage of railway wagons. It is understood that out of about 7 to 8 thousand *chakkis* in the city less than 500 are working at present.

*The Statesman* has been carrying on a ceaseless propaganda against those leaving Calcutta but, leaving aside the first rush created by genuine panic just after the declaration of war by Japan, one of the main reasons why the poorer classes are now leaving Calcutta is that they are unable to get foodstuffs at reasonable rates owing to shortage.

I have also received reports from certain upcountry teachers employed in our schools here in Harijan bustees, which had to be closed down owing to the emergency, that in certain U. P. districts no wheat is available, and that the worst quality of rice is being sold at Rs. 8 per maund owing to scarcity.

You have referred in *Harijan* to the Price Control Conference which was held in Delhi in the first week of February. That Conference is a purely official gathering convened from time to time by the Commerce Member, and does not include any representatives of non-official public or the mercantile community."

The sooner this anarchy is ended the better. I know that the Price Control Conference is a purely official body, but if the Conference is to serve the interests of the poor by keeping in touch with the realities of the situation and acquainting itself from time to time with the effects of the policy pursued by Government, it is its duty to consult representatives of the non-official mercantile community.

Sevagram, 22-2-42

M. D.

## A Sister's Tribute

The beautiful tributes that will be paid to the memory of Shri Jamnalalji will be as universal as the sorrow that is felt all over the country. To know him was to love him. A kindlier and more sympathetic personality it is difficult to imagine.

Amongst his many labours for the cause of social reform—for he was primarily an ardent reformer—his bold stand for the woman's cause deserves special mention. He belonged to a community, singularly conservative in its ideas regarding women's rights. But, as in so many other things in his own life, he fearlessly brought about drastic changes in this sphere in his family circle. His task was not an easy one. He told me he found it difficult to make Shrimati Jankibai give up certain old customs, but his faith in the woman's cause was undaunted and he won through. He gave his daughters the same opportunities for education as he did to his sons; in the matter of marriage he gave them liberty of choice, and he gave them dowries to make them economically independent. The Mahila Ashram, Wardha, was, perhaps, the institution dearest to his heart among the many that he has founded. He often told me that he wanted to see women doing well in every sphere of life, that he wanted them to become fearless, to lead simple lives, to devote



themselves to the service of the country, and to be able to hold their own against men. Women have lost a very doughty champion in Jamnalalji. But we have not really lost him. His example is there for all time as also his blessings. It remains for us to make ourselves worthy examples of the high ideals which he had for womankind.

Sevagram, 12-2-42

#### Gleanings from A. I. V. I. A. Minutes

Shri Jairamdas Daulatram has been co-opted as a member of the Board. The Board has equipped the children's playground in front of the Udyog Bhavan, Wardha, with swings, see-saws, etc., at a cost of Rs. 89-6-0. This is in keeping with the Association's ideal for its centres to render service to all their neighbours. There were 214 ordinary members, 28 agents and 29 certified shops on the rolls of the Association on December 31st 1941. At the request of Shrimati Mridula Sarabhai to afford facilities for training women workers, the Board decided to train women who have passed the spinning examination of the A. I. S. A. and are likely to make use of their training in future. Scholarships to deserving women will in future be awarded on the same basis as to men.

Savagram, 19-2-42

A. K.

#### QUESTION BOX

(By M. K. Gandhi)

##### Hindustani

Q. Will you tell me what I should do? You should know that I believe in the Wardha resolution.

A. That is to say, you believe that, if the Congress demand is satisfied, you will take your full share in the war effort. But whatever happens the Wardha resolution on the constructive programme invites you to contribute your full quota to the fourteenfold constructive programme. Therefore, and even apart from it, I suggest your learning Hindustani so as to be able to establish contact with the masses. And Hindustani, as I have shown, means today Hindi and Urdu till a chemical compound is formed of the two. You may not quarrel with this labour of love. Your earnestness will make everything easy. You know some Hindi. You should make considerable advance in it. The Persian script is very easy to learn. There are very few fundamental signs to represent thirtyseven letters. No doubt the joining of the letters causes some difficulty, but learning of the alphabet including the joining is a matter of a week at the most, if you give one hour every day. Then it is a question of daily practice for half an hour, and you will have a workable knowledge of Urdu in six months. Surely it is a fascinating study to compare the two scripts and the two styles for the same speech. All this would be true, if you have love of the country and its people. If our minds were not fatigued by the effort to master the difficult English language, we should find it a light labour, or rather recreation, to study provincial languages.

But the learning of Hindustani in its double form is but the beginning of the constructive

programme. You have also to spin regularly, if you are to identify yourself with the poorest in the land, and then add to this the many things in the programme whose complete fulfilment is Complete Independence in the truest sense of the word.

#### Test of Honesty?

Q. What you have said about Congressmen in the Muslim majority provinces is true enough. But your honesty will be tested by the readiness with which Congressmen follow your advice.

A. I must emphatically repudiate the test. I have begun to write about the subject in order to educate the Congress mind. If I had carried conviction to the members of the Working Committee, I would not have needed to preach my solution. It would have been reduced to practice long ago. But I failed. The step I have advised carries weighty implications without whose acceptance the solution has no meaning. One implication is confidence in the truth of one's step. I admit it is unusual. The general tendency is to make use of the opportunities which seem to be open to you for seizing power. It is difficult for people to understand when I suggest that the opportunity is a trap. To my mind it has already proved to be so. But it is not so clear to the average Congressman. I hope through these columns to make clear what is at present obscure. Those who doubt my honesty do not help me or themselves. But whether they do or not, I must continue to preach so long as I hold to the truth of my solution.

On the train to Wardha, 19-2-42

#### How to Serve with the Body?

Q. You say we should devote our body, intellect and wealth to Jamnalalji's many activities. I can understand giving and to some extent I can understand how we can serve with our intellect. But how with the body?

A. A's heart may lean towards cow service or khadi. But he has no money, he has to earn his own living, then how can he spare time for either service? When he can spare a few moments after his day's work he can persuade his friends to become members of the Goseva Sangh. He can sell and distribute literature without charge; he can do propaganda for and sell cow's milk and ghee or sandals made from non-violent cow hide; he can sell khadi too. If he wants to devote his whole life to the cause, he can do so by entering on a living wage the service of the Sanghs concerned.

Sevagram, 23-2-42 (From Harijansevak)

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# HARIJAN

Editor : MAHADEV DESAI

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[ FIVE PICE

## Notice

The next issue, to be published on 15th March, will contain *twelve pages* and will be priced at *two annas* per copy. Agents will please notify changes in their requirements, if any, by Thursday next. *Manager*

## Notes

### Indira Nehru's Engagement

I have received several angry and abusive letters and some professing to reason about Indira's engagement with Firoz Gandhi. Not a single correspondent has anything against Firoz Gandhi as a man. His only crime in their estimation is that he happens to be a Parsi. I have been, and I am still, as strong an opponent of either party changing religion for the sake of marriage. Religion is not a garment to be cast off at will. In the present case there is no question of change of religion. Firoz Gandhi has been for years an inmate of the Nehru family. He nursed Kamala Nehru in her sickness. He was like a son to her. During Indira's illness in Europe he was of great help to her. A natural intimacy grew up between them. The friendship has been perfectly honourable. It has ripened into mutual attraction. But neither party would think of marrying without the consent and blessing of Jawaharlal Nehru. This was given only after he was satisfied that the attraction had a solid basis. The public know my connection with the Nehrus. I had also talks with both the parties. It would have been cruelty to refuse consent to this engagement. As time advances such unions are bound to multiply with benefit to society. At present we have not even reached the stage of mutual toleration, but as toleration grows into mutual respect for religions such unions will be welcomed. No religion which is narrow and which cannot satisfy the test of reason will survive the coming reconstruction of society in which the values will have changed and character, not possession of wealth, title or birth will be the sole test of merit. The Hinduism of my conception is no narrow creed. It is a grand evolutionary process as ancient as time, and embraces the teachings of Zoroaster, Moses, Christ, Mohammed, Nanak and other prophets that I could name. It is thus defined :

विद्वद्भिः सेवितः सद्भिर्नित्यमद्वेषरागिभिः ।

हृदयेनाभ्यनुज्ञातो यो धर्मस्तं निबोधत ॥

[Know that to be (true) religion which the wise and the good and those who are ever free from passion and hate follow and which appeals to the heart.]

If it is not that, it will perish. My correspondents will pardon me for not acknowledging their letters. I invite them to shed their wrath and bless the forthcoming marriage. Their letters betray ignorance, intolerance and prejudice — a species of untouchability, dangerous because not easily to be so classified.

### Disgraceful

The Punjab press reports a deliberate and unprovoked attack on Pandit Sunderlal and Lala Jagannath of the Servants of People Society by four young Hindus at 11 o'clock at night while they were on their way to Lajpatrai Bhavan. The attack is said to have been made because of Pandit Sunderlal having delivered addresses in Lahore on Hindu-Muslim unity in which all offensive language was studiously avoided. One can understand, though never pardon, an attack on some provocation. But an attack such as was delivered on Pandit Sunderlal has no extenuating circumstances. These young men are reported to be members of the Hindu Mahasabha. I hope that the responsible officials will repudiate the action of the youths. Public opinion should make such hooliganism impossible. As for Pandit Sunderlal his cause will prosper for the savagery, and more so because of his dignified disregard and forgiveness of it.

Sevagram, 1-3-42

### Urdu Made Easy

Charity begins at home. As I was speaking to Jamnalalji's friends on the necessity of their learning Urdu if they believed in Rashtra Bhasha as recommended by the Congress, I thought of the good English proverb, and I began the charity of spreading the knowledge of Urdu in Sevagram. The result was a quick and good response. A class commenced last Wednesday, i. e. 25th February. Practically all, young and old, women and men, joined the class. The teacher captured their imagination. They learnt the primary letters in two sittings of thirty minutes each. By the time this is in print they should have learnt the forms for joining the letters. They will have learnt the alphabet in practically three hours. I know a friend who mastered it in four hours at a single sitting. The difficulty of reading Urdu is undoubtedly there. That can only be overcome by practice. Given the will, the way is easy. And love of the country should surely be sufficient spur to the will.

Sevagram, 2-3-42

M. K. G.



## A PEEP INTO BRITISH HISTORY

The fate of the British Empire along with India hangs in the balance. Those who still hold sway over us would fain have us help in order to save them from their sad plight. But even in their hour of trial they will not so much as get off our backs, if only to enable us to help them. On the contrary they even tighten the stranglehold and make our shortcomings an excuse for their unchivalrous conduct. On the other hand there are many among us who still feel that our salvation lies in British, rather than in our own, hands. It is indeed a pathetic state of affairs. It may be as well for all of us to try to learn from some salient facts from British history.

The Englishmen at the helm of affairs forget that the story of the British people for nearly a thousand years is a story of strife and foreign conquest, and it was only after a common national sympathy, which held the country roughly together, became an indissoluble bond that a real union was possible. At the time of the English Conquest there were the Angles in the East, the Saxons in the South, the Britons in the West, the Jutes already in parts of the South, and the Picts and the Scots in the North. Then came the Danes and the Normans. It is a multi-coloured medley of origins out of which a united England emerges. The medley has left its impress on the character and language of the people. Anglo-Saxon idiom remained the language of the people, while the aristocrats and the intellectuals spoke French. "There was a great fusion of tongue and minds. All the vocabulary of France remained, fixed within the framework of the old Germanic English and enriching it with an inexhaustible treasure of brilliant synonyms. Thus the peasant spoke of the beasts he tended in the farmyard as the sheep, the ox, the calf; the rich man called the roasts served at his table *mouton*, *boeuf*, and *veau*. And today England has mutton, beef and veal for the various meats as well as the old names for the living animals."

Those who came as conquerors but remained as 'natives' helped in welding themselves into a nation. The Roman State was getting weaker and weaker because "the dry rot from within more than any pressure from without was destroying the grand old fabric of Roman power in the West." (Esme Wingfield Strafford). "And yet the Roman organisation died hard, much harder, in fact, than anybody had imagined until Professor Bury discovered that at least as late as 428 the connection with Rome was being maintained, and the normal machinery of Government was still functioning in the province. It must have been very soon afterwards that the final separation occurred, and Britain was left to defend herself as best she might." (*Ibid*)

The Romans and their Legions left Britain for good, leaving their roads and the impress of their civilisation behind, as soon as they found themselves threatened at home by the barbarians from the North. It was those who remained in Britain, whether as natives, invaders, pirates or conquerors, that wrought the union of England. That is what

Mr. Amery had better remember again, if he has forgotten his history.

As for those of us who imagine that the British rulers can still protect us, there is another page of British history to which we may turn with profit. After the Romans left the Britons to shift for themselves the latter were threatened with invasions and raids from the North. There were two courses which were adopted, and both of them failed. The first was the time-honoured Roman expedient of setting barbarians to fight barbarians. "The one course left was to imitate the fatal policy by which the Empire had invited its own doom while striving to avert it, the policy of matching barbarian against barbarian." (Green) But the policy was "fatal". The other course, which Green has not noted but which other historians, including Gardiner, have noted, was the pathetic clutching at the foreigner who enjoyed no security himself. Says Tout:

"Early in the fifth century the Roman Empire on the Continent was overrun by fierce German tribes, anxious to find new homes for themselves. The settlement of Franks in Northern Gaul cut off Britain from the heart of the Empire, and Rome and Italy itself were threatened. With the Germans at the gates of Rome, it became impossible for the Emperors to find the men and money necessary for keeping up their authority in a distant land like Britain. After 410, the year which saw the sack of Rome by Alaric the Goth, the Romans ceased to send officials and troops to Britain. Henceforth the Britons were left to look for themselves, and their entreaties to the Emperors to help them in their distress were necessarily disregarded." (*An Advanced History of Great Britain*)

Gardiner gives a more detailed analysis. "After the departure of the Romans, the Picts from the North and Scots from Ireland continued their ravages, but though they caused terrible misery by slaughtering or dragging into slavery the inhabitants of many parts of the country, they did not succeed in making any permanent conquests. The Britons were not without a Government and an armed force, and their later history shows that they were capable of carrying on war for a long time against enemies more formidable than the Picts and the Scots." (Gardiner: *Students' History of England*) This capacity arising out of their own inner strength was realised later. But for the moment, "in their misery the thoughts of the Britons turned to those Roman legions who had defended their fathers so well. In 446 they appealed to Aetius, the commander of the Roman armies, to deliver them from their destroyers. "The groans of the Britons" was the title which they gave to their appeal to them. "The barbarians," they wrote, "drive us to the sea; the sea drives us back to the barbarians; between them we are exposed to two sorts of death; we are either slain or drowned." (*Ibid*) What did Aetius say in reply? "Aetius," says Gardiner in one brief sentence, "had no men to spare, and he sent no help to Britons."

Comment is needless.

Sevagram, 22-2-42

M. D.



## QUESTION BOX

(By M. K. Gandhi)

## Riches v. Poverty

Q. How is it possible to earn lakhs in a righteous way? Jamnalalji, the merchant prince, used to say it was not. Moreover, however careful a rich man is, he is bound to spend more on himself than his actual requirements merit. Therefore why not lay more stress on *not* becoming wealthy than on trusteeship of riches?

A. The question is apt and has been put to me before. What Jamnalalji could have meant was in the Gita sense that every action is tainted. It is my conviction that it is possible to acquire riches without consciously doing wrong. For example I may light on a gold mine in my one acre of land. But I accept the proposition that it is better not to desire wealth than to acquire it and become its trustee. I gave up my own long ago, which should be proof enough of what I would like others to do. But what am I to advise those who are already wealthy or who would not shed the desire for wealth? I can only say to them that they should use their wealth for service. It is true that generally the rich spend more on themselves than they need. But this can be avoided. Jamnalalji spent far less on himself than men of his own economic status and even than many middle class men. I have come across innumerable rich persons who are stingy on themselves. For some it is part of their nature to spend next to nothing on themselves, and they do not think that they acquire merit in so doing.

The same applies to the sons of the wealthy. Personally I do not believe in inherited riches. The well-to-do should educate and bring up their children so that they may learn how to be independent. The tragedy is that they do not do so. Their children do get some education, they even recite verses in praise of poverty, but they have no compunction about helping themselves to parental wealth. That being so, I exercise my common sense and advise what is practicable. Those of us, however, who consider it a duty to adopt poverty and believe in and desire economic equality may not be jealous of the rich but should exhibit real happiness in our poverty which others may emulate. The sad fact is that those who are thus happy are few and far between.

## The Duty of a Manager

Q. Is it correct for the head of an institution, while demanding the utmost from his subordinates in the way of the simple life, to live in comparative luxury himself even though the money he spends on himself be his own earnings?

A. The manager who expects more from his co-workers than what he does is bound to fail. This of course applies only to philanthropic institutions whose managers have accepted the ideal of poverty.

## Individual v. Collective Cow-keeping

Q. Please explain more fully why individual care of the cow is violent and collective effort non-violent.

A. The present pitiable condition of cattle is surely enough proof. The cow today is a burden simply because individual ownership and care have failed. In a previous article I have explained how the individual cannot take proper care of his cattle, how he cannot keep a bull or grazing ground for himself, and how difficult it is for him to make proper arrangements for the sale of milk and ghee. It would be quite impossible for individuals in any country to make their own arrangements for sending their letters with the ease that the postal department does for crores of people, rich and poor alike. The same applies to cows. If at all the problem can be solved, it will be through collective ownership or use. Ownership and service go ill together. I may belong to one person, but thousands can serve me. If one person alone were to claim the right to serve me, where would I be? This is exactly what is happening to the cow. Individuals own the cow, they do not serve it.

Sevagram, 23-2-42

(From *Harijansevak*)

## Praja Mandals and the Congress

Q. Please clarify the position of the Congress *vis-a-vis* Praja Mandal Committees in States. Who should be responsible for political policies there?

A. Praja Mandals are independent bodies having no official connection with the Congress. They may or may not take their inspiration from the Congress policies. Such being the case I should advise them not to irritate State authority by an unnecessary identification with the Congress.

## Women

Q. While you have advised women in cities to go into the villages in order to escape from the danger of assaults, do you not think that some of us, at any rate, should be brave enough to face the risk? After all women cannot become brave or self-reliant, if they are always to be kept out of harm's way. Will not one death bravely faced help the woman's cause? There is danger today of our girls being put back into purdah, as it were, by their parents.

A. Of course those who are wanted in the cities must remain at all cost and face the worst. Nothing should be done in bravado. When they go to the villages there will be no purdah. It will be all work and no freedom from danger anywhere on this God-forsaken little ball which two teams are kicking for all they are worth. The days of the purdah are gone for good.

Sevagram, 2-3-42

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# HARIJAN

Mar. 8

1942

## AN APPEAL TO QAID-E-AZAM

( By M. K. Gandhi )

I have been painfully but regularly going through the English weeklies that come to me and that are devoted to the cause of the Muslim League. I read them so as to keep myself informed of what the Muslim mind as influenced by the Muslim League thinks. Not a week passes but these weeklies contain what to me appear to be distortions of truth and vilification of the Congress and Congressmen and Hindus. What has prompted me to write these lines is a virulent attack on Hinduism in one of the weeklies. Here is an extract from the article:

"Hinduism is the greatest curse of India, and it is based on intolerance and inequality. To call one's self a 'Hindu' is to confess that one is reactionary and narrow-minded. No decent, civilised, honest and sincere human being who knows what Hinduism is and what it stands for, would like to be known as a Hindu or join this faith of primitive barbarians. For it is on barbarity that this so-called religion is based. No other word can describe the state of 97 per cent of the population who have been decreed by the gods and goddesses of this precious religion as impure and unclean beings fit only to serve the remaining 3 per cent of the population. . . . We would far rather suggest to the students to prepare in their laboratories of the mind deadly bombs which would completely smash and destroy Hinduism, the greatest menace to India's welfare and well-being."

I hope I shall not be told that the article in question is taken from another newspaper. It has been taken in order to hold up Hinduism to scorn. Though the founder of this paper is Qaid-e-Azam himself and it is issued under the direction of Nawabzada Liaquat Ali Khan, Hon. Secretary of the League, I fancy that they have not seen the article in question.

What will be the state of Hindus under Pakistan? Will they be suppressed as barbarians? There is no attempt in the papers at looking at the other side. The policy adopted in the papers must lead to the promotion of bitterness and strife between the two communities. If the end is to be attained through strife and force and not by persuasion and argument, I can have nothing to say. But I observe from Qaid-e-Azam's speeches that he has no quarrel with the Hindus. He wants to live at peace with them. I plead, therefore, for a juster estimate of men and things in papers representing the policy and programme of the Muslim League.

Sevagram, 2-3-42

## IN MEMORIAM

On the night of the day on which Jamnalalji was taken from this earth, Gandhiji said, as he lay down to rest, "I do not know what I shall do without him," and ever since the catastrophe his waking thoughts have been full of him. Quick to act, as he always is, he issued an invitation to a great many of Jamnalalji's friends to meet here on the 20th and discuss the best ways and means of honouring the deceased's memory. The response to the invitation was remarkable. Many came from all parts of the country, and those who could not come sent letters to say they would do whatever Gandhiji wanted them to.

The following is the gist of Gandhiji's talks on the 20th and 21st afternoons. It seemed as if he were pouring out the pent up agony of his soul.

### First Day

"This is no ordinary meeting. There is no president. An insupportable burden has fallen to my lot, and I am before you not as a president but as a beggar. My relations with Jamnalalji began with my entry into public life in my own country. Since then I have never had to worry. It was an easy thing for me to rely on him to carry out my wishes, for no one had identified himself quite so much with every one of my activities as he. And our work went on smoothly. Now he has gone, and as I could not possibly ask any one person to shoulder the immense burden he carried, I thought I would ask his friends to help me by dividing it. I do not propose to ask for contribution for a memorial to Jamnalalji. Nor do I want to give the chief place to money for the various activities with which he identified himself. If I did so, I would be denying myself. I know that money will come if the work is worthy and worthily done. I want us all to do what is far more difficult, that is to fill ourselves with the spirit with which he worked. That means detailed application to the many activities with which he had identified himself.

"When I arrived at the mansion in the hope that I would find Jamnalalji alive I found that the spirit had departed a few minutes before. No one can really be heartless on such occasions, but I may have seemed so, for instead of sorrowing with Janakidevi I pleaded with her to renounce her all and carry on Jamnalalji's work and be a living sati in the place of burning herself on the funeral pyre as she wanted to. It has been my wont throughout life to throw burdens on people and get the most from them. Janakidevi hesitated a bit and said she had not the ability. I said, if she had the desire, Vinoba would tell her that God would give her the ability and strength. She rose to the occasion. She has renounced not only all her material possessions—about 2½ lakhs—but has dedicated all her time to the work of the Goseva Sangh. Jamnalalji's entire family will, I trust, follow their parent's example and shoulder the burden with their mother to the best of their ability. Jamnalalji had kept aside 6 lakhs for public work. His sons could have kept this sum for themselves. But



Kamalnayan — Ramkrishna is still a lad — has made over the entire sum to me to do as I like with. This includes land opposite the Magan Museum, another piece of land, and Maganwadi itself. Besides this they have decided on behalf of Jamnalal & Son to continue the hospitality in the guest house including the private bungalow in Bajajwadi. This may mean an annual expense of Rs. 20,000. Janakibehn will live in the hut in Gopuri which Jamnalalji had built for himself. All this augurs well for the future.

"You have seen a list of Jamnalalji's activities. I should like us to concentrate on his last activity first, viz. cattle preservation through the cow. But cow service is a very difficult task, more difficult than winning Swaraj. Swaraj we will have. But preservation of cattle, even aged, is still a problem to be solved. We work on the assumption that unfit and aged cattle need not be killed. The way Jamnalalji took it up and worked at it for two months is a remarkable proof of his single-minded devotion and powers of organisation. It is amazing what he was able to achieve in so short a time. But his body was too frail to stand the strain, and I had a premonition that we would lose him. His work cannot be replaced by money. It is sterling workers that are most wanted. The question is how to discharge the trust that has devolved on us. Such a death as his is accorded to one in a million. He was fortunate in every way. And we can only prove ourselves worthy of him and his purity, if we can identify ourselves with his activities, each according to the best of his ability. It is not an easy thing I ask, and you must not give simply because I ask it of you. You must only do what you can truthfully and without hesitation. I give goseva first place because Jamnalalji had taken it up in a special way. The work was started years ago. Jamnalalji was the president. But neither he nor I was happy about its progress. It is a great work. If we save the cow, we save human lives too. We could kill and eat the cow as other countries do, but we do not look upon that as human. We have chosen what we regard as the nobler way. But in saving her we must see that she and her progeny are a source of wealth, not the burden that they are today. In the all-India programme framed by Jamnalalji, reform of *pinjrapols* was one of the main items, and if we succeed in this, it will be a great achievement. Then there is the creation of good bulls, all important for the salvation of the cow and her breed.

"About his other activities, you know that he took his full share in the constructive work in which I had specialised. He gave as much time as, if not more than, I to khadi. I may have given the *mantra*, but Jamnalalji devoted his intelligence, his powers of organisation and his money to give form to the scheme. He had the gift of seeking out and creating workers too. He felt with me that Swaraj was to be found in khadi, and he organised it while I was in jail, or else it might have died. The same with the Village Industries Association, the Talimi Sangh, the Harijan Sevak

Sangh, etc. All of you are not full khadi wearers even today. You have not yet carried the message to every member of your own family. Let us be as fearless and correct as he was.

"Today the country is in danger. Japan is knocking at our doors. What is the mercantile class going to do? Will they lose India for us once again? Will they bow the knee to the new-comer? Seeking freedom from one, shall we submit to another? Jamnalalji's spirit would answer that query for you in no uncertain terms. Many of us harbour hatred for the British, for our understanding of ahimsa is elementary. If we were brave, we would sympathise with them. We want to be friends with them and everyone else, but we may not bend the knee to anyone. If we could win our freedom through non-violence from the British, we need not fear anyone. We would be invincible. But we are weak and therefore in danger, though the future all unknown is in God's hands. The British are a brave people. They have often saved themselves from the jaws of death. Let us face danger even as they do.

"Among Jamnalalji's special activities is the Mahila Mandal. He was exceptionally keen on woman's uplift. The Mahila Ashram was his own conception, and he founded it in order to take charge of the daughters of those who had given themselves to the country's cause.

"Then Hindu-Muslim unity was a cause very dear to Jamnalalji. He had not the slightest trace of communal or class prejudice in him. Let each one of us do what we can in this direction.

"There is again the question of the national language. As you know he was interested in the Rashtra Bhasha prachar. He was principally concerned in drawing me to the Hindi Sahitya Sammelan. It was due to his sole effort that the great work of Hindi prachar in the South became possible. It was again due to his help that I was able to carry the resolution about giving an extended meaning to Hindi so as to include Urdu. I ask you all as a token of your regard for Jamnalalji, if you will, to try to learn the Urdu character today. You will find it quite easy to learn the primary letters."

#### Second Day

On the second day he said: "One thing we may well learn from Jamnalalji's life is to be ever active. We must be more alert, more ready to renounce and submit to discipline. I sometimes feel that, if all of us had military discipline for a year, we would be different beings. Jamnalalji had gone through no military school, and yet he had imposed on himself the training of a soldier. May we learn to impose such training on ourselves. The urge instilled by ahimsa takes the place of an order. For 22 years I have been saying so from the house-tops. If the Congress has not succeeded in full measure, it is because Congressmen have not been true followers of ahimsa. We met yesterday under the call of an ideal. It was a great day. Swami Anand said Jamnalalji had hoped to enlist at least



1,000 members for the Goseva Sangh during the year. You can all help in this direction."

1. A committee of seven was formed under the chairmanship of Shri Rameshwardas Birla for the purpose of creating 1,000 first class bulls. The expenditure was reckoned at five lakhs, and the members gave five to eight years in which to work out the scheme including the raising of the necessary funds.

2. Rs. 50,000 was guaranteed by friends in Calcutta, and they undertook to collect Rs. 50,000 more. This one lakh was to be devoted to khadi work.

3. Shrimati Suvratadevi promised an adequate donation for khadi, village industry and educational work in Rajputana. She promised Rs. 25,000 for khadi work at the centre and to pay a quarterly visit to Wardha.

On the first day Gandhiji had said that he wanted Janakidevi to step into her husband's gadi, and he proposed her name for the presidentship of the Goseva Sangh for the reasons already stated. She has submitted to the ordeal in the hope that God will give her the ability to bear the burden. "When I asked Janakidevi to take up this difficult task," said Gandhiji, "I thought that it was perhaps woman's work, and that where man had so far failed woman might succeed."

Janakidevi was unanimously elected President, Seth Ghanashyamdas Birla was elected Vice-President. Shri Vinoba will be there for guidance and advice on all fundamental questions. Seth Ghanashyamdas will guide the outward activity of the Sangh. Swami Anand has consented to act as Secretary, if he can be spared by Balasaheb Kher.

Sevagram, 27-2-42

A. K.

## FOUR YEARS' WORK

### II

#### Syllabus

In the matter of covering the prescribed syllabus of co-ordinated studies Kashmir reports success. In Bombay the progress of children under the new method does not compare unfavourably with those who read the departmental syllabus. In the C. P. progress in the mother-tongue is good, it is satisfactory in mathematics, very satisfactory in social studies. In general science children show an interest in outdoor work, but in agriculture as in science the necessary equipment for anything but elementary gardening and nature study is not yet available.

The U. P. is the only province where art has obtained due recognition in basic education both for teachers and pupils. Pioneering work in correlating art with craft and self-expression in art is being done in the U. P. and should constitute a valuable contribution to the scheme. Music and physical education have been given a definite place in all basic schools. The danger of the central fact of the scheme being buried in the passion for art must, however, be guarded against.

#### Difficulties

The syllabus drawn up by the Zakir Husain Committee was only tentative. Any syllabus which aims at far-reaching reconstruction of education requires an extensive background of education and an experimental attitude of mind on the part of teachers. How far the syllabus has been worked in the right spirit it is difficult to say. It has not been worked wholly everywhere. There are all the difficulties attaching to a pioneer experiment. The question of correlation of studies is not easy. Teachers have as yet, generally speaking, neither sufficient knowledge nor mastery over the basic craft, there is also lack of necessary literature and reading material to guide them. The Committee appointed by the Sangh to help training schools has revised and systematised the syllabi of basic crafts for teachers and pupils and is preparing the necessary technical literature in spinning for teachers. Lack of literature for teachers and pupils is one of the criticisms of the scheme, but, as the report says, this is not altogether an unmixed evil. "Teachers and children have so long been used to the dominance of the printed word that the absence of books will stimulate initiative in both. Besides the feeling that the children and teachers are co-operating in the creation of their literature will bring a new pride and interest to their study." Really speaking, given efficient teachers, the need for text-books for children, especially in the early stages, should not arise.

#### Effect on Teachers

While the beneficial effect of the new scheme on children is definitely encouraging and in marked contrast to the dullness and apathy existing in most village schools, the Talimi Sangh has rightly recognised the importance of the effect on any scheme of education on the teachers. Kashmir notes that it is "having a healthy reaction on their professional outlook. They are more active, thoughtful, social, and conscious of their responsibilities." The Vijay Vidya Mandir says, "They work with love all day long, their knowledge has improved, their insight in child psychology has developed, their outlook on life has changed, and they have understood the importance of manual labour." This is surely a tremendous asset in comparison with the mentality of the average village school teacher.

Then there is the influence which the schools have exercised on the village community. The report claims that where the schools have done good work, and this is especially the case in Bihar, the atmosphere of apathy, suspicion and even hostility in which the schools started has given place to one of sympathy and co-operation. In Brindaban, for example, where an exhibition of the handwork of the children was held, many villagers came walking from long distances. To a large extent this interest and co-operation are the result of the community service undertaken by the schools.

#### Economic Possibilities

The report gives a few facts regarding the economic possibilities of the scheme.



The U. P. rejected the idea of self-supporting schools but have stressed the importance of self-sufficiency, i. e. that the material required may be supplied by the school itself. They suggest that the articles made by the children should be given away to them. Children are taken away from school for purposes of field labour. If they brought back cloth, for example, to their homes, the farmers might be induced not to remove them from school.

According to the first syllabus of spinning prepared by the Zakir Husain Committee it was reckoned that in a year of 288 working days with 3 hours and 20 minutes devoted to craft work a child could produce Rs. 2-10-0 worth in grade I and Rs. 7 worth in grade II. The standard has been attained only in a few cases for the reason that efficient instruction, the proper amount of time, right equipment and raw material have not always been available.

Calculations of earnings in Bihar are interesting. 78 % of the pupils in Grade II and 71 % in Grade I earned above 50 % of the required standard. The actual maximum individual earning for the year was Rs. 5-4-3 in Grade II and Rs. 1-14-0 in Grade I. Against these the minimum was Re. 0-4-4 in Grade II, Re. 0-1-3 in Grade I. As a result of the year's working a sum of Rs. 2,112-3-0 was placed in the treasury as being the price of the yarn spun by the children and the cloth woven out of it as also their garden produce. There was in hand also stock worth Rs. 268-3-8. After deducting the cost of raw material and production, Rs. 1,124-9-9 represents the actual value realised. Later the individual earning of a child touched Rs. 7-3-4. But irregular attendance, less time allotted to the craft, and the fact that good cotton was not available have definitely brought down the average earning per head.

### Conclusion

The importance of free and compulsory primary education, that the medium of instruction throughout should be the mother-tongue, that the child's capabilities should be developed through some form of manual and productive work, have been recognised as sound principles by all educationists and Government authorities. The history of the first three years of basic education, as set forth in the report of the Talimi Sangh, gives ample cause for believing that the scheme is sound. Difficulties have not been minimised. The appeal of the Sangh for better public understanding and for more workers is one which should go home to all who realise the importance in our national life of the right education of our children. Is it too much to expect those Governments who have not yet adopted it to give the scheme a fair trial in howsoever small an area? Above all the Sangh itself has got to show results after 7 years in its own schools. It is their success in the end which must constitute a challenge to the Provincial and Central Governments and the general public and compel its universalisation.

Sevagram, 22-1-42

A. K.

## KHADI FORGES AHEAD

### I

The report of the All India Spinners' Association for the year 1940, which but for the temporary suspension of *Harijan* would have been reviewed ere this in these columns, is a businesslike statement of facts and figures of the work done by the Association through its own branches as well as certified private agencies. As the report was written in June 1941, in some respects it covers the first half of that year also. 95,51,438 sq. yds. of khadi (cotton, wool and silk), weighing 30,82,693 lb. and worth Rs. 51,36,983, was produced during the year. Though there was a slight fall in the yardage in comparison to the previous year (from 111 lakhs to 95), the value rose from Rs. 50 lakhs to Rs. 51 lakhs, which suggests that more money was paid either to cotton producers for the cotton purchased, or to artisans in the form of increased wages, or to both. The artisans did actually get more money in 1940 than in 1939. (The spinners and weavers got in 1940 the aggregate amount of Rs. 29,81,798 as against Rs. 28,47,560 in 1939.) The sales rose from Rs. 65 lakhs to Rs. 77 lakhs (a rise of 19 %), which was a welcome sign of the increasing support khadi received from the people. 74 per cent of the total quantity were sold in the provinces of production. This is a healthy development, the value of which will be realised more and more as difficulties of transport increase and export becomes difficult, if not impossible. It is indeed a cardinal principle in the economics of khadi and village industries that their products should find a market primarily in the areas where they are produced, thus eliminating to a large extent the wastage in the distribution of goods. C. P. and Maharashtra, Gujarat and Sind have made the greatest progress in this respect, their provincial sales exceeding 90 per cent. The number of sale depots under the A. I. S. A. was 284. So far as the total net sales were concerned, Gujarat, Punjab, Bombay, Bihar and U. P. showed an increase of over a lakh of rupees each over the sales of 1939, while Tamil Nad showed a fall (for which there must be some special reasons) of over Rs. one lakh. The National Week and the Gandhi Jayanti were utilised as usual for pushing the sales, and over Rs. 10 lakhs worth of khadi was sold during the two Weeks—the pride of place belonging to Gujarat which, in spite of its comparatively small size, effected total sales during these two Weeks amounting to over Rs. 233 thousand. Taking 1928-29 as the basic year (for, after about four years of existence, in that year the A. I. S. A. can reasonably be considered to have put its full resources to use), the comparative figures of production and sales are as follows, and indicate the progress achieved by khadi in a short span of years, mostly by popular support and encouragement, with little, if any, aid from the Government:

	1928-29	(lakhs)	1940
Production (Rs.)	31		51
Sales (Rs.)	39		77



In 1940 the investment of the Sangh amounted to Rs. 43 lakhs. With the steady expansion in production the working capital presented a constant problem and exercised the organisers of the Sangh considerably. For years the capital was supplemented by raising loans, which again presented several difficulties, and in 1940, after full consideration, the Sangh resolved to pay off the Bank loans, to stop the policy of taking any more loans, and to raise the capital by donations made by the wealthy for liquidating unemployment. A few lakhs have already been secured in this manner, and an appeal has been made for more. If we take into consideration the huge amounts that States in the West spend by way of bounties to the new industries which they wish to foster (of which the beetroot subsidy in England is a conspicuous example),\* or by way of artificially maintaining a high level of prices for their farmers' products (as in England and Hitlerite Germany), and in paying the latter in order to restrict or even destroy their products (as in U. S. A. and Brazil), the amount of 20 lakhs asked for by the A. I. S. A. looks insignificant, and it devolves on lovers of indigenous small scale industries to supply the necessary capital, especially because the State has been—unlike the States in the West, which give all possible aid to their handicrafts—wholly apathetic.

The following abstract of figures, culled from the tables given in the report, will speak for itself:

1940	
Yarn produced	Lb. 27,03,351
Workers in A. I. S. A. Branches	2,933
Salaries to workers	Rs. 6,12,380
Workers drawing over Rs. 50	83
No. of villages served	13,451
" " spinners	2,54,968
" " weavers	16,801
" " other artisans	4,377
Total no. of artisans employed	2,76,146
Production centres	608
Wages given to spinners	Rs. 19,00,344
" " weavers	Rs. 10,81,454
" " other artisans	Rs. 4,83,611
Total wages	Rs. 34,65,409
Khadi purchased by spinners	Rs. 3,47,436
Habitual khadi wearers among spinners	23.7 %
" " " " weavers	68.2 %
Khadi sold	Rs. 77,62,750
No. of sale depots	284
Silk—production	Rs. 4,57,514

\* "Before the world depression began, the arable farmers (in England) had been aided by a subsidy on sugar-beet—a most expensive subsidy, which actually cost more than would have sufficed to buy the sugar abroad. . . . Moreover, the farmers were enabled to sell their wheat at a price much in excess of its market value, the amount of the subsidy being recovered from the public in the price of bread." — G. D. H. Cole: *Practical Economics*, p. 230.

Wool—production	Rs. 2,84,611
Cotton consumed	Lb. 26,56,770
Spinners trained in carding	71,657
Spinners trained in spinning	73,356
No. of A. I. S. A. members	3,558
Total wages distributed in 1924-1940	Rs. 3,59,73,443

The report also describes briefly each of the special features of its work. 'Self-sufficiency in cloth' has been an important item in the programme before the Sangh for the last several years. The phrase was recently defined by the A. I. S. A. Council to include "those who fully and habitually wear khadi and regularly spin per month at least 7½ hanks (one hank=840 yds.) of yarn." The report mentions a good increase in spinning for this kind of self-sufficiency. Charkha clubs have been started in many places, and the Provincial Branches of the A. I. S. A. have facilitated the progress by arranging to get the spinners' yarn woven in the respective provinces.

Ahmedabad, 30-1-42

C. S.

#### Shankarlal Pattarai & Jamnalal Vidyalaya

Two important and appropriate memorials were opened by Rajaji at Tirupur on the 15th inst. One is a workshop (*Pattarai* is Tamil for workshop) for the manufacture of all tools and parts required for the khadi movement. This was most appropriately named after Shri Shankarlal Banker whose name is a household word in South India for his services in the cause of khaddar. Shri S. Ramnathan, the present A. I. S. A. Secretary for Tamil Nad, has spared no pains to make the Shankarlal Pattarai as efficient as possible. Shri V. I. Muniswami Pillai is now a whole-time worker in charge of the dye-works and the Shankarlal Workshop. Two Ex-Ministers of the Madras Government are thus absorbed in the khadi work in the South and continue to serve Rajaji in that way! The Harijan community may well be proud of their representative, Shri Muniswami Pillai, who has become charkha-mad.

Jamnalal Vidyalaya is the Khadi Training Institute attached to the Tamil Nad A. I. S. A. branch. Extensive grounds have been acquired for erecting the necessary buildings, and when completed it will be a fitting memorial for the memory of the great man who was President of the A. I. S. A. for so many years from its inception and whose passing away has left us all so disconsolate.

Sevagram, 4-3-42

M. D.

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# HARIJAN

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[FIVE PICE

## Notice

The next issue, to be published on 15th March, will contain *twelve pages* and will be priced at *two annas* per copy. Agents will please notify changes in their requirements, if any, by Thursday next. *Manager*

## Notes

### Indira Nehru's Engagement

I have received several angry and abusive letters and some professing to reason about Indira's engagement with Firoz Gandhi. Not a single correspondent has anything against Firoz Gandhi as a man. His only crime in their estimation is that he happens to be a Parsi. I have been, and I am still, as strong an opponent of either party changing religion for the sake of marriage. Religion is not a garment to be cast off at will. In the present case there is no question of change of religion. Firoz Gandhi has been for years an inmate of the Nehru family. He nursed Kamala Nehru in her sickness. He was like a son to her. During Indira's illness in Europe he was of great help to her. A natural intimacy grew up between them. The friendship has been perfectly honourable. It has ripened into mutual attraction. But neither party would think of marrying without the consent and blessing of Jawaharlal Nehru. This was given only after he was satisfied that the attraction had a solid basis. The public know my connection with the Nehrus. I had also talks with both the parties. It would have been cruelty to refuse consent to this engagement. As time advances such unions are bound to multiply with benefit to society. At present we have not even reached the stage of mutual toleration, but as toleration grows into mutual respect for religions such unions will be welcomed. No religion which is narrow and which cannot satisfy the test of reason will survive the coming reconstruction of society in which the values will have changed and character, not possession of wealth, title or birth will be the sole test of merit. The Hinduism of my conception is no narrow creed. It is a grand evolutionary process as ancient as time, and embraces the teachings of Zoroaster, Moses, Christ, Mohammed, Nanak and other prophets that I could name. It is thus defined:

विद्वद्भिः सेवितः सद्भिर्नित्यमद्वेषरागिभिः ।

हृदयेनाभ्यनुज्ञातो यो धर्मस्तं निबोधत ॥

[Know that to be (true) religion which the wise and the good and those who are ever free from passion and hate follow and which appeals to the heart.]

If it is not that, it will perish. My correspondents will pardon me for not acknowledging their letters. I invite them to shed their wrath and bless the forthcoming marriage. Their letters betray ignorance, intolerance and prejudice — a species of untouchability, dangerous because not easily to be so classified.

### Disgraceful

The Punjab press reports a deliberate and unprovoked attack on Pandit Sunderlal and Lala Jagannath of the Servants of People Society by four young Hindus at 11 o'clock at night while they were on their way to Lajpatrai Bhavan. The attack is said to have been made because of Pandit Sunderlal having delivered addresses in Lahore on Hindu-Muslim unity in which all offensive language was studiously avoided. One can understand, though never pardon, an attack on some provocation. But an attack such as was delivered on Pandit Sunderlal has no extenuating circumstances. These young men are reported to be members of the Hindu Mahasabha. I hope that the responsible officials will repudiate the action of the youths. Public opinion should make such hooliganism impossible. As for Pandit Sunderlal his cause will prosper for the savagery, and more so because of his dignified disregard and forgiveness of it.

Sevagram, 1-3-42

### Urdu Made Easy

Charity begins at home. As I was speaking to Jamnalalji's friends on the necessity of their learning Urdu if they believed in Rashtra Bhasha as recommended by the Congress, I thought of the good English proverb, and I began the charity of spreading the knowledge of Urdu in Sevagram. The result was a quick and good response. A class commenced last Wednesday, i. e. 25th February. Practically all, young and old, women and men, joined the class. The teacher captured their imagination. They learnt the primary letters in two sittings of thirty minutes each. By the time this is in print they should have learnt the forms for joining the letters. They will have learnt the alphabet in practically three hours. I know a friend who mastered it in four hours at a single sitting. The difficulty of reading Urdu is undoubtedly there. That can only be overcome by practice. Given the will, the way is easy. And love of the country should surely be sufficient spur to the will.

Sevagram, 2-3-42

M. K. G.



## A PEEP INTO BRITISH HISTORY

The fate of the British Empire along with India hangs in the balance. Those who still hold sway over us would fain have us help in order to save them from their sad plight. But even in their hour of trial they will not so much as get off our backs, if only to enable us to help them. On the contrary they even tighten the stranglehold and make our shortcomings an excuse for their unchivalrous conduct. On the other hand there are many among us who still feel that our salvation lies in British, rather than in our own, hands. It is indeed a pathetic state of affairs. It may be as well for all of us to try to learn from some salient facts from British history.

The Englishmen at the helm of affairs forget that the story of the British people for nearly a thousand years is a story of strife and foreign conquest, and it was only after a common national sympathy, which held the country roughly together, became an indissoluble bond that a real union was possible. At the time of the English Conquest there were the Angles in the East, the Saxons in the South, the Britons in the West, the Jutes already in parts of the South, and the Picts and the Scots in the North. Then came the Danes and the Normans. It is a multi-coloured medley of origins out of which a united England emerges. The medley has left its impress on the character and language of the people. Anglo-Saxon idiom remained the language of the people, while the aristocrats and the intellectuals spoke French. "There was a great fusion of tongue and minds. All the vocabulary of France remained, fixed within the framework of the old Germanic English and enriching it with an inexhaustible treasure of brilliant synonyms. Thus the peasant spoke of the beasts he tended in the farmyard as the sheep, the ox, the calf; the rich man called the roasts served at his table *mouton*, *boeuf*, and *veau*. And today England has mutton, beef and veal for the various meats as well as the old names for the living animals."

Those who came as conquerors but remained as 'natives' helped in welding themselves into a nation. The Roman State was getting weaker and weaker because "the dry rot from within more than any pressure from without was destroying the grand old fabric of Roman power in the West." (Esme Wingfield Strafford). "And yet the Roman organisation died hard, much harder, in fact, than anybody had imagined until Professor Bury discovered that at least as late as 428 the connection with Rome was being maintained; and the normal machinery of Government was still functioning in the province. It must have been very soon afterwards that the final separation occurred, and Britain was left to defend herself as best she might." (*Ibid*)

The Romans and their Legions left Britain for good, leaving their roads and the impress of their civilisation behind, as soon as they found themselves threatened at home by the barbarians from the North. It was those who remained in Britain, whether as natives, invaders, pirates or conquerors, that wrought the union of England. That is what

Mr. Amery had better remember again, if he has forgotten his history.

As for those of us who imagine that the British rulers can still protect us, there is another page of British history to which we may turn with profit. After the Romans left the Britons to shift for themselves the latter were threatened with invasions and raids from the North. There were two courses which were adopted, and both of them failed. The first was the time-honoured Roman expedient of setting barbarians to fight barbarians. "The one course left was to imitate the fatal policy by which the Empire had invited its own doom while striving to avert it, the policy of matching barbarian against barbarian." (Green) But the policy was "fatal". The other course, which Green has not noted but which other historians, including Gardiner, have noted, was the pathetic clutching at the foreigner who enjoyed no security himself. Says Tout:

"Early in the fifth century the Roman Empire on the Continent was overrun by fierce German tribes, anxious to find new homes for themselves. The settlement of Franks in Northern Gaul cut off Britain from the heart of the Empire, and Rome and Italy itself were threatened. With the Germans at the gates of Rome, it became impossible for the Emperors to find the men and money necessary for keeping up their authority in a distant land like Britain. After 410, the year which saw the sack of Rome by Alaric the Goth, the Romans ceased to send officials and troops to Britain. Henceforth the Britons were left to look for themselves, and their entreaties to the Emperors to help them in their distress were necessarily disregarded." (*An Advanced History of Great Britain*)

Gardiner gives a more detailed analysis. "After the departure of the Romans, the Picts from the North and Scots from Ireland continued their ravages, but though they caused terrible misery by slaughtering or dragging into slavery the inhabitants of many parts of the country, they did not succeed in making any permanent conquests. The Britons were not without a Government and an armed force, and their later history shows that they were capable of carrying on war for a long time against enemies more formidable than the Picts and the Scots." (Gardiner: *Students' History of England*) This capacity arising out of their own inner strength was realised later. But for the moment, "in their misery the thoughts of the Britons turned to those Roman legions who had defended their fathers so well. In 446 they appealed to Aetius, the commander of the Roman armies, to deliver them from their destroyers. "The groans of the Britons" was the title which they gave to their appeal to them. "The barbarians," they wrote, "drive us to the sea; the sea drives us back to the barbarians; between them we are exposed to two sorts of death; we are either slain or drowned." (*Ibid*) What did Aetius say in reply? "Aetius," says Gardiner in one brief sentence, "had no men to spare, and he sent no help to Britons."

Comment is needless.  
Sevagram, 22-2-42

M. D.



## QUESTION BOX

(By M. K. Gandhi)

## Riches v. Poverty

**Q.** How is it possible to earn lakhs in a righteous way? Jamnalalji, the merchant prince, used to say it was not. Moreover, however careful a rich man is, he is bound to spend more on himself than his actual requirements merit. Therefore why not lay more stress on *not* becoming wealthy than on trusteeship of riches?

**A.** The question is apt and has been put to me before. What Jamnalalji could have meant was in the Gita sense that every action is tainted. It is my conviction that it is possible to acquire riches without consciously doing wrong. For example I may light on a gold mine in my one acre of land. But I accept the proposition that it is better not to desire wealth than to acquire it and become its trustee. I gave up my own long ago, which should be proof enough of what I would like others to do. But what am I to advise those who are already wealthy or who would not shed the desire for wealth? I can only say to them that they should use their wealth for service. It is true that generally the rich spend more on themselves than they need. But this can be avoided. Jamnalalji spent far less on himself than men of his own economic status and even than many middle class men. I have come across innumerable rich persons who are stingy on themselves. For some it is part of their nature to spend next to nothing on themselves, and they do not think that they acquire merit in so doing.

The same applies to the sons of the wealthy. Personally I do not believe in inherited riches. The well-to-do should educate and bring up their children so that they may learn how to be independent. The tragedy is that they do not do so. Their children do get some education, they even recite verses in praise of poverty, but they have no compunction about helping themselves to parental wealth. That being so, I exercise my common sense and advise what is practicable. Those of us, however, who consider it a duty to adopt poverty and believe in and desire economic equality may not be jealous of the rich but should exhibit real happiness in our poverty which others may emulate. The sad fact is that those who are thus happy are few and far between.

## The Duty of a Manager

**Q.** Is it correct for the head of an institution, while demanding the utmost from his subordinates in the way of the simple life, to live in comparative luxury himself even though the money he spends on himself be his own earnings?

**A.** The manager who expects more from his co-workers than what he does is bound to fail. This of course applies only to philanthropic institutions whose managers have accepted the ideal of poverty.

## Individual v. Collective Cow-keeping

**Q.** Please explain more fully why individual care of the cow is violent and collective effort non-violent.

**A.** The present pitiable condition of cattle is surely enough proof. The cow today is a burden simply because individual ownership and care have failed. In a previous article I have explained how the individual cannot take proper care of his cattle, how he cannot keep a bull or grazing ground for himself, and how difficult it is for him to make proper arrangements for the sale of milk and ghee. It would be quite impossible for individuals in any country to make their own arrangements for sending their letters with the ease that the postal department does for crores of people, rich and poor alike. The same applies to cows. If at all the problem can be solved, it will be through collective ownership or use. Ownership and service go ill together. I may belong to one person, but thousands can serve me. If one person alone were to claim the right to serve me, where would I be? This is exactly what is happening to the cow. Individuals own the cow, they do not serve it.

Sevagram, 23-2-42

(From *Harijansevak*)

## Praja Mandals and the Congress

**Q.** Please clarify the position of the Congress *vis-a-vis* Praja Mandal Committees in States. Who should be responsible for political policies there?

**A.** Praja Mandals are independent bodies having no official connection with the Congress. They may or may not take their inspiration from the Congress policies. Such being the case I should advise them not to irritate State authority by an unnecessary identification with the Congress.

## Women

**Q.** While you have advised women in cities to go into the villages in order to escape from the danger of assaults, do you not think that some of us, at any rate, should be brave enough to face the risk? After all women cannot become brave or self-reliant, if they are always to be kept out of harm's way. Will not one death bravely faced help the woman's cause? There is danger today of our girls being put back into purdah, as it were, by their parents.

**A.** Of course those who are wanted in the cities must remain at all cost and face the worst. Nothing should be done in bravado. When they go to the villages there will be no purdah. It will be all work and no freedom from danger anywhere on this God-forsaken little ball which two teams are kicking for all they are worth. The days of the purdah are gone for good.

Sevagram, 2-3-42

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## HARIJAN

Mar. 8

1942

## AN APPEAL TO QAID-E-AZAM

(By M. K. Gandhi)

I have been painfully but regularly going through the English weeklies that come to me and that are devoted to the cause of the Muslim League. I read them so as to keep myself informed of what the Muslim mind as influenced by the Muslim League thinks. Not a week passes but these weeklies contain what to me appear to be distortions of truth and vilification of the Congress and Congressmen and Hindus. What has prompted me to write these lines is a virulent attack on Hinduism in one of the weeklies. Here is an extract from the article:

"Hinduism is the greatest curse of India, and it is based on intolerance and inequality. To call one's self a 'Hindu' is to confess that one is reactionary and narrow-minded. No decent, civilised, honest and sincere human being who knows what Hinduism is and what it stands for, would like to be known as a Hindu or join this faith of primitive barbarians. For it is on barbarity that this so-called religion is based. No other word can describe the state of 97 per cent of the population who have been decreed by the gods and goddesses of this precious religion as impure and unclean beings fit only to serve the remaining 3 per cent of the population. . . . We would far rather suggest to the students to prepare in their laboratories of the mind deadly bombs which would completely smash and destroy Hinduism, the greatest menace to India's welfare and well-being."

I hope I shall not be told that the article in question is taken from another newspaper. It has been taken in order to hold up Hinduism to scorn. Though the founder of this paper is Qaid-e-Azam himself and it is issued under the direction of Nawabzada Liaquat Ali Khan, Hon. Secretary of the League, I fancy that they have not seen the article in question.

What will be the state of Hindus under Pakistan? Will they be suppressed as barbarians? There is no attempt in the papers at looking at the other side. The policy adopted in the papers must lead to the promotion of bitterness and strife between the two communities. If the end is to be attained through strife and force and not by persuasion and argument, I can have nothing to say. But I observe from Qaid-e-Azam's speeches that he has no quarrel with the Hindus. He wants to live at peace with them. I plead, therefore, for a juster estimate of men and things in papers representing the policy and programme of the Muslim League.

Sevagram, 2-3-42

## IN MEMORIAM

On the night of the day on which Jamnalalji was taken from this earth, Gandhiji said, as he lay down to rest, "I do not know what I shall do without him," and ever since the catastrophe his waking thoughts have been full of him. Quick to act, as he always is, he issued an invitation to a great many of Jamnalalji's friends to meet here on the 20th and discuss the best ways and means of honouring the deceased's memory. The response to the invitation was remarkable. Many came from all parts of the country, and those who could not come sent letters to say they would do whatever Gandhiji wanted them to.

The following is the gist of Gandhiji's talks on the 20th and 21st afternoons. It seemed as if he were pouring out the pent up agony of his soul.

## First Day

"This is no ordinary meeting. There is no president. An insupportable burden has fallen to my lot, and I am before you not as a president but as a beggar. My relations with Jamnalalji began with my entry into public life in my own country. Since then I have never had to worry. It was an easy thing for me to rely on him to carry out my wishes, for no one had identified himself quite so much with every one of my activities as he. And our work went on smoothly. Now he has gone, and as I could not possibly ask any one person to shoulder the immense burden he carried, I thought I would ask his friends to help me by dividing it. I do not propose to ask for contribution for a memorial to Jamnalalji. Nor do I want to give the chief place to money for the various activities with which he identified himself. If I did so, I would be denying myself. I know that money will come if the work is worthy and worthily done. I want us all to do what is far more difficult, that is to fill ourselves with the spirit with which he worked. That means detailed application to the many activities with which he had identified himself.

"When I arrived at the mansion in the hope that I would find Jamnalalji alive I found that the spirit had departed a few minutes before. No one can really be heartless on such occasions, but I may have seemed so, for instead of sorrowing with Janakidevi I pleaded with her to renounce her all and carry on Jamnalalji's work and be a living sati in the place of burning herself on the funeral pyre as she wanted to. It has been my wont throughout life to throw burdens on people and get the most from them. Janakidevi hesitated a bit and said she had not the ability. I said, if she had the desire, Vinoba would tell her that God would give her the ability and strength. She rose to the occasion. She has renounced not only all her material possessions—about 2½ lakhs—but has dedicated all her time to the work of the Goseva Sangh. Jamnalalji's entire family will, I trust, follow their parent's example and shoulder the burden with their mother to the best of their ability. Jamnalalji had kept aside 6 lakhs for public work. His sons could have kept this sum for themselves. But



Kamalnayan — Ramkrishna is still a lad — has made over the entire sum to me to do as I like with. This includes land opposite the Magan Museum, another piece of land, and Maganwadi itself. Besides this they have decided on behalf of Jamnalal & Son to continue the hospitality in the guest house including the private bungalow in Bajajwadi. This may mean an annual expense of Rs. 20,000. Janakibehn will live in the hut in Gopuri which Jamnalalji had built for himself. All this augurs well for the future.

"You have seen a list of Jamnalalji's activities. I should like us to concentrate on his last activity first, viz. cattle preservation through the cow. But cow service is a very difficult task, more difficult than winning Swaraj. Swaraj we will have. But preservation of cattle, even aged, is still a problem to be solved. We work on the assumption that unfit and aged cattle need not be killed. The way Jamnalalji took it up and worked at it for two months is a remarkable proof of his single-minded devotion and powers of organisation. It is amazing what he was able to achieve in so short a time. But his body was too frail to stand the strain, and I had a premonition that we would lose him. His work cannot be replaced by money. It is sterling workers that are most wanted. The question is how to discharge the trust that has devolved on us. Such a death as his is accorded to one in a million. He was fortunate in every way. And we can only prove ourselves worthy of him and his purity, if we can identify ourselves with his activities, each according to the best of his ability. It is not an easy thing I ask, and you must not give simply because I ask it of you. You must only do what you can truthfully and without hesitation. I give goseva first place because Jamnalalji had taken it up in a special way. The work was started years ago. Jamnalalji was the president. But neither he nor I was happy about its progress. It is a great work. If we save the cow, we save human lives too. We could kill and eat the cow as other countries do, but we do not look upon that as human. We have chosen what we regard as the nobler way. But in saving her we must see that she and her progeny are a source of wealth, not the burden that they are today. In the all-India programme framed by Jamnalalji, reform of *pinjrapols* was one of the main items, and if we succeed in this, it will be a great achievement. Then there is the creation of good bulls, all important for the salvation of the cow and her breed.

"About his other activities, you know that he took his full share in the constructive work in which I had specialised. He gave as much time as, if not more than, I to khadi. I may have given the *mantra*, but Jamnalalji devoted his intelligence, his powers of organisation and his money to give form to the scheme. He had the gift of seeking out and creating workers too. He felt with me that Swaraj was to be found in khadi, and he organised it while I was in jail, or else it might have died. The same with the Village Industries Association, the Talimi Sangh, the Harijan Sevak

Sangh, etc. All of you are not full khadi wearers even today. You have not yet carried the message to every member of your own family. Let us be as fearless and correct as he was.

"Today the country is in danger. Japan is knocking at our doors. What is the mercantile class going to do? Will they lose India for us once again? Will they bow the knee to the new-comer? Seeking freedom from one, shall we submit to another? Jamnalalji's spirit would answer that query for you in no uncertain terms. Many of us harbour hatred for the British, for our understanding of ahimsa is elementary. If we were brave, we would sympathise with them. We want to be friends with them and everyone else, but we may not bend the knee to anyone. If we could win our freedom through non-violence from the British, we need not fear anyone. We would be invincible. But we are weak and therefore in danger, though the future all unknown is in God's hands. The British are a brave people. They have often saved themselves from the jaws of death. Let us face danger even as they do.

"Among Jamnalalji's special activities is the Mahila Mandal. He was exceptionally keen on woman's uplift. The Mahila Ashram was his own conception, and he founded it in order to take charge of the daughters of those who had given themselves to the country's cause.

"Then Hindu-Muslim unity was a cause very dear to Jamnalalji. He had not the slightest trace of communal or class prejudice in him. Let each one of us do what we can in this direction.

"There is again the question of the national language. As you know he was interested in the Rashtra Bhasha prachar. He was principally concerned in drawing me to the Hindi Sahitya Sammelan. It was due to his sole effort that the great work of Hindi prachar in the South became possible. It was again due to his help that I was able to carry the resolution about giving an extended meaning to Hindi so as to include Urdu. I ask you all as a token of your regard for Jamnalalji, if you will, to try to learn the Urdu character today. You will find it quite easy to learn the primary letters."

#### Second Day

On the second day he said: "One thing we may well learn from Jamnalalji's life is to be ever active. We must be more alert, more ready to renounce and submit to discipline. I sometimes feel that, if all of us had military discipline for a year, we would be different beings. Jamnalalji had gone through no military school, and yet he had imposed on himself the training of a soldier. May we learn to impose such training on ourselves. The urge instilled by ahimsa takes the place of an order. For 22 years I have been saying so from the house-tops. If the Congress has not succeeded in full measure, it is because Congressmen have not been true followers of ahimsa. We met yesterday under the call of an ideal. It was a great day. Swami Anand said Jamnalalji had hoped to enlist at least



1,000 members for the Goseva Sangh during the year. You can all help in this direction."

1. A committee of seven was formed under the chairmanship of Shri Rameshwardas Birla for the purpose of creating 1,000 first class bulls. The expenditure was reckoned at five lakhs, and the members gave five to eight years in which to work out the scheme including the raising of the necessary funds.

2. Rs. 50,000 was guaranteed by friends in Calcutta, and they undertook to collect Rs. 50,000 more. This one lakh was to be devoted to khadi work.

3. Shrimati Suvratadevi promised an adequate donation for khadi, village industry and educational work in Rajputana. She promised Rs. 25,000 for khadi work at the centre and to pay a quarterly visit to Wardha.

On the first day Gandhiji had said that he wanted Janakidevi to step into her husband's gadi, and he proposed her name for the presidentship of the Goseva Sangh for the reasons already stated. She has submitted to the ordeal in the hope that God will give her the ability to bear the burden. "When I asked Janakidevi to take up this difficult task," said Gandhiji, "I thought that it was perhaps woman's work, and that where man had so far failed woman might succeed."

Janakidevi was unanimously elected President, Seth Ghanashyamdas Birla was elected Vice-President. Shri Vinoba will be there for guidance and advice on all fundamental questions. Seth Ghanashyamdas will guide the outward activity of the Sangh. Swami Anand has consented to act as Secretary, if he can be spared by Balasaheb Kher.

Sevagram, 27-2-42

A. K.

## FOUR YEARS' WORK

### II

#### Syllabus

In the matter of covering the prescribed syllabus of co-ordinated studies Kashmir reports success. In Bombay the progress of children under the new method does not compare unfavourably with those who read the departmental syllabus. In the C. P. progress in the mother-tongue is good, it is satisfactory in mathematics, very satisfactory in social studies. In general science children show an interest in outdoor work, but in agriculture as in science the necessary equipment for anything but elementary gardening and nature study is not yet available.

The U. P. is the only province where art has obtained due recognition in basic education both for teachers and pupils. Pioneering work in correlating art with craft and self-expression in art is being done in the U. P. and should constitute a valuable contribution to the scheme. Music and physical education have been given a definite place in all basic schools. The danger of the central fact of the scheme being buried in the passion for art must, however, be guarded against.

#### Difficulties

The syllabus drawn up by the Zakir Husain Committee was only tentative. Any syllabus which aims at far-reaching reconstruction of education requires an extensive background of education and an experimental attitude of mind on the part of teachers. How far the syllabus has been worked in the right spirit it is difficult to say. It has not been worked wholly everywhere. There are all the difficulties attaching to a pioneer experiment. The question of correlation of studies is not easy. Teachers have as yet, generally speaking, neither sufficient knowledge nor mastery over the basic craft, there is also lack of necessary literature and reading material to guide them. The Committee appointed by the Sangh to help training schools has revised and systematised the syllabi of basic crafts for teachers and pupils and is preparing the necessary technical literature in spinning for teachers. Lack of literature for teachers and pupils is one of the criticisms of the scheme, but, as the report says, this is not altogether an unmixed evil. "Teachers and children have so long been used to the dominance of the printed word that the absence of books will stimulate initiative in both. Besides the feeling that the children and teachers are co-operating in the creation of their literature will bring a new pride and interest to their study." Really speaking, given efficient teachers, the need for text-books for children, especially in the early stages, should not arise.

#### Effect on Teachers

While the beneficial effect of the new scheme on children is definitely encouraging and in marked contrast to the dullness and apathy existing in most village schools, the Talimi Sangh has rightly recognised the importance of the effect on any scheme of education on the teachers. Kashmir notes that it is "having a healthy reaction on their professional outlook. They are more active, thoughtful, social, and conscious of their responsibilities." The Vijay Vidya Mandir says, "They work with love all day long, their knowledge has improved, their insight in child psychology has developed, their outlook on life has changed, and they have understood the importance of manual labour." This is surely a tremendous asset in comparison with the mentality of the average village school teacher.

Then there is the influence which the schools have exercised on the village community. The report claims that where the schools have done good work, and this is especially the case in Bihar, the atmosphere of apathy, suspicion and even hostility in which the schools started has given place to one of sympathy and co-operation. In Brindaban, for example, where an exhibition of the handwork of the children was held, many villagers came walking from long distances. To a large extent this interest and co-operation are the result of the community service undertaken by the schools.

#### Economic Possibilities

The report gives a few facts regarding the economic possibilities of the scheme.



The U. P. rejected the idea of self-supporting schools but have stressed the importance of self-sufficiency, i. e. that the material required may be supplied by the school itself. They suggest that the articles made by the children should be given away to them. Children are taken away from school for purposes of field labour. If they brought back cloth, for example, to their homes, the farmers might be induced not to remove them from school.

According to the first syllabus of spinning prepared by the Zakir Husain Committee it was reckoned that in a year of 288 working days with 3 hours and 20 minutes devoted to craft work a child could produce Rs. 2-10-0 worth in grade I and Rs. 7 worth in grade II. The standard has been attained only in a few cases for the reason that efficient instruction, the proper amount of time, right equipment and raw material have not always been available.

Calculations of earnings in Bihar are interesting. 78% of the pupils in Grade II and 71% in Grade I earned above 50% of the required standard. The actual maximum individual earning for the year was Rs. 5-4-3 in Grade II and Rs. 1-14-0 in Grade I. Against these the minimum was Re. 0-4-4 in Grade II, Re. 0-1-3 in Grade I. As a result of the year's working a sum of Rs. 2,112-3-0 was placed in the treasury as being the price of the yarn spun by the children and the cloth woven out of it as also their garden produce. There was in hand also stock worth Rs. 268-3-8. After deducting the cost of raw material and production, Rs. 1,124-9-9 represents the actual value realised. Later the individual earning of a child touched Rs. 7-3-4. But irregular attendance, less time allotted to the craft, and the fact that good cotton was not available have definitely brought down the average earning per head.

### Conclusion

The importance of free and compulsory primary education, that the medium of instruction throughout should be the mother-tongue, that the child's capabilities should be developed through some form of manual and productive work, have been recognised as sound principles by all educationists and Government authorities. The history of the first three years of basic education, as set forth in the report of the Talimi Sangh, gives ample cause for believing that the scheme is sound. Difficulties have not been minimised. The appeal of the Sangh for better public understanding and for more workers is one which should go home to all who realise the importance in our national life of the right education of our children. Is it too much to expect those Governments who have not yet adopted it to give the scheme a fair trial in howsoever small an area? Above all the Sangh itself has got to show results after 7 years in its own schools. It is their success in the end which must constitute a challenge to the Provincial and Central Governments and the general public and compel its universalisation.

Sevagram, 22-1-42

A. K.

## KHADI FORGES AHEAD

### I

The report of the All India Spinners' Association for the year 1940, which but for the temporary suspension of *Harijan* would have been reviewed ere this in these columns, is a businesslike statement of facts and figures of the work done by the Association through its own branches as well as certified private agencies. As the report was written in June 1941, in some respects it covers the first half of that year also. 95,51,438 sq. yds. of khadi (cotton, wool and silk), weighing 30,82,693 lb. and worth Rs. 51,36,983, was produced during the year. Though there was a slight fall in the yardage in comparison to the previous year (from 111 lakhs to 95), the value rose from Rs. 50 lakhs to Rs. 51 lakhs, which suggests that more money was paid either to cotton producers for the cotton purchased, or to artisans in the form of increased wages, or to both. The artisans did actually get more money in 1940 than in 1939. (The spinners and weavers got in 1940 the aggregate amount of Rs. 29,81,798 as against Rs. 28,47,560 in 1939.) The sales rose from Rs. 65 lakhs to Rs. 77 lakhs (a rise of 19%), which was a welcome sign of the increasing support khadi received from the people. 74 per cent of the total quantity were sold in the provinces of production. This is a healthy development, the value of which will be realised more and more as difficulties of transport increase and export becomes difficult, if not impossible. It is indeed a cardinal principle in the economics of khadi and village industries that their products should find a market primarily in the areas where they are produced, thus eliminating to a large extent the wastage in the distribution of goods. C. P. and Maharashtra, Gujarat and Sind have made the greatest progress in this respect, their provincial sales exceeding 90 per cent. The number of sale depots under the A. I. S. A. was 284. So far as the total net sales were concerned, Gujarat, Punjab, Bombay, Bihar and U. P. showed an increase of over a lakh of rupees each over the sales of 1939, while Tamil Nad showed a fall (for which there must be some special reasons) of over Rs. one lakh. The National Week and the Gandhi Jayanti were utilised as usual for pushing the sales, and over Rs. 10 lakhs worth of khadi was sold during the two Weeks—the pride of place belonging to Gujarat which, in spite of its comparatively small size, effected total sales during these two Weeks amounting to over Rs. 233 thousand. Taking 1928-29 as the basic year (for, after about four years of existence, in that year the A. I. S. A. can reasonably be considered to have put its full resources to use), the comparative figures of production and sales are as follows, and indicate the progress achieved by khadi in a short span of years, mostly by popular support and encouragement, with little, if any, aid from the Government:

	1928-29	1940
	(lakhs)	
Production (Rs.)	31	51
Sales (Rs.)	39	77



In 1940 the investment of the Sangh amounted to Rs. 43 lakhs. With the steady expansion in production the working capital presented a constant problem and exercised the organisers of the Sangh considerably. For years the capital was supplemented by raising loans, which again presented several difficulties, and in 1940, after full consideration, the Sangh resolved to pay off the Bank loans, to stop the policy of taking any more loans, and to raise the capital by donations made by the wealthy for liquidating unemployment. A few lakhs have already been secured in this manner, and an appeal has been made for more. If we take into consideration the huge amounts that States in the West spend by way of bounties to the new industries which they wish to foster (of which the beetroot subsidy in England is a conspicuous example),\* or by way of artificially maintaining a high level of prices for their farmers' products (as in England and Hitlerite Germany), and in paying the latter in order to restrict or even destroy their products (as in U. S. A. and Brazil), the amount of 20 lakhs asked for by the A. I. S. A. looks insignificant, and it devolves on lovers of indigenous small scale industries to supply the necessary capital, especially because the State has been—unlike the States in the West, which give all possible aid to their handicrafts—wholly apathetic.

The following abstract of figures, culled from the tables given in the report, will speak for itself:

1940	
Yarn produced	Lb. 27,03,351
Workers in A. I. S. A. Branches	2,933
Salaries to workers	Rs. 6,12,380
Workers drawing over Rs. 50	83
No. of villages served	13,451
" " spinners	2,54,968
" " weavers	16,801
" " other artisans	4,377
Total no. of artisans employed	2,76,146
Production centres	608
Wages given to spinners	Rs. 19,00,344
" " weavers	Rs. 10,81,454
" " other artisans	Rs. 4,83,611
Total wages	Rs. 34,65,409
Khadi purchased by spinners	Rs. 3,47,436
Habitual khadi wearers among spinners	23.7 %
" " " " weavers	68.2 %
Khadi sold	Rs. 77,62,750
No. of sale depots	284
Silk — production	Rs. 4,57,514

\* "Before the world depression began, the arable farmers (in England) had been aided by a subsidy on sugar-beet—a most expensive subsidy, which actually cost more than would have sufficed to buy the sugar abroad. . . . Moreover, the farmers were enabled to sell their wheat at a price much in excess of its market value, the amount of the subsidy being recovered from the public in the price of bread."

—G. D. H. Cole: *Practical Economics*, p. 230.

Wool — production	Rs. 2,84,611
Cotton consumed	Lb. 26,56,770
Spinners trained in carding	71,657
Spinners trained in spinning	73,356
No. of A. I. S. A. members	3,558
Total wages distributed in 1924-1940	Rs. 3,59,73,443

The report also describes briefly each of the special features of its work. 'Self-sufficiency in cloth' has been an important item in the programme before the Sangh for the last several years. The phrase was recently defined by the A. I. S. A. Council to include "those who fully and habitually wear khadi and regularly spin per month at least 7½ hanks (one hank=840 yds.) of yarn." The report mentions a good increase in spinning for this kind of self-sufficiency. Charkha clubs have been started in many places, and the Provincial Branches of the A. I. S. A. have facilitated the progress by arranging to get the spinners' yarn woven in the respective provinces.

Ahmedabad, 30-1-42

C. S.

#### Shankarlal Pattarai & Jamnalal Vidyalaya

Two important and appropriate memorials were opened by Rajaji at Tirupur on the 15th inst. One is a workshop (*Pattarai* is Tamil for workshop) for the manufacture of all tools and parts required for the khadi movement. This was most appropriately named after Shri Shankarlal Banker whose name is a household word in South India for his services in the cause of khaddar. Shri S. Ramathan, the present A. I. S. A. Secretary for Tamil Nad, has spared no pains to make the Shankarlal Pattarai as efficient as possible. Shri V. I. Muniswami Pillai is now a whole-time worker in charge of the dye-works and the Shankarlal Workshop. Two Ex-Ministers of the Madras Government are thus absorbed in the khadi work in the South and continue to serve Rajaji in that way! The Harijan community may well be proud of their representative, Shri Muniswami Pillai, who has become charkha-mad.

Jamnalal Vidyalaya is the Khadi Training Institute attached to the Tamil Nad A. I. S. A. branch. Extensive grounds have been acquired for erecting the necessary buildings, and when completed it will be a fitting memorial for the memory of the great man who was President of the A. I. S. A. for so many years from its inception and whose passing away has left us all so disconsolate.

Sevagram, 4-3-42

M. D.

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## HARIJAN

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[ TWO ANNAS

## ON ITS TRIAL

(By M. K. Gandhi)

"I am a pacifist still in one sense; that is to say, I realise that Christians should be able to meet material force with spiritual power. It is horrifying to reflect that after nineteen hundred years, we are still unable to do it except in individual cases and on a small scale. But to me it seems merely 'wishful thinking' to act as though we had a power which in fact we have not and for which we have neither trained nor disciplined ourselves in the past. Such power does not come to those who have not disciplined themselves, at the last moment, in the hour of need. It has not come to us. I would rather, therefore, do what I can in defence of principles which I believe to be both right in themselves and of enormous importance to the future of the human race, than stand aside and do nothing. It is *doing nothing* that is the worst expedient of all.

When, therefore, my pacifist friends ask me whether I can imagine Jesus Christ dropping a bomb or firing a gun I am entitled to reply: 'No, I cannot; but neither can I imagine him standing aside and doing nothing at all.'

I am compelled to echo the words of a very dear relative of mine who, loathing war as much as any pacifist that ever breathed, said to me at the beginning of the last war (in which he lost his life): 'If you can stop war with spiritual power, do it. If you can't, let me do what I can; and if you are right in thinking that war is so damnable that anyone who takes part in it is damned, then I would rather be damned than let these things go on without doing all I can to stop them, even at the cost of my own life.'

Is this not very close to the meaning of our Lord when he said: 'He that loseth his life shall save it'?"

The foregoing is the concluding portion of a touchingly sorrowful article contributed to *The Survey Graphic* of December 1941 by the celebrated Dr. Maude Royden of the Guildhouse, London. She is one of the foremost pacifists of the West. Like many she has felt compelled to revise her position and is now most reluctantly but fully ranged on the side of the defenders of the British Isles.

The article demands a considered reply. I have been in constant touch with the Western pacifists. In my opinion Dr. Royden has surrendered her position in the portion I have quoted. If individuals have lived up to the Christian teaching (i.e. on non-violence) and that on a small scale, one would think practice should make such a life

possible for many people and on a large scale. It is undoubtedly wrong and foolish "to act as though one had the power which in fact one has not." "But," says the worthy writer, "such power does not come to those who have not disciplined themselves, at the last moment, in the hour of need."

I suggest that with the knowledge of the defect no time should be lost in seeking to remove it. That by itself is doing not only something but the right thing. To deny one's faith by contrary practice is surely the worst thing one can do.

And I am not sure that "doing nothing is the worst expedient of all." In septic treatment, for instance, doing nothing is not only expedient, it is obligatory.

There is no cause whatsoever for despondency, much less for denial of one's faith at the crucial moment. Why should not British pacifists stand aside and remodel their life in its entirety? They might be unable to bring about peace outright, but they would lay a solid foundation for it and give the surest test of their faith. When, in the face of an upheaval such as we are witnessing, there are only a few individuals of immovable faith, they have to live up to their faith even though they may produce no visible effect on the course of events. They should believe that their action will produce tangible results in due course. Their staunchness is bound to attract sceptics. I would also suggest that individuals like Dr. Maude Royden are not mere camp followers. They are leaders. Therefore, they have to live their lives in strict accord with the Sermon on the Mount, and they will find immediately that there is much to give up and much to remodel. The greatest thing that they have to deny themselves is the fruit of imperialism. The present complicated life of the Londoner and his high living is possible only because of the hoards brought from Asia, Africa and other parts of the world. In spite of the fierce criticism which has been levelled against my letter 'To Every Briton', I adhere to every word of it, and I am convinced that posterity will adopt the remedy suggested therein against violence however organised and fierce. And now that the enemy is at the gates of India I am advising my countrymen the same course of action I advised the British people. My advice may or may not be accepted by my countrymen. I would remain unmoved. Their non-acceptance will be no test of failure of non-violence. I would subscribe to the charge of my imperfection. But a satyagrahi does not wait for perfection before he invites others to experiment



with him, provided always that his faith is immovable like a mountain. The advice that Dr. Royden's relative gave her and which she quotes approvingly is altogether wrong. If the war is damnable, how can he stop the things that go on by taking part in it, even though it may be on the defensive side and at the cost of his own life? For the defence has to resort to all the damnable things that the enemy does, and that with greater vigour if it has to succeed. Such a giving of life is not only not saving it but a mere waste.

I have attended the Doctor's services in her Church where a living belief in the efficacy of prayer is much in vogue. When the impenetrable gloom surrounded her, why did she not find strength and consolation and real action in heart-prayer? It is never too late to mend. She and her fellow-pacifists, many of whom I have the privilege of knowing, should take heart and, like Peter, repent of the momentary loss of faith and return to the old faith in non-violence with renewed vigour. Their return will mean no material loss to the war effort but will mean a great deal to the anti-war effort which is bound to succeed sooner rather than later, if man is to live as man and not become a two-footed brute.

Sevagram, 8-3-42

## THE SIXTH YEAR OF WORK

### I

To all who believe that in the resuscitation of village economy lies the salvation of India the latest report of the All India Village Industries Association will be of interest.

Like all national activity the work suffered in certain parts owing to some members of local committees and agents being arrested and owing to Government in some cases not wishing to help new schemes or expand old ones. But in spite of handicaps the report shows good all-round progress.

**Sanitation and Diet:** Wherever there are good workers sanitary conditions may be said to have definitely improved, but the lack of education of both village adults and children in this matter is a serious handicap to permanent improvement. Until the intelligent support of the villager is forthcoming sanitary habits will fail to take root in village soil. The same applies to diet reform, and in this matter apart from conservative habits the poor villager can only eat what his few pice will bring him.

**Rice-pounding and Flour-grinding:** There is an increased demand for hand-pounded rice which furnishes an opportunity for organising its supply. The Governments of Bombay, Madras, U. P. and Assam have commended its use in their hospitals. Guntur District tops the list of the Association centres as far as sales are concerned. They sold over Rs. 30,000 worth of hand-pounded rice and distributed over Rs. 2,200 in the form of wages to 8,116 persons at Re. 0-4-4½ per head. In the Vizianagram centre the sales and wages have more than doubled since 1938. Flour ground by hand *chakkis* has received an incentive from the certified

shops which sell it. Patterns of the improved paddy-husking and flour-grinding *chakkis* and *dhenkis* have been supplied to various parts of the country.

**Oil-pressing:** Both Governments and individuals have begun to take an interest in this industry. 40 *ghanis* have been reconstructed according to the improved pattern by a Maganwadi-trained man in Baroda. The Bombay Government sent students to Maganwadi for training. The C. P. Government has encouraged the setting up of *ghanis*. Orissa has trained 12 students in the industry. The Madhusudan Village Industries Institute, Cuttack, runs four *ghani* propaganda centres in villages where it stocks seeds and supplies them to oilmen who are paid 5 annas per charge. Since they press 4 charges daily they each earn Rs. 1¼ per diem. The U. P. Government have been training carpenters in *ghani* construction and oil-pressing and have supplied Maganwadi *ghanis* to village oilmen. In Bengal the A. I. V. I. A. have marketed the village oilmen's products. Rs. 10,225 worth of oil and cake were sold during the year in Sylhet, Chittagong, Betur, and Diamond Harbour. A few *ghanis* are working systematically in Bihar, Khandesh, Gujarat, Punjab, C. P., Mysore and Assam, and constant enquiries come in regarding the improved *ghani*. "It seems to us," say the writers of the report, "that, if only oil seeds are prevented from leaving the village, are stocked locally and made available for the oilman, there will be no difficulty in reviving the industry. As oilmen do not themselves have capital to store seeds, consumers should do so, take the seeds to be pressed, and thus obtain pure, unadulterated oil for their use and cake for their cattle. This is the good custom that prevailed in the past, and some people in our neighbourhood have been induced by us to bring seeds for pressing. We pressed 104 charges at the rate of 6 annas a charge. We hold that *ghanis* need not fear competition from mills on the score of the greater efficiency or cheapness of production of the mill. . . . It is quite possible for a village oilman using the Maganwadi *ghani* and, assured of a supply of oil seeds at harvest rates, to sell his oil at mill rates. When he does so he can be sure of ousting mill oil from his village."

**Gud-making:** This has been going on under A. I. V. I. A. supervision on a commercial basis chiefly in Bengal and Orissa. In Murshidabad District a newly started palmyra *gud* manufacture centre with its four sub-centres produced 81½ maunds and sold it for Rs. 614-4-0. 17 labourers were employed at an expenditure of Rs. 397-9-0. All the trees available in the locality for tapping were leased so that none was left for tapping for toddy manufacture. The tappers were, however, employed in supplying unfermented juice, and much *gud* was thus manufactured in a short time. In Hooghly District one man was able to earn Rs. 40 in 3 months through date-palm *gud* manufacture. In Orissa the average earning was Re. 0-6-9 a day. It has been estimated that Rs. 12 per annum can be earned from each tree.



The Association has been experimenting with new furnaces for boiling. One which consumes 75 seers of fuel for boiling 100 seers of juice in 2 hours is very simple and costs only a rupee to make. Their newly devised sugar hand centrifugal machine has been much in demand and has gone as far afield as Ceylon. It costs Rs. 56. Still further improvements in it are being made.

**Bee-keeping:** This industry requires little capital, running expenditure and time and makes a valuable addition to food. The apprentice bee-keeper learns the industry in a practical way in his own home under A. I. V. I. A. guidance in a year. Every centre of village uplift should also be a centre for bee-keeping. In Orissa one student produced 180 lb. of honey worth Rs. 112 during the year. At Maganwadi they have been able to reduce swarming from 40 % to 5 % partly through better bee-pasturage. 18 colonies yielded about 100 lb. of honey. Iron grooved wheels for the honey extractor have been substituted by the ordinary wooden wheels of the charkha and answer the purpose equally well. The cost of the iron wheels, now very difficult to get, was Rs. 10 whereas the wooden ones sell for Rs. 6/8.

Sevagram, 1-2-42

A. K.

## WHEN MACHINE POWER

(By J. C. Kumarappa)

The Board of Management of the A. I. V. I. A. at its last meeting decided to allow shops certified by the Association to sell hand-lifted paper from pulp produced by power, provided such pulp was obtained from a recognised producer under the control of the Association. This being the first occasion on which a partly machine-processed article comes within the field of the Association, some friends are at a loss to understand the grounds on which the Board took this step.

It is, therefore, proposed to explain the general principles under which we may resort to machine power, taking this particular instance as an example and comparing it with the case of mill-spun yarn in hand-woven cloth, which has been cited as an instance where the A. I. S. A. had set its face against the use of machines.

Machine power can only be used as a physician uses doses of poison, with extreme care and in rare cases. Under such a restricted regime machines have a great part to play in economic production. We have been brought to our present sorry plight because of the indiscriminate use of machinery in the interest of capital in disregard of the welfare of the millions, but that does not mean that machines are taboo under all conditions. The purpose of an industry is to supply a demand and while doing so distribute wealth to those engaged in production. Therefore, to decide on the conditions under which any particular industry may work, we have to study various factors such as demand, supply, raw materials, production and distribution.

To begin with we have to grasp the distinction between spinning as a handicraft and paper-making. When Gandhiji likens the position of spinning to that of the sun in the solar system, he is thinking

chiefly of the close contact of the demand with the supply, and hence the universality of the handicraft. Every spinner is to spin for himself or herself primarily. This is not so with most other crafts. A potter makes pots for his livelihood; so does the *teli*, the oil-presser. Hence certain rules that govern a cottage handicraft based on self-sufficiency of the producer cannot be applied in toto to other industries which cater to a demand apart from the producer. When I spin for myself I have only to satisfy myself. But a paper-maker has to deal with a fluid demand. The user of the paper calls for a certain standard in quality. If you do not meet it, he will go elsewhere. Hence the paper-maker is circumstanced by conditions outside his control, and he has to adjust himself to the demand.

Where the demand is fluid the supply has to follow carefully the specifications laid down by the demand. Hence the producer has to adopt processes, etc. which will satisfy the quality expected and bring into existence the quantity needed. Today there is a great shortage of paper. Paper and paper pulp used to be imported. India is more or less thrown on her own resources now. Making paper from waste paper is only rehashing and is not real paper-making, for which we ought to resort to original materials like grass, straw, rags, jute, sunn hemp, bamboo, etc. The first two are easily reduced to pulp, but the others are hard to deal with, and when reduced to pulp by hand yield paper of very inferior quality. We cannot confine ourselves to grass and straw, which have important alternative uses as fodder, while the other raw materials can be obtained from village waste and are therefore more advisable.

Spinning is a pleasant occupation and needs little or no equipment. Apart from speed, machine-spinning has hardly any technical advantage not open to hand-spinning. In fact the highest and finest counts of yarn can only be spun by hand. To mechanise spinning would be to deprive millions, especially women and children, of a pleasurable spare time industry, though it may, to a limited extent, be appreciated by the hand-loom weavers. Pulp-making, on the other hand, has not been a separate industry but only one of the many processes involved in paper-making. Allowing the use of power here will not destroy any existing industry, while it will definitely stimulate a dying industry.

Pulp production, on the other hand, is the heaviest, most dangerous and tedious part of paper-making, and presents a knotty problem. Besides, the investment on a man-worked dhenki for making pulp is not so much less than that of a unit required for production of pulp by power as to make the latter prohibitive, as is the case between a takli or a charkha and a spinning mill unit. We have been experimenting with various methods which can be made available. Over five years' work on this question reveals that good pulp needs power to produce it in sufficient quantities. We have to make sure that we do not subject the paper-maker to exploitation. If we



can guarantee that and give him good pulp on a service basis, we can afford thousands of persons a good occupation. If we fail to do that, exploiters will capture the market. Therefore the Board felt called upon to arrange for control by restricting it to recognised producers.

Hence in extremely rare cases where the life and expansion of an industry calls for aid from machines in one or the other process which cannot be performed by hand, where the fullest advantage of the raw material available can be taken over by the use of machinery, where processes involved are so heavy that it would be cruel to use manpower, where the capital and equipment needed for the due carrying out of the process is beyond the means available to the artisans, where it is possible to render the needed help by resorting to the use of machinery under safeguards to make sure that no exploitation is possible and the aid is given on service basis, there can be no objection to machine power being used.

## HARIJAN

Mar. 15

1942

### DESIRABILITY OF EXODUS

(By M. K. Gandhi)

A correspondent asks for my detailed views on the exodus that I have advised from the cities of all who are not wanted there and all who are unfit or unwilling to stay there. No one is obliged to stay in against his will. In the event of bombardment, it is clear that non-combatants can only be a burden in every way. Successful defence against a powerful enemy requires exclusive concentration on holding the enemy at bay. The defenders' attention must not be divided. This is from the military point of view.

But we have war resisters too, either humanitarian or political. They may not stay unless their object is merely to cause embarrassment for the sake of it. I hope there are none such. They should, therefore, be out of the cities. Then there are those who do not know what to do in the event of bombardment. They should all evacuate. As the reader will see, my opinion has little to do with my war resistance. For in this case and up to a point military necessity and duty of war resisters demand the same action.

If I could convert any city or all cities wholly, including the combatants of yesterday, I should welcome the invading host and try to convert even them or challenge them to do their worst, without offering retaliation. But no such good luck awaits me. If the cities were converted, all India including the rulers would be converted and there would be peace in India and peace in the world. But that must remain a daydream yet awhile. Only I won't be moved from my position by being told that the Jap or the Nazi is not the same man as the Englishman. I draw no such fundamental distinc-

tion between man and man. But I must not detain the reader on the speculative side of the matter-of-fact question that faces us.

Assuming then that all who should or a part of them have evacuated the cities and have gone to the villages or are about to go, what should they do? They must go with the village mind to live the village life as much as possible. They may not reproduce city conditions and build temporary palaces. They should go to the villages in a spirit of service, study their economic and other conditions, and ameliorate them not by giving alms but by giving the villagers work of a permanent nature. In other words, they should work the constructive programme among the villagers. Thus they will identify themselves with the villagers and become a kind of co-operative society with an ordered programme of economic, social, hygienic and political reconstruction.

The greatest problem the new-comers will have to tackle will be to deal with loot and dacoities. It will tax their resources to the utmost. The non-violent way is there. If that is not clear to them, with the co-operation of the villagers they should organise themselves for armed defence against robbers and dacoits. We have too long looked to the Government to do this elementary work for us, not excluding even the reclamation of castes called criminal tribes. The Government cannot do much, if anything at all, at this critical time. The work has perforce to be done by the evacuees violently, non-violently, or both ways.

Sevagram, 10-3-42

### Sad Contrast

Readers of *Harijan* will quite recently have seen the encouraging remarks of a high Government official in Bihar re: basic education. And the following news from Kashmir under the guidance of Prof. Saiyyidain, who is in charge of education there, is heartening: "The Kashmir Government have sanctioned a new programme of educational expansion for the next year. The programme includes the opening of sixty new primary schools, conversion of thirty existing primary schools into basic schools, construction of a number of basic school buildings, and appointment of more teachers for basic schools."

In sad contrast, however, to the above is the following, if true. One can only hope it is a canard. "The closing down of the Basic Normal Schools at Wardha and Seoni is, it is understood, being seriously contemplated by the Government of the C. P."

Sevagram, 1-3-42

A. K.

### A Correction

In the last issue, on p. 69, col. 1, line 4, instead of "land, and", please read "land in".

### Constructive Programme

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## PLEA FOR MORE FRUITS

(By M. K. Gandhi)

Dr. Menkel, who is also a dietetist, comments as follows in *The Oriental Watchman* on my note on 'Real War Effort' in *Harijan* of January 25th:

"First is the statement that food taken in excess of actual requirement for repair and energy is as much food actually wasted. Excess food is not only wasted food, but this excess also places a tax on the organs of digestion, detoxication and elimination, producing premature exhaustion with such developments as diabetes, nephritis and auto-intoxication. Another economy recommendation is that half the quantity of grain as wheat or rice will meet the food purposes when not taken in sloppy form. Cooked or baked grains when taken as near dry as possible must then be masticated and moistened with saliva to be swallowed. This results in better digestion and therefore less food providing the needed energy. Mr. Gandhi suggests that an ounce or two of raw salad vegetables is worth eight ounces of cooked vegetables. This applies particularly to their vitamin and mineral values. There is also something vital in raw fruit and vegetable which is destroyed by cooking. For this reason it is desirable that some uncooked raw fruit and vegetables be taken daily. India needs to make more extensive use of such raw uncooked foods. The elimination of sweet dishes as advocated would greatly relieve the stress upon the pancreas and liver imposed by the average Indian diet, and thus reduce the incidence of diabetes. It is in regard to Mr. Gandhi's statement about fruit that we do not find ourselves quite in agreement. He writes: 'Fresh fruit is good to eat, but only a little is necessary to give tone to the system.' While we can hobble along on low power with little fruit in the diet, it is the contrary that is required. Because so little fruit is available and consumed by the population, that there is so much vitamin and mineral deficiency in India. Writing about fruits and berries in his book *Food*, Sir Robert McCarrison states: 'They are among the best of all foodstuffs and should form a considerable part of our daily diet. They contain much mineral salts of the alkaline kind which keep the blood pure and prevent it becoming acid and sour. Fruits are most useful in keeping the bowels healthy and active.' (p. 88) Man's physical structure indicates that he is intended to be a frugivorous creature. His natural food, the food on which he can be at his best, is fruit, nuts, milk and the more succulent vegetables. Cereals would be better introduced as additional rather than as basic to the diet because of their strongly acid-ash-forming tendency. On the other hand, as stated by Sir Robert McCarrison, the fruits and vegetables are rich in the alkali minerals. The importance of this difference will be recognised when it is recalled that most of our ailments and all our pains, except those due to accident, are of acid origin. Obviously there would be less pain, and more enjoyment of life, if we kept more definitely on the alkaline side. This necessitates more fruit and vegetables, with proportionately less of the acid-tending cereals. The normal proportion is four parts of the alkaline—fruit and vegetables—to one of acid, which includes all the other foods. This would be the diet of health economy,

and should be made economically within the reach of all, in a well-organised world. Under existing emergency Mr. Gandhi has advocated a very rational and possible food economy. His suggestions merit careful study and application."

While I appreciate Dr. Menkel's endorsement of my remarks, I like better his correction of my apparent lukewarmness about fruit. No one perhaps, as far as I know, has eaten as much fruit as I have, having lived for six years on entirely fruits and nuts and always having had a liberal supply of fruit as part of my ordinary diet. But I had in my mind, when writing, the special conditions of India. Its people should have, by reason of its extent and variety of climate, a most liberal supply of fruits, vegetables and milk. Yet it is the poorest country in this respect. I therefore suggested what seemed to me to be feasible. But I heartily endorse the proposition that for retaining health fresh fruit and fresh vegetables should form the main part of our diet. It is for the medical profession to study the peculiar condition of India and suggest the list of vegetables and fruit which are or can be easily and cheaply grown in the villages for local consumption. Wild berries, for instance, grow abundantly. They may not be taken to the market for sale but can be used for the picking. This is a vast field for research. It can bring neither money nor perhaps fame. But it may earn the gratitude of dumb millions.

Sevagram, 28-2-42

### Spinning by Sweepers

Spinning was introduced among the sweepers of Navsari, the second biggest town in the Baroda State, about 16 months ago, and now 50 box charkhas and one carding machine are at work among them. I examined the records kept of the quantity of work done and of the earnings made therefrom. The sweepers took to it rather cautiously and hesitatingly. But slowly they began to like it and have stuck to it. 50 charkhas among less than 60 families is not a mean achievement. Of course they work only during their leisure hours after doing their day's work of municipal sweeping and scavenging. They now earn by spinning Re. 1 to Rs. 2 per charkha and add to their low incomes of Rs. 8 to Rs. 13 per month.

By the by, it will not be out of place, if I mention that the Baroda administration has seriously neglected to provide housing for these sweepers, though the matter has been on the anvil for more than the last ten years. The land was acquired for them by the Municipality three years ago, but rich and influential residents are using all their influence and trying by all possible means not to have them settled in good houses in this particular locality. At present the sweepers' huts, made of rusted kerosine tin sheets, walls, roof and all, are in close touch with a block of public latrines, and are very unsightly and uncomfortable to live in. The citizens of Navsari want to have their street-refuse and night-soil removed by these people, but want them to live miles away on starvation wages. Such callousness seems possible only in our caste-ridden country.

A. V. Thakkar



## BASIC CURRENCY

(By Bharatanand)

[Bharatanandji's active brain, having approved of my note on hand-spun yarn as a measure of value, has produced the following note. Let knowing workers study it and see if they can improve upon the scheme propounded by the author.]

Sevagram, 4-2-42

M. K. G.]

Gandhiji's idea that a warp length of hand-spun yarn should be made a basic unit of Indian currency is one more stroke of his genius, which is bound to have a great influence on the economic future of this country as his ideas soak into the life of the people. For in the idea of yarn as a standard of value lies the seed of a basic currency for India, admirably suited to her needs.

The fact that the idea by itself is of hoary antiquity and was practised at the dawn of human civilisation in no way reduces its merits. The ancient Slavonian tribes, inhabiting Europe from the Elbe to the Volga before and during the time of the Roman Empire, used cloth as the standard currency. Even now the words 'pay' and 'cloth' are almost the same in Slavonic languages.

In Polish 'plata' means pay and 'plate' means a sheet. In Russian 'platit' means to pay and 'palatno' means cloth. 'To pay' in all Slavonic languages is etymologically derived from 'give cloth' or 'exchange for cloth'.

It may be interesting and useful to work out a practical scheme on the lines of a basic currency linked up with khadi with a view to its immediate adoption by the A. I. S. A., the A. I. V. I. A., the Hindustani Talimi Sangh and the Congress, if possible, in all their internal dealings so as to pave the way for its becoming the official currency of free India.

The standard hank adopted by the A. I. S. A. is of 640 turns of 4 feet per turn.

We can base our khadi currency on such a hank with sub-divisions by 4.

Thus we shall have, as suggested by Shri Kishorlal Mashruwala:

1 anti = 640 turns = 4 lati  
1 lati = 160 turns = 4 pati  
1 pati = 40 turns = 4 tana  
1 tana = 10 turns = 40 feet

A 'lati' may also be called 'vishi'.

The khadi centres may issue khadi currency for local circulation. The khadi currency is intrinsically a warehouse receipt, and its text will run more or less like this:

No.	Place	Date
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For value received we shall give to the bearer one anti (lati, pati, tana) of certified standard hand-spun yarn on demand.

Treasurer—

Secretary—

On the reverse the following may be printed:

One anti consists of 640 turns of 4 feet each of hand-spun yarn of \_\_\_\_\_ to \_\_\_\_\_ counts and not less than \_\_\_\_\_ per cent strength.

1 anti = 4 lati = 640 turns

1 lati = 4 pati = 160 turns

1 pati = 4 tana = 40 turns

1 tana = 10 turns = 40 feet

The khadi currency may be exchangeable at all A. I. S. A. and A. I. V. I. A. centres for yarn, cloth, cotton, spinning and weaving implements, and various village products and foodstuffs at standard exchange rates as fixed from time to time by the A. I. S. A. and the A. I. V. I. A. The khadi currency may be freely exchanged for State currency at A. I. S. A. and A. I. V. I. A. branches at rates depending on the current spinners' wage per hank of yarn.

The khadi currency may be printed on small rectangles of khadi cloth or strong hand-made paper made dirt-and-water-proof by soaking in an appropriate solution. The exchange rates at the A. I. S. A. and A. I. V. I. A. shops will be naturally advantageous to holders of khadi currency. The khadi currency representing a standard product of universal necessity will not undergo the depreciation of a paper currency. The khadi currency when hoarded will tend to appreciate in terms of State currency even in normal times because of the policy of raising progressively the spinners' wage. All this will reduce the tendency to exchange khadi currency for State currency and ultimately abolish it altogether, thus creating for the A. I. S. A. a source of working capital naturally expanding with the production of yarn and cloth.

There is nothing to prevent the A. I. S. A. from introducing the khadi currency immediately. The expansion of the reconstruction programme in general and khadi work in particular will be considerably hastened and facilitated and, if some 5 or 10 year plan for khadi is adopted, the khadi currency is the best solution for financing it.

## KHADI FORGES AHEAD

## II

Another noteworthy feature has been the starting of training centres for khadi experts in several provinces and the institution of graded examinations for the trainees. The importance of this work cannot be exaggerated. We can never have too many khadi experts, for there has been a growing demand for them in recent years, and the expansion of production work has often been checked primarily for want of experts to take up the work or to train or guide other people. In countries of the West where handicrafts are fostered, training institutes have always been given their due importance, and in many cases itinerant instructors of crafts have been moving about from place to place, instructing people in the technique of production. Some such thing would be useful in our country also, provided we have a sufficient number of men with the requisite knowledge and zeal.

The amounts given to the A. I. S. A. by way of grants-in-aid by the Congress Governments while they were in office have dwindled where they have not been stopped altogether. The purchases of khadi by these Governments have also met with the same fate. The production work of the Sangh received a great spurt as the result of that encouragement, and must have suffered dislocation as a result of withdrawal or



contraction of an aid which the Sangh was led to believe would continue much longer and planned its work on that basis. What a sad contrast this apathy presents to the policy (to cite but one instance) of the U. S. S. R., where "the various Government departments, central or municipal, together with the manufacturing trusts and the consumers' co-operative societies, have, during the past decade, willingly supplied their own needs by contracting to take from the manufacturing associations of owner-producers (incops), at agreed fixed prices, a large proportion of their output, thus ensuring for long periods a profitable market for their wares." (Sidney and Beatrice Webb)

Among the States, Mysore has been running a production centre at Badanwal for the last twelve years, and there are three other centres run by Local Boards, the total production in 1940 amounting to Rs. 92 thousand. A few other States have given a little aid here and there, but it is little more than a drop in the ocean.

The Sangh has been serving all communities alike, as the following figures will show. The 2,76,146 artisans engaged by the Sangh belong to the various communities as follows:

Harijans	19,645
Other Hindus	1,70,273
Muslims	57,378
Those regarding whom information has not been obtained	28,850

The year under report has also witnessed a number of improvements in the wheels and other implements, the outstanding being the invention of the dhanush takli by Shri Bharatanand. The intensive programme of training an increasing number of spinners and others in the improved processes is sure to result, in fact has already resulted to some extent, in an improvement in quality and acceleration in the rate of output.

This training work is closely connected with the progressive increase in the spinners' wages, with the ultimate aim of reaching the rate of 8 as. per day, which has been perhaps the most important experiment launched by the Sangh in recent years at the instance of Gandhiji. After an experience of about four years the Sangh had to fix the limit, for the time being, at 3 as. per day, with the freedom to any Provincial Branch to exceed the limit. The reason for the decision lay in the fact, as explained by Gandhiji, that "the middle class khadi buyer simply has not the money to buy khadi at the increased price necessitated by the rise in wages beyond the point of three annas." Even this was a good rise in conditions of sub-human poverty obtaining in the country, and was particularly remarkable because of the fact that it was wholly unasked. And it is in this respect that the economics of khadi differ radically from the orthodox economics which allow to labour much less than what would be their due under a just and equitable system of distribution.

Intimately bound up with the question of wages is that of uncertified dealers, to which reference has been made time and again in these columns. These persons have turned a deaf ear to all appeals

made to them. The more deplorable fact, however, is that many Congressmen, who should have known better, have not hesitated to support them in their unpatriotic conduct. "We cannot hope," says the report with a sigh, "to prevail upon the traders to give up this business. But those who want to wear khadi should think twice before they buy the uncertified stuff. When they are already out to spend in the name of khadi much more than they would otherwise have to spend for mill cloth, why should they not resist the temptation of buying the spurious khadi which saves them only an anna or an anna and a half per rupee but leads them to act against the fundamental principle of khadi? There is no greater obstacle in the way of universalising the principle of a living wage than the selfishness of the sellers and buyers of uncertified khadi." Will they even now listen?

If cheapness is allowed to be the sole guiding factor, it cuts at the root of all movement for encouraging Swadeshi goods in preference to foreign ones. The maxim of 'buy cheapest' was propounded by the economists of a country which needed markets abroad for its machine-made products. The country of its origin never seriously applied it to its own affairs except in so far as it suited its interest or convenience, and has long since given it the go-by even as a theory. Indeed it is an exploded myth in the age of high tariff walls, quotas, preferences, restrictions of output, State-controlled prices, and destruction of crops in order to maintain a high price level.\* In no free country of the world is cheapness allowed to override other considerations. What is even Autarky (which not only Germany but England and the U. S. A. adopted in their own manner) but another name for Swadeshi—an effort at achieving a maximum of

\* This may be true, a critic may remark, of countries under a capitalist economy, but what of Russia where there is no capitalism interested in artificially maintaining high prices? Now please read this: "On the whole, in the Soviet economy selling prices are based on costs of production, and are coming to be so to an increasing extent. But the costs on which prices are based are controlled costs, dependent on the levels of remuneration fixed for workers of different kinds, on the charges made for the use of capital and credit, and on the taxes levied on the various enterprises. Of these controlled costs, the cost of labour is obviously by far the most important."—G. D. H. Cole: *Practical Economics*, p. 80. Thus in Russia the wage rates are fixed by the State, the selling prices are in effect State-controlled, as also is all foreign trade, and the so-called law of demand and supply is not allowed to operate freely. In fact planned economy is itself a negation of free trade. What is the A. I. S. A. doing (only it has no State authority) except to fix the prices on the basis of "costs of production", considering "the cost of labour" (i. e. wages paid to artisans) as "obviously by far the most important", and, in addition, eliminating or minimising other items like interest, administration and advertisement, so as to ensure to the producers the largest share of the prices paid by the consumers, and thus bringing about a more equitable distribution?



self-sufficiency irrespective of high prices and other inconveniences? Well did Gandhiji describe 'buy cheapest' as "one of the most inhuman among the maxims laid down by modern economists". And where individuals, as apart from States, short-sightedly and oblivious of their duty to the poorer among their countrymen, follow it in their daily practice, the results to the nation as a whole prove disastrous, as we have seen to our cost in the history of our country. It therefore behoves Congressmen the least—in view of their pledges—to put forth the plea of cheapness, and one may hope that such of them as have encouraged uncertified khadi so far will see their error and will help whole-heartedly in the effort to do the poor spinning sisters—the lowest paid among the artisans—a tardy justice in the form of an increased wage for their work.

Ahmedabad, 30-1-42

C. S.

### Constructive Work in Sind

From a letter of Prof. N. R. Malkani to Gandhiji, the following account of constructive work in Sind will be found interesting:

*Khadi*—There are 7 bhandars and 3 production centres out of which one is for woollen goods. Sales of khadi have increased from Rs. 75,000 in 1938 to Rs. 3 lakhs in 1941. It is becoming increasingly difficult to get khadi from outside to replenish diminishing stocks. Efforts are being made to increase local production. Two new centres are being opened in Thar. More could be opened, but the question of capital is a serious one.

*Village Industries*—Shri Pratap Sheth has given a pukka building for the paper industry, and Swami Bhagwandas Udasi of Hyderabad has donated Rs. 2,000 for running the same. The latter has also given Rs. 500 for medical relief in the city.

*Hindustani*—Six persons have been detailed for organising the work. Voluntary classes have been introduced in several schools, but there is a dearth of well-qualified teachers as also a lack of enthusiasm on the part of school authority which prevent large numbers of boys from sitting for the periodical examinations. Muslim boys often attend Hindu private schools and are willing to read the same books in the Urdu script. It is only fair that these should be available to them, but such publications do not seem to exist, which is a definite lack. A Hindi-Sindhi dictionary in Devanagari script is under course of preparation.

As elsewhere Shri Malkani has found it difficult to secure village workers of the proper calibre. He feels that, while khadi and Hindi workers can be prepared, Harijan and village servants have to have a special urge within them. He has 13 whole-time workers, one of whom has selected a village and put fresh life in the entire taluka. Rs. 8,000 were spent by the Sind Village Workers' Association in 1941. Six friends have promised to maintain a worker each in six villages this year. The administration have promised Rs. 10,000 for improving village drinking water supply and sanitation, provided Rs. 2,500 can be raised by the organisation. Government is promoting famine relief on suitable lines.

Sevagram, 24-2-42

A. K.

### JAMNALALJI AND WOMEN

The other evening the girls and staff of the Mahila Ashram, Wardha, walked over to join in our evening worship and to present to Gandhiji the sacrificial yarn they had spun in memory of their patron and benefactor. In speaking to them Gandhiji tried to bring home to them the lessons they should learn from Jamnalalji's life:

"Members of the Mahila Ashram, in particular, owed a deep debt of gratitude to him. How were they going to repay it? There must be no idle tears. The best memorial to him was service. The soul does not die. It is the body alone that perishes. But not everyone lives for ever in the hearts of men as Jamnalalji will. The Mahila Ashram students and staff must pull their full weight in making Wardha an ideal town. Clean it, remove illiteracy, spread the gospel of khadi, remove untouchability, and serve the women. Then all of you can become members of the Goseva Sangh and help in enlisting members too. The pledge is not a rigid one, and, if you love the cow, you will willingly sign it. Last but not least there is Urdu. Each one of you should begin to study the Urdu script. Only those who know both Hindi and Urdu will be able in due course to create that beautiful mixture, the Hindustani of my dream, which shall be the national language.

"Jamnalalji created the Mahila Mandal in order to create women workers. The least each one of you can do is to imbibe his spirit of service and take it as your armour when you go into the wider sea of life. Most of you will marry. It is the natural thing to do, and I used to chaff Jamnalalji and call him a registrar of marriages because he was always arranging marriages. He was no less anxious than I that many of our girls should elect to remain unmarried for the sake of serving their less fortunate sisters, but such women are rare. In any case I shall expect service from you, and when married you will be two persons and will have to give fourfold. In many ways a married life—if well and truly lived, not for the sake of satisfying carnal desires—is harder than celibacy.

"Jamnalalji was a rare man. He was born to serve and serve universally. Nothing that he did was done half-heartedly. His diligence was amazing. He had even begun to tend the cow that gave him milk. Such was his thoroughness. He died in harness as he would have wished. Everyone cannot follow him in everything, but, at any rate, if you really loved and admired one who did so much for you, you should learn one lesson from his life. Work hard and give yourselves utterly to the fulfilment of those high ideals of womanhood which he set before you."

Sevagram, 1-3-42

A. K.

### Constructive Programme

Some Suggestions

By Rajendra Prasad. Price As. 4. Postage 1 Anna.

Can be had at Navajivan Office, Post Box 105, Ahmedabad, and at 130 Princess St., Bombay.



## THE CHALLENGE OF TODAY AND FRIENDS

[ This is my address to the Quakers in India delivered in Hoshangabad at their Conference held on the 29th of December last. M. D. ]

If I consented to attend your annual meeting, it was more to express my gratefulness to you for having invited me to a gathering which in its very nature must be confined to "Friends", and to make your acquaintance, than to air my views before you. You have in your letter of invitation described me as one "not altogether unfamiliar with Quaker history and practice". You will pardon me if I make a larger claim. I have the privilege of counting among my friends some eminent Quakers, and I share with you in a full measure the Quaker's hostility to war, which, as a Quaker has said, "follows from the Divine Presence in man, from human brotherhood, from disbelief in force, from the whole spiritual doctrine of human life. War blows away and fouls the soul in reckless tempest." If it also follows from the Christian conception of God as revealed in Christ, with me it follows from the Hindu conception of the One-ness of all life. I honour the Quakers for standing out from other Christians and declaring that "war is always contrary to the spirit of Christ"; I admire them for their gentle tolerance, their humanitarianism, and their beautifully quiet form of prayer. In this last respect we at Sevagram have paid you the tribute of imitation in that our vocal prayer is begun with two minutes' silence. I am thus here in your midst exercising the privilege of a 'friend' with a small 'f', if not a capital 'f'. That does not mean that my gratefulness to you is any the less for having invited me, an outsider, to take part in the deliberations of what is almost like your historic "Yearly Meetings".

In thus making a new departure you have declared your witness to what I may call a progressive assimilation of truth. Neither Jesus nor his apostles ever sat down to write moral codes, and neither did Lord Krishna sit down to write a code. The spirit of their teachings has been handed down to us, and unlike the written word which is rigid and unchangeable, that spirit is adaptable to every need and does not become an unwieldy drag on one's conscience. That is why you are assembled here to face the issues which you, not only as Quakers but as Quakers in India, are bound to face. The war, of which the flames are fast enveloping the world, is to outward seeming a war between Britain and America, China and Russia on the one hand and the Axis Powers on the other, or, as it is often described, between democracies and totalitarian powers. Really it is a war between Imperialisms ranged on either side, and whatever be the issue, it is not going to decide the ultimate issue of war as such. The war which will end all wars will be the war between violence and non-violence, and in that war all the forces of non-violence will have to be brought together, whether they are represented by the

Quakers or the Pacifists, Peace-loving Communists or Freedom-loving Pacifists in India. Your meeting is a forerunner of a vaster assembly of the kind I am contemplating, and if we can join hands together, we may pave the way for a future war to end all wars and their causes summed up in the word 'imperialism'.

That, however, is a far cry. It is best for us to address ourselves to the present. The Quakers have before them a glorious tradition and a rich heritage. Dr. Cadoux's valuable volume *The Early Christian Attitude to War* has about a hundred pages of solid quotation from the pre-Nicene Fathers in strong disapproval of war. They have all regarded war "wholesale murder". Tertullian tackled the question for all time. "Will it be lawful," he asked, for a Christian "to occupy himself with the sword when the Lord declares that he who uses the sword shall perish by the sword? And shall the son of peace, for whom it will be unfitting even to go to law, be engaged in a battle? And shall he who is not the avenger even of his own wrongs, administer chains and imprisonment and tortures and executions?" And Cadoux adds that Tertullian then goes on to suggest that those converted while soldiers must in practice leave the army or suffer martyrdom. It is after Constantine that the Church loses its spiritual character and denies its spiritual heritage and becomes the handmaid to Imperialistic ambition. But though abandoned by the Catholic Church, the teaching of Christ was harked back to through the centuries by numerous groups of reformers until the early founders of Quakerism inscribed on their banner "Primitive Christianity Revived". George Fox, whose name should be a perpetual inspiration to all, was invited when in Derby Jail to become a captain in the Commonwealth Army. He declined, "saying that he lived in the virtue of that life and power that took away the occasion of all wars", and so he lay among the felons, filthily, for six months more. Graham, who in his *Faith of a Quaker* has traced the history of succeeding years, gives some glorious instances of Quakers having borne brave testimony to Christ's teaching. When the Catholic rebels and English troops scattered terror in Ireland in 1798 the Friends there "destroyed any guns which they might have for sporting purposes, and left themselves absolutely unprotected." In America in 1704 the Quaker Colonists never carried arms, nor bolted their doors, and the "Indians left the Quaker farms alone, devoting themselves to killing Presbyterians who had killed their people and taken their lands." During the Civil War the Friends were faced with a real and almost insuperable difficulty whether to fight on the side of Abolitionists and abandon a dearly loved principle, or not to fight and thus acquiesce in the continuance of slavery. A considerable number went to war, but "Friends in the Southern States bore the full brunt of a really savage persecution for refusing the Confederate conscription. They were at times driven into the line of fire, but refused to shoot. During the last World War Graham records that 32 per cent of the



available young men in England, Australia and New Zealand joined the forces, but the remaining 68 per cent served their country as non-combatants. I am told that during the present war some Quakers have belied their legacy and advised the Czechs to bend the knee to Hitler. Thus when the testing time comes some may be found wanting, but some have always passed through the fire, and I am sure there is enough in past history to inspire us. The Friends' humanitarianism has been beyond dispute. Thus when the Czar insisted on the Doukhobors producing a large sum at once as passage money before he allowed them to migrate to Canada, John Bellows, Brooks and others raised from the Friends £40,000 by telegram within twentyfour hours, and enabled the Doukhobors to migrate.

There have been occasions when the Quakers emphasised only the letter of the Master's teaching and took up an attitude of seclusion from the world, and John Bright was called to account when he plunged into the national affairs as a political reformer. But, says Graham, that attitude has vanished now. Even as the Master came not to destroy but to fulfil, the disciples can fulfil the Master's teaching by boldly applying it to new occasions and new necessities.

I am glad that the Conference of Quakers in Rasulia which met two years ago declared that the way of Jesus was the supreme need of the hour, and that "our duty of witness may involve for us even the complete rejection of the claims of our nation to our service in war." The time has now come for some of you to reiterate the faith and the duty, and you who have temporarily or permanently made India the land of your adoption owe a duty to India.

That brings me to the call of the present hour. The call of Christ and of service has brought you to India. I do not know if any of you have had to sign the pledge similar to the one which some American missionaries had to sign before coming to India. If you have come under such a pledge, I am afraid your position here is anomalous. For as Quakers you have to speak out against war as wholesale murder and "the greatest social sin of modern times", as Quakers you have to speak out against Imperialism, and against the persecution of those who are trying to overthrow Imperialism; and such a pledge would prevent you from doing these obvious duties. You are believers in silent prayer, but I am sure your creed tells you no less than the creed of the Methodist Church "that to be silent in the face of need, injustice and exploitation would be to deny Him." Some missionary friends have had to face the alternative between keeping the pledge to Government and thereby denying Christ, and leaving the country but remaining true to Christ. They chose the latter. These disciples of Jesus have left shining examples for Christian missionaries in India. The duty of the Quakers is crystal clear. They are pledged to opposition to all wars and therefore necessarily to the present war. They have to declare their faith and suffer for Christ's sake.

Instead of swords being beaten into ploughshares and spears into pruning-hooks, the Cross has been turned into a sword. You have to speak out against this process of desecration and preach the method of turning enemies "not into corpses but friends". A private declaration of faith as you did two years ago is not enough.

You have to study the situation in the country and throw your whole weight on the side of Right. This war is said to be fought for the sake of democracy and freedom of all peoples, but those who are fighting the totalitarian powers are doing their very best to deny freedom and democracy to the people in their charge. Quite apart from the question whether India would voluntarily help in the war effort or not,—you as Quakers could not think of military co-operation by India—it is the duty of those who profess to fight for high ideals not to belie their professions. It was the duty of America to refuse all help to Britain until she had made India free. Americans among you can still strive to bring home to their motherland this obvious duty.

There is a movement of pacifism in India being carried on by conscientious objectors who are members of the Congress. They started the movement of civil disobedience in order to secure the right to declare all opposition to participation in the present war. I would ask you to understand the position of the conscientious objector in India. If we were a free nation, the task before the pacifists amongst us in case we were invaded would be similar to that before the pacifists in Britain, America and elsewhere. In free countries, where pacifist citizens have a full share in the government of the country, it may be right for them to abide by the national decision, except in so far as it touches their conscience. But the case would be entirely different if the pacifists lived under a despotism. They owe a double duty—one to their creed and the other to their country. That is the essence of the struggle in India. It is often complacently said that Government have no objection to Gandhiji and his few pacifists expressing themselves against the war; but it is forgotten that, if anything, Gandhiji's opposition to the war is stronger than that of those who ground their opposition on political reasons. Gandhiji's non-violence would not be worth a moment's purchase, if it were divorced from the desire to break the chain of his country's slavery. Under a despotism—and the Government of India is one of undiluted autocracy today—it becomes the duty of the pacifist to fight to reverse the Government's imposed decision both on the grounds of non-violence and politics. But the conscientious objector in India—both on political and ethical grounds—pitched his demand deliberately in a lower key. He just asked for the liberty to declare his opposition to participation in all war, and therefore this war, by men, money and munitions. It was his right to carry on a crusade to cripple all Government's resources. But under Gandhiji's guidance and leadership he pursued the policy of non-embarrass-



ment, restricting himself to just a public expression of his opinion, and avoiding recruiting depots and munition factories. Even this restricted demand for freedom of expression was not conceded, and thousands were put into prison for the exercise or intended exercise of that right. They are now released no doubt, but a number of those who were suspected of opposition to this imposed war are still in prison for no overt act of civil disobedience. Government have no doubt said in the course of their communique that the Satyagrahis "can be released", suggesting perhaps thereby that in future such Satyagraha would be ignored. But the honourable and graceful course for them would have been to declare that the conscientious objectors had the right they claimed within the limit they had imposed on themselves. It is for you to support this simple demand of your brother pacifists in India.

I wonder if you have moved among the masses sufficiently to find out what the so-called 'voluntary' war effort means to them. You know the scandal of *The Hindustan Times* case. It brought to light a fact which would otherwise have been suppressed. In Madras almost the entire official machinery including the Police and the Magistracy and the taxing authorities are engaged in selling tickets for war lotteries to the poorest and most helpless of people and making collections otherwise from persons who are either under or are likely to come under their authority. In some parts in Bombay agricultural labourers earning scarcely two annas a day have had to pay four times and eight times as much to the war fund, without actually knowing what the amount was extorted for. In a well-known province I can say in the words of a high-placed official that the "war collection business is horrid. It stinks." You have to expose cases of the kind wherever you come across them, and even help to prevent their occurrence.

I will not dwell at length on the place and work of the Missionaries in India, with reference to the spread of the gospel of Christ. Gandhiji's views are now very well known, and such of you as may care to study them in a compact form may turn to a volume of his writings called *Christian Missions—Their Place in India*. If the Missionaries will realise that they are here not as patrons doling out wisdom and coins but as humble seekers and servants, all will be well with them. Let them confine all their preaching and their teaching to the living example of their life and their acts of service. There is the work of communal unity. I think if every Quaker could show in himself an example in active practice of the wonderful Quaker maxim—"In essentials unity, in non-essentials liberty, in other things charity"—much could be achieved. And what John Woolman used to say is equally apposite in this connection: "The law of Christ consisted in tenderness towards our fellow-creatures and a concern so to walk that our conduct may not be the means of strengthening them in error." John Woolman has also left for the Quakers an inspiring lesson in another direction. It was the lesson of

greater and greater identification with the poor. He ruled out every kind of trade that involved unrighteousness and injustice and ministered to luxury, waste, and sweating. I commend to you the work of the All India Spinners' Association and the Village Industries Association, and appeal to you to use khadi and village-made articles as far as may be possible for you. I also commend to you Gandhiji's latest booklet on Constructive Work.

I come to the last and the most important point. The war is now at our door. Rangoon has been bombed, and our turn may soon come. We may even be invaded and find ourselves face to face with a conqueror asking peremptory surrender. How shall we face the issue? Quakers in the past have not objected to organising Ambulance Units which are subject to military discipline and control. I will not discuss the question whether this does or does not involve co-operation with the war-machine, and I would not quarrel with you if you should feel called upon to raise Ambulance Units or organise War Victims' Relief work. But I would ask you to consider whether it may not be more in consonance with your creed to cast in your lot with the voluntary organisations that may be set up for these purposes by the people of India.

It is when we are faced with the last question that you with your great faith and "desire to treasure the integrity of the Christ within" can play a heroic part. It is easy enough to refuse military service and go to prison, it is easy enough to insist on the right to preach non-participation in war and take the consequence. But the world is in need of more heroic deeds. The conqueror asking for surrender will not offer us the alternative of prison, and we as pacifists will not at the crucial hour betray our faith and take up what arms we may have to resist him. The alternative will in all likelihood be immediate death by being shot. Among us Indians there may not be many prepared to take the grim decision to prefer death to surrender. But some war has to be the last, and nothing but heroic acts of self-immolation can work towards that happy consummation. It is said of an officer of the British Fleet Air Arm that he left a letter, to be delivered to his parents in the event of his being killed, in which these words occur: "Flesh and blood had to be sacrificed if the things in which we believe were to survive and flourish. It has been my lot to be one of those whose gift has been accepted." This officer had since made the "gift" of his life. It was truly heroic, but even more heroic would be the gift by an innocent pacifist of his flesh and blood to the victor demanding abject surrender of his soul. There may be a handful of such heroes today, but out of the ashes of the few will arise many who will liberate the land and war-weary humanity. I am sure that when that fateful moment comes Gandhiji will expect you to stand side by side with the Satyagrahis in India who will embrace death cheerfully, and to live up to the creed of the old Quaker who said to his torturer: "My prison shall be my grave before I will budge a jot; for I owe



my conscience to no mortal man. I value not your threats nor resolutions. In me shall you behold a resolution above fear, and conscience above cruelty. He that would reap and not labour must faint with the wind, and perish in disappointments; but an hair of my head shall not fall, without the Providence of my Father who is over all."

## Notes

### Untouchability and Indore

The Maharaja Saheb of Indore sent a message to the organisers of the Harijan Day in Indore on the 1st inst. It is published in the Holkar Government Gazette of 2nd March, and will repay perusal. It is on a par with the Travancore Proclamation which declared the abolition of untouchability. The opening lines demonstrate the spirit in which the problem is approached by the Maharaja. They are :

"It gives me great pleasure in associating myself with you in celebrating the Harijan Day. I have been deeply interested in the welfare of a community which for many generations has suffered in every way from the fanatical orthodoxy of Caste Hindus. Without realising their obstinacy they have done a great disservice not only to their country but to humanity in general. I, for one, could not conceive of the continuance of this evil in Holkar State, and with a view to eliminating it issued a proclamation in 1938 thereby placing the so-called untouchables on the same footing as any one of us. I am glad to see that something substantial has been done in ameliorating their social and economic conditions in my State. There is plenty more to be done in this field, and I can commend this urgent work to everyone interested in public welfare. I want to point out with all the emphasis at my command that it is impossible to evolve a sound body politic on democratic lines in this country unless we achieve social solidarity among ourselves. In achieving this we must, in the first place, liquidate the very word 'untouchability' from our vocabulary."

### Gram Panchayats in Aundh

The Raja Saheb writes :

"Since we last met at Wardha three years ago, the system of village administration by the panchayats has been introduced in Aundh State, and I have great pleasure in saying that the results so far achieved are most hopeful and encouraging. Every village now has a school. Most of these schools are built with local help and partial grants from the taluk samitis. The villagers have made their own roads, they have made water arrangements, and every inhabitant in almost all the villages has come to feel a sort of consciousness of his right as well as of responsibility and of love for his village. A copy of the report of the judicial administration of my State has already been sent to you. Now I am sending you under separate cover a copy of the administration report of the panchayats. You will get just an outline therefrom as to how we are progressing in the villages on their constructive side."

### Stud Bulls

At the meeting of friends of the late Jamnalalji which recently met in Wardha, one of the schemes announced was the production of 1,000 good bulls. It was conceived by Seth Rameshwardas Birla. He has not allowed the grass to grow under his feet. He has already issued an appeal for assistance. The scheme is likely to cost five lacs which should be forthcoming without an effort. The following form the committee of management :

1. Shri Rameshwardasji Birla — President
2. Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel
3. Shrimati Suvratadevi Ruia
4. Shri Laxminarainji Gadodia
5. Shri Bhagirathji Kanodia
6. Shri Hiralalji Shastri
7. Shri Keshavdevji Nevatia — Secretary

### Gopalan Nambiar

Gopalan Nambiar is a patriotic youth who in the heat of the moment is said to have instigated a crowd, at a meeting in Malabar, to assault a Sub-Inspector of Police resulting in his unfortunate death. The High Court at Madras has sentenced him to be hanged. I take it that the evidence justified the sentence, but it is a clear case for commutation of the sentence by the Government. This is no case of private murder deliberately committed. We are living in the midst of murders on a wholesale scale which no court of law can ever reach. It is a mockery to send a young man to the gallows for an act, however indefensible otherwise, in which malice is wholly absent. I am glad, therefore, that leaders of public opinion and the Press are moving in order to secure a reprieve. It is hoped that the Government will listen to the public voice.

Sevagram, 9-3-42

M. K. G.

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# HARIJAN

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[ FIVE PICE .

## CRY FOR WHEAT

Sir Ramaswami Mudaliar in his elaborate defence of the Government position failed to explain why Government were not prepared to accept the one practical solution of the situation created by the anarchy in price control, viz. the purchase of stocks by Government and selling them at a fixed price to the wholesale or retail buyer. There is no doubt that the country's production, as pointed out by one member, is about 10 million tons of wheat, and the consumption about 9 millions, and yet wheat is scarce in the Punjab and Delhi, where any wheat flour available is mixed with barley and other flour. The Commerce Member questioned the accuracy of the figure for our annual consumption, but he revealed that 178,000 tons of wheat and 82,000 tons of wheat flour were exported during the current year as against 10 million tons of total yield during 1940-41. That should not make wheat or wheat flour scarce, for if the consumption is 9 million tons, this export should leave a fair surplus. The deplorable fact is that the Commerce Member, who says that the problem in October was neither shortage of wheat nor control of wheat prices, does not realise that control of prices has the inevitable result of producing scarcity of the article concerned, unless it is accompanied by the safeguarding measure of making the commodity available at control prices by Government themselves.

If as the Commerce Member suggests vast quantities of stocks have been hoarded or buried underground, even that is the result of the short-sighted price control policy, and the much more short-sighted political policy of the rulers having no relations or responsibility to the ruled. It should not be difficult for the Government to ascertain the actual facts, and make stocks available. If, however, that is impossible, they should make way for popular national Government and let the whole responsibility fall on their shoulders. As the London *Economist* said some time ago, "the State cannot, in war time, evade responsibility for what happens to the community." We agree that neither can "the community dissociate itself from the individuals who compose it. In a very real sense, we are all members one of another."

This last truth must be realised by every one of us. The State exists today and functions as best it can, but it may cease to function any day. Then the responsibility will be thrown on the

individuals composing the community. Unless we realise that "we are all members one of another", there will be chaos. In this connection the example of a friend in Ceylon is very commendable. He writes: "As you probably know there is a rice shortage here and only about two measures are allowed each week; I am glad to say that I had stored about 800 bushels and have bought 500 kurakan as well, so I have enough for about six months anyhow. I am issuing it to my people at Rs. 4/9 and will lose about Rs. 700 a month, but the price at which I bought most of it is too high to ask them to pay it, so I am very glad to be able to help them." Those who have stocks of grain should follow his good example.

Sevagram, 16-3-42

M. D.

## EVIDENTLY A LONG WAR

Almost as though in continuation of my article "British and American Nazism", Shri Chandrashanker Shukla sends me exhaustive extracts from American daily and weekly papers to show that the American brand is, if anything, worse than the British brand, and cites numerous instances of the most ruthless prevalence of the colour bar there. There is no room in these columns for those copious extracts. But in order that the duration of the present war may be gauged a bare mention may be made of the bar sinister as it prevails today:

(1) Negro students are not admitted to common educational institutions, nor are separate equal facilities provided for them.

(2) In spite of the U. S. Supreme Court decision establishing the principle of equal treatment for all on trains in Southern States, the equal treatment consists of equal kind of accommodation in a compartment marked 'for Negroes only'.

(3) Housing accommodation in white localities is impossible for Negroes even in the Northern States.

(4) Negroes are debarred from jobs in the defence industries, and Negroes already employed are systematically being hounded out.

(5) Arrogant hatred of Negro recruits in the Army—the "niggers must be made to know their place, with violence and terror if necessary."

There was an affray at an army camp in which a Negro soldier and a white military policeman were killed, and "after the shooting whole companies—Negro officers included—were forced to stand all night with their hands above their heads."



No wonder that a "Negro-man-in-the-street" wrote to the editor of a paper: "When I read these things I am forced to wonder just how far removed is the brand of democracy that we practise from Fascism, Nazism, and barbarism."

This is happening in a country where 80 years ago Abraham Lincoln spoke of the Americans as a "new nation, conceived in liberty, and dedicated to the proposition that all men are created equal." He fought what is regarded in history as a righteous war, in order that "this nation, under God, shall have a new birth of freedom," and after the successful conclusion of that war also forfeited his life for the ideal. But perhaps because that war was tarnished by bloodshed, the new birth of freedom is yet to come. Mr. Churchill speaking some days ago said that the war may last even twenty years. He had, I am sure, not the social conditions in America or in the British Colonies or India in mind, when he said so. But there is no doubt that there cannot be a peace to which Indians or the Negroes can give assent unless it has for its foundation democracy broad-based on the freedom and equal citizenship rights of all — white, black; yellow, etc. Sevagram, 16-3-42 M. D.

**Tolerance according to Some Muslim Writers**  
[ A correspondent sends these beautiful selections. M. K. G.]

Win over a heart, for it is the greatest pilgrimage,  
One heart is better than a thousand Kabas,  
The Kaba was built by Abraham the son of Azar,  
But the heart is the frequenting place of the greatest  
Glorious God.

*Maulana Rumi*

If thou desirest to behold the face of the Friend (God),  
Win over hearts, for the heart is His mirror.

*Attar*

Who am I as a believer that I should pass the verdict  
of unbeliever on others, O Akbar?

Those only are unbelievers who are unbelievers in the  
judgment of God.

What is religion? a social and political arrangement,  
This is not the way of recognising a believer and  
heretic;

There are some believers and some heretics in every  
religion.

Remember these words of one who knows the secrets.

*Akbar*

Religion does not teach to become one another's  
enemies. We are Indians and our country is India.

The Muslims are quarreling with their own people.  
Nor do they paint pictures other than duality. They  
cry out and complain if someone removes a brick from  
a mosque which they themselves avoid. This means that  
the so-called religious fend is not religious but irreligious.

*Iqbal*

Do not hurt anybody and do what thou wishest, for  
in our creed there is no sin but this (himsa).

Hafiz did not mean licence for everything else  
because he knew intuitively that in the final analysis  
we can see that every sin carries injury to the indi-  
vidual and the race.

*Hafiz*

## YARN CURRENCY

( By Shriman Narayan Agarwal )

The other day about a dozen workers of various local institutions assembled in Gopuri to discuss Gandhiji's scheme of yarn currency. Acharya Vinoba Bhave and Shri Shrikrishnadas Jaju were also present. A very interesting and useful discussion ensued, the gist of which is given below.

Yarn cannot be termed currency in the strict sense of the word, because it cannot circulate freely without soon getting spoiled. Yarn can be used as a restricted form of barter. The currency will be mostly paper; it can be pieces of cloth or leather as well. The sanction behind the currency will be yarn and not silver or gold. The system could, therefore, widely be called the yarn standard.

The advantages of the yarn standard will be many. It will enhance the prestige of spinning and, through it, of manual labour. Unlike gold or silver, yarn can be earned alike by a child or even a decrepit person; it can be produced at any time and for any duration. It has its direct utility in meeting one of our vital needs, namely clothing.

The new currency will also make our villages panic-proof in these days of international holocaust. Even in the event of internal dislocation of trade, commerce and currency, the villager will feel secure within his self-sufficient co-operative life. The villagers will also be obliged to restrict their wants and make their village self-sufficient by producing all the necessities of life. Exploitation will be considerably reduced, and production will be almost simultaneous with distribution.

Payments will be made in terms of 'lattis' and 'gundis'; the paper or cloth currency notes will bear the numbers of hanks on them. The value of each hank (640 rounds) will be roughly one anna. The prices of commodities like grain, cloth, milk and ghee produced in the village will not be allowed to fluctuate violently in terms of hanks. The real and face values of khadi currency, therefore, will be, more or less, constant and identical.

The stability of the value of yarn currency will have to be maintained by establishing a Central Co-operative Stores and supplying the commodities at fixed prices. Without regulating production and distribution, price control will be an impossibility. The whole village economy will have to be assiduously and intelligently planned.

If necessary, the village may also establish a Bank to accept rupees or annas for the yarn currency to provide for travelling or remitting money to relations and friends living outside the village.

The introduction of the yarn currency or standard implies the existence of village panchayats. Without a corporate life and village self-government no scheme of indigenous currency can make any headway.

Wardha, 10-3-42



## WHAT AFTER THE FINAL ADIEU?

Apropos of my article 'A Peep into British History', a friend has sent an extract from Hume's *History of England*, which is fuller than the ones I have quoted:

"That they might leave the island with the better grace, the Romans assisted them in erecting anew the wall of Severus, which was built entirely of stone, and which the Britons had not at that time artificers skilful enough to repair. And having done this last good office to the inhabitants, they bid a final adieu to Britain about the year 448, after being masters of the more considerable part of it during the course of near four centuries.

"The *object Britons regarded this present of liberty as fatal to them; and were in no condition to put in practice the prudent counsel given them by the Romans, to arm in their own defence.* Unaccustomed both to the perils of war and to the cares of civil government, they found themselves incapable of forming or executing any measures for resisting the incursions of the barbarians. Grasian, and also Constantine, two Romans who had a little before assumed the purple in Britain, had carried over to the continent the flower of the British youth; and having perished in their unsuccessful attempts on the imperial throne, had despoiled the island of those who in this despicable extremity were best able to defend it. The Picts and Scots, finding that the Romans had finally relinquished Britain, now regarded the whole as their prey, and attacked the Northern wall with redoubled forces. The Britons, *already subdued by their own fears*, found the rampart but a weak defence for them; and deserting their station, left the country entirely open to the inroad of the barbarous enemy. The invaders carried devastation and ruin along with them, and exerted to the utmost their native ferocity, which was not mitigated by the helpless condition and submissive behaviour of the inhabitants. The unhappy Britons had a third time recourse to Rome, which had declared its resolution for ever to abandon them. At times the patrician, sustained at that time by his valour and magnanimity, the tottering ruins of the Empire, and revived for a moment among the degenerate Romans the spirit, as well as discipline, of their ancestors. The British ambassadors carried to him the letter of their countrymen which was inscribed, '*The Groans of the Britons*'. The tenor of the epistle was suitable to its superscription. 'The barbarians,' say they, 'on the one hand, chase us into the sea; the sea, on the other, throws us back upon the barbarians and we have only the hard choice left of perishing by the sword or by the waves.' But Aetius, pressed by the arms of Attila, the most terrible enemy that ever assailed the empire, had no leisure to attend to the complaints of allies whom generosity alone could induce him to assist. The Britons, thus rejected, were reduced to despair, deserted their habitations, abandoned tillage, and flying for protection to the forests and mountains, suffered equally from hunger and from the enemy." (*Italics mine*)

This extract is important inasmuch as the facts given by the eighteenth century historian have stood the test of later evidence.

The date given by Hume (446 A. D.) is the same as Gardiner—perhaps Gardiner's source was Hume—and the date of the "final adieu" by the Romans is perhaps a typist's error. It should be 428 and not 448. The extract is coloured by Hume's prejudice against everything English, but there is no doubt that the Britons felt "the present of liberty as fatal to them", and they abjectly appealed to the Romans not once but three times to save them from the sea and the barbarians and appealed in vain.

There is also no doubt that the "present" of freedom was to them a blessing in disguise. They may have been driven to desperation and into the wilderness for the time being, but it was because they were left to fend for themselves that they later came to their own. The Romans were at least good enough to ask the Britons "to arm in their own defence". The singular contribution of the British rulers to India is the emasculation of the whole people by forcible deprivation of arms, so much so that, however hopeful some of our leaders may be of bringing an army into being after freedom is declared, the prospect is really nil. To raise a formidable army—and a mechanised army at that—to fight formidable foes, is no matter of a mango trick. Non-violent organisation is the only thing feasible, whether with or without freedom, and one can only hope that they may soon see the error of their thought and bend all the nation's efforts to organising it non-violently against the invader.

But says C. R. in a recent speech (I am quoting from *The Hindu*), "If Britain did not respond and this country had to face dangers, still I would appeal to all to be brave and organise measures for local safety and protection. If anyone thought that, if Japan succeeded, the freedom of India could be easily obtained, he was woefully mistaken, for Japanese exploitation would be more ruthless. We will have to resist every foreign rule and probably, if that rule was not British, we would have to give up the methods we had so far adopted for winning our rights against Britain and devise new methods." While it is true that Japan's or Germany's success cannot possibly make our freedom easy, it is no use adopting the theory of Edward Thompson and others that the British and American species of exploitation is or can be better than the Japanese or the Fascist species. These friends forget two things, viz. (1) the past history of British imperialism; and (2) that present comparatively milder repression is due to the non-violent methods employed, and that in the past the ruthlessness—no better or worse than that which is now attributed to the "enemies"—was in response to our ill-considered violent methods. Besides, if the milder methods will not succeed against other and worse foreigners, one wonders why it is not realised that wilder methods will succeed still less, for the simple reason



that it is not possible when the country is invaded to organise any of the wilder methods, even if we were free.

Sevagram, 16-3-42

M. D.

## HARIJAN

Mar. 22

1942

### 'SCORCHED EARTH'

(By M. K. Gandhi)

The Russian technique of scorched earth has staggered humanity, but humanity has been powerless to do anything except applaud the amazing sacrifice and bravery that counted no cost too great to circumvent the enemy. I have shared the amazement with the admirers but not their admiration.

We like to imitate what we admire. Now that the prospect faces us, are we able to contemplate with equanimity, or feel the glow of bravery and sacrifice at, the prospect of India's earth being scorched and everything destroyed in order that the enemy's march may be hampered?

As a war resister my answer can only be one. I see neither bravery nor sacrifice in destroying life or property for offence or defence. I would far rather leave, if I must, my crops and homestead for the enemy to use than destroy them for the sake of preventing their use by him. There is reason, sacrifice and even bravery in so leaving my homestead and crops, if I do so not out of fear but because I refuse to regard anyone as my enemy—that is, out of a humanitarian motive.

But in India's case there is, too, a practical consideration. Unlike Russia's, India's masses have no national instinct developed in the sense that Russia's have. India is not fighting. Her conquerors are. Supposing that the conquerors are worsted and the Japanese come, the inarticulate masses will not even notice the change for the time being or for a long time. The intelligentsia are divided on the issue of the war. The motive here is irrelevant. India's soldiers are in no sense a national army. They are soldiers because it is their profession. They will as soon fight under the Japanese or any other provided they are paid for fighting. In these circumstances the policy of scorched earth would be a wholly indefensible act.

It is therefore a matter for satisfaction that Indian opinion is being expressed against the policy of scorching. I know nothing of the requirements of the military, but they can never be allowed to supersede national or humanitarian considerations which the nation may have accepted. The military must thus be an arm of the dominant civil power, not its substitute. The Government of India will considerably ease the situation and allay anxiety by declaring in unequivocal terms that they will not apply, if the occasion ever arise, the scorched earth policy to India, especial regard being had to her peculiar position.

Sevagram, 16-3-42

## Notes

### Defending the Indefensible

I have read Qaid-e-Azam's answer to my appeal. It has caused me deep pain. I had expected a better response. The reproduction of the whole offending article would make worse reading. For the whole of it is venomous. Qaid-e-Azam knows that I do not hesitate to criticise any party or person whenever the occasion demands criticism. I have more than once criticised unbecoming writings in the non-Muslim Press.

I do not know the writer of the offending article. If he is a Hindu, it makes Qaid-e-Azam's defence of it all the worse for it. I am sorry that Qaid-e-Azam has resorted to special pleading for defending the indefensible. This unexpected defence of an article designed to wound deep susceptibilities makes ominous reading.

Sevagram, 17-3-42

M. K. G.

### A Harijan Colony in Bihar

Raja Bahadur Kamakhya Narayan Sinha, while opening a Harijan Colony in Arrah the other day, spoke against the sin of untouchability in a way which reminds one of the recent message to Harijans sent by the Maharaja Saheb of Indore:

"It is a crime on the part of us so-called Caste Hindus to treat lakhs of people as untouchables. They too are God's creation. They have the same physical form as we, they are activated by the same human desires, they feel insults and misery just as keenly as we do. But they are today powerless to raise their voice in protest. Their cry of distress, however, does go up to heaven, and we shall surely be damned by it if we do not mend. We must atone for our sins. That we have put up for them a dwelling place of bricks and mortar is only a drop in the ocean. We shall have atoned only when we give them a dwelling place in our hearts and shall embrace them as the great Bharat embraced the humble boatman Guha and thereby raised himself."

If all Caste Hindus were to root out untouchability from their hearts as Raja Bahadur has done, this blot would soon be removed from our society.

Sevagram, 16-3-42

M. K. G.

### The Married Estate

A sister, who is a good worker and was anxious to remain celibate in order better to serve the country's cause, has recently married having met the mate of her dreams. But she imagines that in doing so she has done wrong and fallen from the high ideal which she had set before herself. I have tried to rid her mind of this delusion. It is no doubt an excellent thing for girls to remain unmarried for the sake of service, but the fact is that only one in a million is able to do so. Marriage is a natural thing in life, and to consider it derogatory in any sense is wholly wrong. When one imagines any act a fall it is difficult, however hard one tries, to raise oneself. The ideal is to look upon marriage as a sacrament and therefore to lead a life of self-restraint in the married estate. Marriage in Hinduism is one of the four Ashramas. In fact the other



three are based on it. But in modern times marriage has unfortunately come to be regarded purely as a physical union. The other three Ashramas are all but non-existent.

The duty of the above-mentioned and other sisters who think like her is, therefore, not to look down upon marriage but to give it its due place and make of it the sacrament it is. If they exercise the necessary self-restraint, they will find growing within themselves a greater strength for service. She who wishes to serve will naturally choose a partner in life who is of the same mind, and their joint service will be the country's gain.

It is a tragedy that generally speaking our girls are not taught the duties of motherhood. But if married life is a religious duty, motherhood must be so too. To be an ideal mother is no easy task. The procreation of children has to be undertaken with a full sense of responsibility. The mother should know what is her duty from the moment she conceives right up to the time the child is born. And she who gives intelligent, healthy and well-brought-up children to the country is surely rendering a service. When the latter grow up they too will be ready to serve. The truth of the matter is that those who are filled with a living spirit of service will always serve whatever their position in life. They will never adopt a way of life which will interfere with service.

Sevagram, 3-3-42

(From *Harijansevak*)

M. K. G.

### QUESTION BOX

(By M. K. Gandhi)

#### How to Ward off Starvation?

Q. Is it not far more important today to find some solution for the shortage and high prices of foodstuffs than to organise civic guards? Speeches will not quench the fire of hunger. And we have neither enough capitalists nor capitalists with the right ideals to set things right.

A. It should be part and parcel of the work of civic guards to protect people as far as possible from hunger and exploitation. I have already given some advice as to how to economise in food during times of stress. Such economy should begin from today.

1. Food should be regulated scientifically so that there is no waste and a maximum of economy.

2. Whatever seasonable foodstuffs can be sown should be planted at once.

3. Use should be made of herbs etc. which grow wild and which can be eaten with advantage. Research therein is necessary.

4. No one must remain idle. If he cannot find employment, he should provide work for himself, such as spinning.

5. I fear that, if the war does not come to a speedy end and the Japanese invade India, it will become difficult or even impossible to transport foodstuffs. Therefore, if there happens to be any surplus anywhere, efforts should be made to send it where it is most needed.

I am aware that all this is no easy task. But I see no other way out of the difficulty.

#### What for City Employees?

Q. You have given the rich an idea of what their duty is if they migrate to the villages. But there will be thousands of evacuees who have been employed in the cities all their lives. They have no money and no ancestral homes in the villages where they can take refuge. What of them?

A. It is possible that many such workers will migrate with their masters. Those who do not will have to seek out some occupation for themselves in the villages. One of these is spinning. It would be as well for all such to prepare themselves for the crisis.

Sevagram, 16-3-42

(From *Harijansevak*)

### SOME FALSE ASSUMPTIONS

(By J. C. Kumarappa)

A professor in one of the best of our Universities asks if we hope to utilise our resources to the best advantage by means of cottage units, and cites the meat packing industry of Chicago as an instance of a complete utilisation of bye-products in large scale industries and thereby cheapening of the goods to the consumer.

There are three assumptions in the above question, viz. (1) that complete utilisation of bye-products is *only* possible in large scale industries, (2) that large scale industries are *always* economical in the utilisation of resources, (3) that low price is an *invariable* desideratum. These we shall consider in turn.

It is true to a certain extent that large scale industries do utilise their bye-products more completely, but to make that an inseparable feature of large scale industry is wrong. A walk through our tannery at Nalwadi or the one run by Shri Satish Chandra Dasgupta at Calcutta will show the visitor that every part of a carcass, the horns, the hide, the hoofs, the fat, the flesh, the bones, the entrails, etc., can all be used even through means within the reach of cottage units. If this is not being commonly done, the reason is the ignorance of our cottage tanners and not that such utilisation is foreign to cottage units. The remedy is not to abandon cottage units but to bring the light of science to cottage workers. This is where we have failed, and selfless scientists with the necessary initiative to adapt their knowledge to the simplicity of cottage resources are the desideratum, and not the large scale units.

In so far as a large scale unit reduces overhead charges it is economical, but it cannot be said to be the most economical utilisation of our resources, especially under a competitive regime, as the economic history of America can testify. Fields of cotton had to be burnt, shiploads of coffee were dumped into the sea or used as fuel, and many waste products, like molasses, rich in mineral products, are thrown out, which would not be the case under cottage units. In many cases the large scale units are the most extravagant when we look at it from the national viewpoint. Take paper-making from bamboos. No large scale unit can function unless it has a forest of bamboos at its disposal. Fresh cut bamboos have to be fed



into the mill steadily. On the other hand, when we use a cottage unit, fresh cut bamboos are used for baskets, mats granaries, roofs, etc., in the first instance; when these get rotten with use, such waste bamboos can be converted into beautiful paper. Which then is the more economic use of our resources?

Whether low or high prices are good will depend on the cost constituents that make up the price. If the price is made up largely of cost of materials, low prices are good; but if such prices are made up of human labour represented by wages, then high prices will represent a better tendency to distribute wealth. When one rupee worth of mill cloth represents 12 as. worth of material, transport, interest, etc., and 4 as. of wages, then it would be desirable to cut the items totalling 12 as. and lower the price. But when in khadi the price is made up of 12 as. for wages and 4 as. for materials, cutting the price will lower the very function the industry serves in bringing happiness to mankind. Therefore under an economy of cottage units where labour enters largely into the composition of price, high prices are good, and under large scale industries where labour forms a low percentage of the cost, low prices are to be aimed at.

Without a careful analysis of all these factors it would be disastrous to draw conclusions. We have to carefully scrutinise the assumptions in most of the arguments advanced in text-books, written for consumption in capitalistic countries, and not accept them at their face value. The danger is often great because we are fed with half truths.

### VINOBA ON KHADI

Shri Vinoba delivered on 20th January an address on khadi to the Khadi Vidyalaya in Sevagram. It was a valuable contribution to the khadi movement. I give below a fairly full summary of his address which was in Hindi:

"In all the practical schemes for national awakening, uplift and freedom that have been placed before us I give first place to spinning as a daily spiritual sacrifice with a view to identifying oneself with the poor and adding something to national production. But it is a tragedy that in spite of its tremendous intrinsic value it has not yet become universal. We produce annually Rs. 50 lakhs worth of hand-spun and hand-woven today. We are to make an effort to raise the output by another 50 lakhs this year. But we need Rs. 200 crores for the nation, reckoning on Rs. 5 per head. Why have we not been able to make khadi universal? It is because we have not understood the fundamentals of the science of khadi. We have failed to realise its moral and spiritual value and hence have failed to spread the gospel throughout the length and breadth of the land.

It is unfortunate that meditation and worship in the popular mind are divorced from the daily tasks. Yet we had some mediaeval saints who were craftsmen also. They pursued their crafts for their livelihood. And I always ask myself whether they

experienced the joy of gaining spiritual progress through their daily activity. Did they experience the ecstasy of worship in it or was it an unescapable drudgery? Did they perchance feel that they were worshipping the eternal while they ploughed their fields or plied their spinning wheels? Were these crafts, as it were, their rosary? Did they sing praises to God only through their bhajans? I wonder whether the plough and the spinning wheel were not the best means of worship for these saints, whether absorption in them was not their best meditation, whether the balance of mind gained through their work was not their best 'yoga', whether intelligent and skilful pursuit of the crafts was not their knowledge, and whether offering the produce of their labour to society did not constitute their real offering to God. My inner experience makes me like to feel that the spiritual progress of these giants among men could not have been possible if they had not put the daily task on a par with the rosary and the bhajans.

Yet prayer and meditation have been separated from labour by the mass mind. I see no reason why this should be so. In fact the prevailing tendency has been to decry *Karma* and put an exclusive emphasis on worship. This has done our society grave harm. The honest labour of man is his best offering to God. If we want to become energised on a nation-wide scale, there is only one way and that is to practise and preach this truth. The daily labour thus considered puts us in tune with humanity or the infinite. Time was when the Congress asked every member to spin in token of membership of the national organisation. A bare minimum was demanded; but owing to mental laziness, apathy and lack of true appraisal of khadi, the membership relapsed into the mere payment of 4 annas. Instead of making labour the keynote of our fitness to serve we have made money the standard. There is much talk of socialism and the levelling of society, but we have rejected the only practical proposal suggested to achieve this end. It has been a definite step backwards. We have thereby not become one with the people, we have not upheld the dignity of labour, nor have we contributed our full quota to the economic and moral uplift of the country. I read in the *Maharashtra Khadi Patrika* that every worker of the A. I. S. A. there has to spin  $7\frac{1}{2}$  hanks during the month, but alas! all do not understand why they should. So much yarn comes in from the villages, what matters a paltry  $7\frac{1}{2}$  hanks from them, is how they probably argue to themselves. It is this laziness and un-understanding mentality that we have got to get rid of. Remember that insistence on even half an hour's spinning in silence daily is to make it a form of national sacrifice. Such acts discipline us and help us to make our lives orderly. It is not enough for you who are here to learn the science of khadi to be content with merely learning its processes. You have to dive deep into the whys and wherefores of khadi. And only when you have understood its inner meaning will you become fit representatives of this great endeavour.



I am convinced that, if we can bring about this spiritual revolution within us, it will also mean a political and economic revolution in the country. The spiritual aspect of khadi then is the first thought I want to leave with you today.

The second thing I want to talk to you about is carding, and here I want you to look at the practical aspect of khadi. This question has been before me for many years. Many of us took to spinning, but few learnt how to card. They were dependent on others for their slivers. Now inasmuch as spinning depends on slivers it cannot exist without carding. Much improvement has been made in carding instruments, but the problem of universal carding has not been solved. I have been experimenting for some little time in spinning from slivers made from cotton that has been carded purely by hand, and I have come to the definite conclusion that the method of hand combing (*tunai*) will solve our problem. I had placed a standard in my own mind whereby a person could prepare cotton in this way and spin 160 rounds in an hour, but only day before yesterday in Paunar one of our workers, Shankar, exceeded my expectations. He spent 3½ hours in preparing 7½ tolas of slivers. He spun 3 hanks (of 640 rounds each) of yarn of 20 counts in 4½ hours from 6 tolas of slivers. Of course I know that this output cannot be equalled by the average person, for Shankar is an exceptional spinner; but it just shows the possibilities of this method. It proves that it can definitely make khadi universal. It is a method that can be employed by children of 5-6 years old, it will produce stronger cloth than yarn spun from machine or bow carded cotton can, it cannot hurt anyone from the point of view of health, and it is extremely simple. Stronger cloth is in itself an economic asset, but even if the output of cloth is less by this method, we should not mind. Our main object is the self-sufficiency of the village, and from that point of view *tunai* is capable of working wonders. Then again for basic education I have no doubt that it is the only thing. Self-sufficiency is our goal not only from the point of view of our poverty. It is of special importance to us during this period of war, particularly if this goes on for some years as it well might. I want you students to become experts at *tunai*. Do not think of khadi in terms of production and sales. People look at the moon, and think it is the most important star in the heavens whereas it is not. Self-sufficiency is like the vast expanse of stars in the heavens far more important than the moon which we worship because she appears to be larger and more beautiful.

Finally I want you to realise that khadi cannot be separated from the other village industries. It has its unique place no doubt, but it is closely related to other village crafts. This realisation will dawn on you without any difficulty, if you grasp the spiritual power of khadi. I hope you will make the philosophy of khadi a part of your being. Let it become the breath of your life. This is more than ever necessary today when another philosophy is threatening to overpower the world.

If you succeed, as I hope you will, you will certainly have made this Vidyalaya worth while."  
Sevagram, 21-1-42  
A. K.

## THE SIXTH YEAR OF WORK

### II

**Paper-making:** Handmade paper is gaining in popularity with the public. It may be said to be becoming—like khadi—a symbol of nationalism. The higher price has, therefore, not been a handicap as far as sales are concerned. But we cannot be satisfied until it is able to sell at a higher price because of its superior texture rather than because of sentimental reasons. Every effort is being made to improve the technique as well as experiment with various types of equipment. Data in regard to pulp-making from various materials is also being collected at the Paper Production and Training Centre at Poona. It is interesting to note that the Gujarat office sales of handmade paper have increased from Rs. 1,058 in 1937 to Rs. 26,086 in 1940.

**Soap-making:** This has been carried out chiefly in the Gram Saboon Karyalaya, Sabarmati. The output and sales have been steadily increasing.

**Dairying:** Not many workers have so far interested themselves in this industry. Inasmuch as it is very important from the point of view of diet and cattle breeding, it needs endless emphasis being laid on its study and scientific encouragement.

**Tanning and Leather Work:** Centres for training in tanning, chappal-making and manufacture of leather goods have been started in certain places. Improvement is steady.

**Horn Work:** This industry is doing well at Cuttack.

**Button-making:** This is making headway in Karnatak. Ivory nut, horn, sandalwood, rosewood and ivory are the raw materials used. Improvements in sawing circular pieces, drilling holes and polishing have been introduced. The income of button-makers ranges from Rs. 12 to Rs. 15 per month of 24 days and 7 hours.

**Coir Spinning and Weaving:** Training experimentation and production are being carried on at Honavar (Karnatak) with the aid of a Government grant. The yarn is now as good as that produced in Travancore or Cochin. Several improvements have been effected in the looms and spinning wheels as also in the rope-making machine. But more capital is needed to employ more workers.

Mat and basket making are being tried to be revived in the Ranivan centre in the U. P. Good slate pencils have been made in Hubli.

**Vegetable Oil Lamp:** Experiments are nearing completion in the matter of producing a lamp which will burn indigenous vegetable oils instead of kerosene. This will be a great boon.

Maganwadi experimented with success in producing boiled oil on a cottage basis. The oil so prepared was mixed with finely ground charcoal powder and zinc white and gave a pleasing grey paint.

37 students were trained at the Gram Sevak Vidyalaya, Maganwadi, from June 1939 to March 1940, and 32 are now in training.



The report gives one a good idea of how much can be done for the economic betterment of our people if more attention were paid to village industries. A few only of these have been catered for. The field is immense. The work has barely touched the fringe of the problem, but it has, without any shadow of doubt, pointed the right way. Many workers are needed in this as in every department of nation-building. It is to be hoped that Gandhiji's emphasis on the constructive programme will fulfil this lack. The report should be read by everyone. It can be had from Maganwadi, Wardha.

Sevagram, 1-2-42

A. K.

### TARRED WITH THE SAME BRUSH

In a remarkable article demonstrating by practical examples the similarity between Nazism and Imperialism George Padmore, the Negro leader, proves how essential it is for all predatory 'Isms' to be destroyed if the world is to live in peace.

"In the country which is mine by birth and which is supposed to be part and parcel of the Empire I could neither write this article nor have it published unless I wanted to spend the duration of the war in a concentration camp. British democracy is not for export. The whites are the Herrenvolk, the blacks the 'lesser breed without the law'." While sympathising with the sufferings of the people of Europe the writer feels their misfortune is due in large measure to their callous indifference to and participation in the sufferings and exploitation of the people of Asia, Africa and other so-called backward peoples. He points out how in 1885 at the Berlin Conference the Germans conspired with the British and other imperialists to carve up Africa and they used all the methods said to be employed by the Nazis and Fascists today. Mr. Padmore quotes the French historian Halevy who has described the battle of Omdurman as "a massacre rather than a battle. Kitchener apparently had given orders that no prisoners were to be taken. 30,000 Dervishes were killed and only 4,000 wounded. The Mahdi's corpse was taken from his coffin, his head severed from his trunk, and the officers of the Expeditionary force made souvenirs of his nails." Similar atrocities can be attributed to the Belgians in the Congo, the French in Equatorial Africa, the Portuguese in Angola, the Spaniards in Morocco, the Italians in Lybia and Abyssinia, and the Germans in S. W. Africa.

The writer goes on to show how similar to colonial conquest and exploitation is the German ideal in Europe today. Germany wants to de-industrialise those sections of Europe over which she has secured control and make of them "sources of agricultural produce grown by the cheapest possible labour and markets for the absorption of finished goods of which the Reich will be the unique manufacturer." What of Britain? "In Sierra Leone there are iron ore mines at Marampa. The Gold Coast is one of the Empire's main sources of

manganese ore while Nigeria contains large deposits of coal and tin. Yet these three colonies with a population of over 25,000,000 could not produce a single article for use of any kind. Britain is obliged to transport them across the sea to factories at home with all the risks, expense and loss of time which this entails." The cruel treatment meted out to the Poles is what the 'blacks' have borne for centuries. They have been branded as racially inferior, barbaric, and incapable of self-government. Sir Godfrey Huggins, Prime Minister of Southern Rhodesia, said openly, "It is time for the people of England to realise that the white man in Africa was not prepared and never will be prepared to accept the African as an equal, socially or politically." Just as the 'new order' in Germany wants to ensure for the German the highest wages possible in order to give him a higher standard of living, so in South Africa the colour bar regulations lay down that the white worker must be engaged on skilled jobs at a minimum wage of 20/- per day while the average wage of a black worker is 1/-.

The writer avers that the District Commissioner in colonial Governments is a sort of 'Gauleiter' who carries out his dictatorial rule with the aid of 'black' Quislings. In Nigeria 'Emirs' are permitted their own courts, police force, prisons, etc. They collect the taxes and supply forced labour whenever necessary. As a reward the British Government allows them part of the taxes collected from the peasants and the court fines. The Emir of Sokoto gets £ 5,000 per annum plus £ 1,000 State entertainment allowance, free palatial quarters, servants, etc. But rulers who "refuse to carry out official orders can be summarily dismissed by the 'Gauleiters' under the 'Appointment and Deposition of Chiefs' Ordinance'."

Is not all this proof positive that all the warring nations, barring Russia and China, are tarred with the same brush? How can peace and security ever come into the world without a frank acknowledgment of the wickedness of any sort or kind of domination by one race over the other?

Sevagram, 16-3-42

A. K.

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# HARIJAN

Editor: MAHADEV DESAI

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[FIVE PICE

## Notes

### The National Week

The National Week comes every year with the certainty of seasons. It has come for over twenty years now, and yet we seem to be as far as ever from our freedom or communal unity or universalisation of khadi. We started the celebration with these three definite things. They were convertible terms. If we had unity, we could get freedom, and so also if all were converted to the khadi cult. Though we have added many things since to our constructive programme, the original is as true today as it was when it was first conceived and started.

How shall we behave during the forthcoming Week? Let us not treat freedom apart from its components. Then there remain communal unity and the thirteen other items, at the centre of which stands khadi in its widest sense.

Communal unity at the top will come in its time. We want freedom for the masses, and so do we want communal unity for and among the masses. If we have it in our hearts, let us show it in our daily little acts towards one another.

I will not mention the other items. All organisations will look after them. A word is necessary about khadi. Hitherto we have had khadi sales. This time, thanks to many causes, we have no khadi to sell. But we can all produce, we can all collect funds. If we have enough capital, we can produce more khadi. But we can also do *tunai* or carding and even weaving not for self but for the nation. We would therefore give our output to the A. I. S. A. at its depots in our localities.

And let me not forget the 24 hours' fast on the 6th and the 13th April. Thousands believed in it when we began. We did not err in fasting. Let those who have faith in it not forget fasting and prayer.

### The Curse

A Harijan sevak writes:

"1. There are in our country hotels, hair cutting saloons, etc., which deny admission to Harijans. Is it not expected of our national workers — khadi, Hindi and Congress propagandists — to boycott such institutions and use their influence to get these disabilities of the Harijans removed?

2. There are washermen employed by the A. I. S. A. Some of these washermen observe untouchability in their profession and are not prepared to wash the clothes belonging to persons other than Brahmins and Nairs. The A. I. S. A. dispenses with the washermen who are addicted to drink. Similarly, should not the

A. I. S. A. dispense with those washermen who observe untouchability in their profession?"

The questions are appropriate. Both have to be answered only in one way. All institutions which deny access to Harijans should be boycotted by those, whether Congressmen or others, who feel keenly that the curse of untouchability has to be removed if Hinduism is to remain as a faith to live for and, if need be, to die for. In the posers put by the sevak the difficulty is sometimes serious. But nothing can be achieved unless serious difficulties are seriously faced and surmounted.

The question gives rise to a dilemma on some occasions. The washermen are supported by the A. I. S. A. in common with the other artisans. These cling to untouchability with a tenacity that defies all attempt to make them see the superstition that the curse is. Whilst I cannot offhand ask A. I. S. A. workers to boycott the artisans that observe untouchability, there is no doubt that there should be greater vigilance than heretofore in these matters. Preference should certainly always be given to those who have shed the superstition. Much will depend upon the spirit in which the persons afflicted with the virus of untouchability are approached.

Sevagram, 23-3-42

### A Correction

In *Harijan* of February 22nd 1942, there was an announcement that Dr. Prafulla Chandra Ghosh had been nominated a member of the Board of Management of the A. I. V. I. A. This was a mistake, as he being a member of the Congress Working Committee cannot become a member of the A. I. V. I. A. Board.

Sevagram, 18-3-42

M. K. G.

### Bhils and Harijans in Rajputana

Thakkar Bapa's work entails a good deal of touring. He snatches odd moments during his travels to write to Gandhiji. The following is extracted from the account of the recent tour Shrimati Rameshwari Nehru and he had in Rajputana.

Speaking of Udaipur he opines that education is terribly backward. There is only one primary school to cater for 20-25 villages and only two high schools in the whole State. Thikanedars — landholders who make states within a state — who comprise nearly half the State spend all the revenue on themselves and do nothing for the ryot. The State has, however, decided to open 40 new schools every year where Harijans and Bhils too may have some opportunities of educa-



tion. On His Highness' birthday the interest from 2 lakhs was set apart for the service of Harijans and Bhils as well as an annual grant of Rs. 10,000.

Branches of the Harijan Sevak Sangh have been opened in Mewar, Chittor, Bhilwada, Chhoti Sadri and Nathdwara, as well as two schools for Bhils and Minas in Rishabhdev and Kesariaji. It is an uphill task for Harijan workers, for there is great prejudice against Harijans in Rajputana. For example the images of Harijan gods may not have four hands. Only two are permissible for them! They may not take out processions on festival days in the main streets of the town. Music, other than drums, is not allowed to them during their weddings. A Harijan bridegroom may not wear a 'sehra'. One poor boy had the temerity to do so with the result that his associates received a sound thrashing from the inhabitants of Karjoo village, the party was robbed of all the money—Rs. 75—they had and 3 tolas of gold were literally pulled off their ears. Could tyranny go further? And even the Mahajan community, supposedly more advanced, harbours these prejudices.

At Nathdwara, one of the most famous Vaishnava temples in Mewar, Rs. 800 is spent daily in Prasad. How many Harijans and Bhils could be maintained with this money!

Women's education is next to nil in Rajputana and purdah is rife. In Jaipur Harijans are conspicuous by their absence in State schools and college. Harijan children need scholarships to encourage them to enter educational institutions. They should be given preference in State services. The age-long and cruel custom of forced labour should be put an end to. Sweepers and scavengers are terribly underpaid. Men get Rs. 7-8-0 and women Rs. 1-12-0 per mensem. No leave or provident fund facilities are given.

#### Barter in Bezwada

Shri Sitaram Sastry of Vinayashram writes that Shri Venkatakrishnayya of Gunadala (near Bezwada) has, since 1929, been carrying on with success a system of barter in his Khaddar Samsthanam.

To begin with he issued 138 and 50 chits worth Re. 1 and Rs. 3/8 each respectively. The chits were countersigned by the firm in which the funds of the Khaddar Samsthanam to the extent of Rs. 20,000 were then deposited. They circulated for four years among the residents of the institution and ultimately came into the hands of the firm. They served the purpose of coin, and holders were able on presentation of them to get the necessary articles or money. Later in 1933, because some people invariably wanted money in exchange, it was decided to give one bag of paddy per chit—a bag at that time being worth Rs. 3/8—and make paddy the medium of exchange. Other articles equivalent in value to the bag of paddy according to the scale of barter were given and cash was rarely used. For example a bag of paddy fetched 4 pairs of countrymade shoes. It was equal to 12½ lb. of carded cotton or 25 lb. of chillies or 6 lb.

of ghee, 50 lb. of tamarind, 8 yards of khadi 45" wide, or 25 lb. of oil, etc.

Recently Shri Venkatakrishnayya has developed the idea of a food ticket. He gives slivers and, if a person spins 1,000 yards of well-twisted, uniform yarn of about 12 counts, he gets 90 tolas of cooked rice and 30 tolas of soup and vegetable. The cost of this meal, which suffices for an adult, is one anna. The spinning wage thus works out at an anna for 1,000 yards, which would mean about 3½ annas per day of 8 hours, if the spinner were efficient enough to turn out 400 yards per hour.

Shri Sitaram Sastry is anxious to bring into practice Gandhiji's dictum that 'yarn is our basic coin' in his Ashram. At the present market rates one bag of paddy would be equivalent to 96 food tickets, i. e. the spinning wage payable for 96,000 yards of yarn or 5½ lb. of yarn of 12 counts. It would be good to try the experiment on a small scale and appraise results. But accurate observation is necessary, if success is to be ensured.

Sevagram, 21-3-42

A. K.

### QUESTION BOX

(By M. K. Gandhi)

#### About Children

Q. I quite agree that as society advances marriages between the different communities will increase and should be welcomed. You rightly advocate no change of religion for the parties concerned. But what do you advocate for the children? In which religion should they be brought up, the father's or the mother's?

A. Presumption in such marriages is that the parents respect each other's religion. If they are religiously minded, the children will unconsciously imbibe what they think is best for them and choose their own faith without let or hindrance from the parents. If the latter are indifferent, the children will also be probably indifferent and label themselves anyhow. This is what I have observed in such marriages. The difficulty crops up when there is a serious difference arising between the parents as to the upbringing of the children.

#### Conversion without Conviction

Q. You oppose all conversion without conviction. But are you not inconsistent? You profess equal respect for all religions. Why then worry about how the conversion is brought about?

A. I have extracted the question from your long and plausible letter, cleverly written. Conversion without conviction is a mere change and not conversion which is a revolution in one's life. You seem too to forget that equal respect implies respect for my own faith as much as for yours or any other neighbour's. My respect for my own faith forbids my being indifferent to my children abandoning their parents' faith without conviction. And I should have little respect for you, if you led my children astray by making all kinds of worldly promises in which matters of the spirit had no play.

Sevagram, 23-3-42



## HINDUSTANI

(By M. K. Gandhi)

Dr. Tara Chand, who has made a close study of the vexed question of the national language, recently wrote a Hindi letter to Shri Kakasaheb, from which the following important extracts are translated below:

"Hindustani and Brij were both colloquial languages at one time. What their status then was it is difficult to say. History only records that in the 12th century Saad Salman wrote a Divan in Hindi, but not a single poem of it has survived. Hindi or Hindustani made its first appearance in the 13th century, and its literature actually came into being in the 14th and 15th centuries in South India. Its language is the same as Khadi Boli (खड़ी बोली) and is the basis of modern Hindi. No writings in Brij are known to have appeared before the 16th century. In *Prithviraj Raso* there are some verses in this language, but when this work was written, especially the Brij portion of it, is not certain. Most persons attribute it to the 16th century.

"Rajasthani or Dingal was in vogue before Brij. The *Raso* is nearly all written in Dingal. Surdas was the first poet to write in Brij in the 16th century.

"The Muslims were the first to create literature in Hindustani. Their faqirs and saints used this language for their religious teachings and explained the principles of the Sufi religion in it also. Later, poets adopted it, and because Muslims used the language there came about a mixture of Persian and Hindi words. The sounds of Persian and Arabic letters also crept in which are not found in Brij but which have remained in Hindi up to date."

"The colloquial language which the Muslims employed is the language spoken even today round about Meerut and Delhi. It is termed Khadi Boli or Hindustani.

"Modern Hindustani, Hindi and Urdu are three forms of this language. Hindi and Urdu are its literary forms into which many Sanskrit and Persian and Arabic words have freely crept. Hindustani is that form of the language which includes both Sanskrit and Persian words. Writers of Hindustani lean towards one or the other according to their taste. But they try to avoid both as much as possible.

"In my opinion neither Hindi nor Urdu should be the lingua franca of India. Either we must agree to call Hindi the language of the Hindus and Urdu that of the Muslims, or we must try to make Hindustani the common language. So long as we call either Hindi or Urdu the national language we are certain to raise a controversy.

"I think you are on the right track. But truth is often not seen clearly because of prejudices. I should like you to save the country from going on the wrong path. The question of language involves the larger question of Swaraj."

Sevagram, 9-3-42

(From *Harijansevak*)

## AN ENGLISHMAN'S TRIBUTE

[In the course of a letter to me Verrier Elwin thus writes about Jamnalalji. M. D.]

"During the last few years I had seen very little of Jamnalalji though at one time we were very close together indeed, and I have never failed to think of him with love and gratitude. Only last week as we were walking over the sharp and rugged mountains of the Abujmar, one of the wildest places in India, I was telling a friend how ten years ago when I went to see Jamnalalji in jail at Dhulia I had been so shocked at finding him placed in the 'C' class that I had sworn to go barefoot (except in towns and cities where it would look conspicuous) as long as such things were possible in our country. I am still today having to go barefoot, and this single circumstance often served to remind me of my friend.

I remember, too, how when I had an operation in Bombay Jamnalalji, with all the burden of business and weight of administrative Congress duties upon his shoulders, came over to the hospital and sat beside me during the whole of the ordeal. They at first only gave me a local anaesthetic, and he was thus able to talk to me and distract my mind. I remember him again coming up to Karanja to see our work for the Gonds (and it was from the mouth of Jamnalalji in a motor car driving through the streets of Ahmedabad that I first heard the word 'Gond' which has come to mean so much to me later on) with Miss Muriel Lester and the lady who is now Mrs. Kripalani. I shall never forget the enthusiastic interest with which he examined everything, the generous and ready help that he gave when it was needed, and the remarkable sympathy and interest that he showed immediately into all our little problems.

In the old days, to visit Jamnalalji's simple little house in Wardha was a wonderful experience. Jamnalalji's own life never lost its simplicity, but when Wardha became a metropolis, naturally many other buildings and institutions sprang up and the others became crowded; but in 1931 and 1932 the note of simplicity and peace was as evident as in a sadhu's home. I think that only a very few Englishmen visited Wardha in those days, and Jamnalalji was never so well-known in England and America as some other Congress leaders, largely because of his unwillingness to talk much in English. I think that was a pity, for there was much in Jamnalalji to appeal strongly to the Western man. His simplicity and honour, his straightforwardness and plainness of speech (I remember him frequently rebuking me for saying 'thank you' so often, which, he said, I could not possibly mean), and his Quakerlike attitude to existence would have made a strong appeal. His devotion to truth was unique in a very rich man. You felt that every word he uttered was fit to be audited by a Chartered Accountant; you felt that all his emotions would balance properly and that his ideals would never show a deficit. I loved him very dearly, and now that he is gone, even though I had hardly seen him in the last few



years, I feel a great gap. I realise, too, what a loss his genial, affectionate, generous and liberal presence must be to you all at Wardha and to the country. Please give my love and my deepest sympathy to Mrs. Bajaj and the other members of the family; and if you like to do anything else with this letter, you know you may do so."

## HARIJAN

Mar. 29

1942

### INHUMAN IF TRUE

(By M. K. Gandhi)

The Honorary Secretary of the Social Service Department of the Marwari Relief Society writes:

"I have to place before you a very brief review of the activities of the Marwari Relief Society, Calcutta, in connection with rendering relief to evacuees from Burma and Malaya, absolutely irrespective of caste, creed and colour, and also to humbly seek your invaluable advice on a very grave matter. The Society has undertaken to provide food, medical aid, and facilities for repatriation to thousands of helpless refugees who are arriving in Calcutta daily by rail, road and sea. Several emergent cases of delivery have also been attended to. The Society is also trying to secure suitable jobs for unemployed evacuees with the kind co-operation of respectable local firms.

In this connection I beg to report a certain very regrettable incident to you, and shall be grateful if you kindly advise me as to my duties in the matter.

On the night of the 14th March, shortly after the arrival of the Chittagong Mail, as I, in company with a number of volunteers, was attending to the wants of the evacuees, a British Tommy got hold of a small child belonging to one of the poor evacuees and threw it under the train. Although I am a humble follower of your noble creed of non-violence, it was with the greatest difficulty that I restrained myself and my volunteers from punishing the soldier bodily for his brutal act. I reported the matter to the station military authorities, but their attitude was anything but sympathetic. I later approached Mr. K. C. Sen I. C. S. over the matter, and though he promised to duly enquire into the matter, nothing has been done as yet to rectify it. There are still large numbers of soldiers loitering about the platforms every night, and a violent clash between these soldiers and relief volunteers and the public is a possibility which has to be tackled in no time. I have already placed the matter before the Bengal Congress Civil Protection Committee.

I should be thankful, if you kindly advised me on the following points:

1. Should I start an agitation in the press over the matter?

2. Supposing a soldier behaves indecently towards a helpless female evacuee, are we to put up with it silently, or should the soldier be forcibly dealt with?

It would help us very greatly, if you kindly issued a statement in *Harijan* in this connection. I am prepared

to accept all responsibility regarding the truthfulness of the above incident."

I have suppressed many letters giving me authentic details about the misbehaviour of soldiers. I have published them when it would have been wrong, if not cowardly, to suppress them. The letter in question demands, in my opinion, the widest publicity, not merely for the safety of the public but also for the sake of the soldiers and the Government. The Marwari Relief Society is a big philanthropic institution of twentyfive years' standing having an all-India reputation. It has funds and seasoned workers. Its prestige should have been enough security for the good behaviour of the soldiers in the presence of its workers. The soldier must have run amuck or been under the influence of drink to have behaved as he is reported to have done. I trust that the Marwari Relief Society will not leave the matter till it is thoroughly thrashed out; and I trust too that the authorities will not wish to hush up the matter but will make ample amends, if the case is proved as reported by my correspondent.

So much for the case itself. The correspondent desires my guidance about similar cases in future. The action of himsa or ahimsa would have been identical. The volunteers should have, if they could, bodily prevented the soldier from touching the child or snatched the child from him, even if the soldier had been hurt in the act of preventing or snatching. The proceedings after the delivery of the child or the failure of the attempt would vary according as the deliverers were actuated violently or non-violently. Non-violent behaviour would dictate generous and gentle behaviour towards the culprit. But generosity and gentleness would have to be thoughtful and reasoned. It is difficult to lay down in advance the rule of conduct applicable in all cases. I can say this much that a truly generous act demands sincere recognition on the part of the culprit. I have known instances of Africans in South Africa insulted at railway stations saying to the rude white men, "My brother, God will forgive you for your rudeness," and the white men giggling, if not adding injury to insult. In similar circumstances I have myself remained silent and suffered the insult. I am quite clear that the Africans' so-called generosity was a mere mechanical act justly evoking derision. Mine was timidity. I did not wish to evoke further insult. I certainly did not want to take legal proceedings. I was trying then to shape my non-violent conduct. If I had had the real courage, I would have expostulated with the insulters and risked the worst.

I have interpolated an examination of so-called non-violent conduct in cases of personal insult or injury. What about the child injured or the injury imagined by my correspondent? I think non-violent conduct would not, should not, be different. The distinction that is often drawn between personal injury and injury done to wards is unjustified, if not wrong. A man is not expected to do more for his wards than he would for himself. He would no doubt sacrifice himself for his ward's honour.



but he would be expected to do likewise for his own. If he did otherwise, he would be voted a coward and is not likely to protect his ward's honour, if he is not able to protect his own. But I own that correct non-violent conduct does not come through mere reasoning. Reason is a necessary preliminary. But correctness of conduct will come only through repeated practice, maybe even repeated failures.

What violent conduct should be surely needs no examination.

Sevagram, 23-3-42

### THE ANDHRAS

(By M. K. Gandhi)

The following has been sent to me by Maharaj Kumar Vijaya Anand of Vizianagram :

"There is a strong feeling amongst us Andhras that you do not like us, that you are against the formation and the establishment of a separate province. Despite Andhra Desh being overwhelmingly Congress, it never received your blessings. If three crores of yearning hearts are asking for a separate existence, would you not allow them the 'right to sin' as the great Tilak Maharaj once said? People of my Desh are so definite about your dislike for the Andhras that they even attribute your visit to Benares recently for the purpose of commanding me to drop the Andhra agitation. The Andhras would like to know whether you ever gave any advice to Tamil Nad regarding Andhras, and also wish to know whether during the last ministry the Andhra question was referred to you or not; if so, what advice did you give them? Do you put the Andhra question on the same footing as that of Karnatak and Kerala whose revenues may not be enough to have separate provinces? Pray, what is your opinion regarding Andhra Desh being self-supporting? Is it not a fact that, owing to steadfast loyalty of the Andhras to the Congress movement, they did not achieve what Orissa did? It is felt that, had the Andhras taken a different line of action when the Simon Commission came to India, they would have got their hearts' desire."

I can only say that the Maharaj Kumar is in bad hands. Being a novice in the art of handling masses, he has evidently not taken care to inquire into the credentials of his informants. I should like to know the Andhras who have given him the information which he has chosen to transmit to me. I am not a stranger to Andhra Desh myself. I refer the Maharaj Kumar to Deshbhakta Konda Venkatappayya, Shri Prakasam, Dr. Pattabhi Sitaramayya, Shri Kaleshwar Rao and Shri Sitaram Sastry. They will probably bear witness to the fact that I was principally instrumental in securing from the Congress the recognition of the redistribution of the Provinces for Congress purposes on a linguistic basis. I have always agitated for the acceptance by the Government of such redistribution. I have indeed advised Tamil Nad, when such advice was needed, not to resist the Andhra demand. I know that the Congress ministry headed by Shri C. Rajagopalachari tried its best to get Andhra recognised as a separate

province, and it was no fault of the ministry that Andhra Desh has not yet been so recognised. But it is true that I recognise no distinction between Karnatak, Kerala and Andhra or for that matter any other province recognised by the Congress as a separate province. I do not know enough about any province to be able to say which can be self-supporting on being recognised as separate. As to my visit to Benares, the purpose is too well known to need any clarification. The Maharaj Kumar is a sportsman, and he should be above worrying about baseless suggestions made about him. He would be an unworthy leader who can be deflected from his mission even by a Mahatma. I hope this answer will satisfy the Maharaj Kumar, if not even those who duped him into putting the questions he has.

Sevagram, 20-3-42

### THE RIGHT OF SELF-DEFENCE

(By K. G. Mashruwala)

Is a member of a *Shanti Dal* (Peace Brigade), by reason of the creed of non-violence, precluded from exercising his legal right to use violence in self-defence?

This question is raised, firstly when one does not perceive the difference between individual and collective violence, and secondly when one is not clear about the exact position which he, as an individual, chooses to take up in the task of advancing and perfecting the technique of non-violent resistance.

On the first point, the imperfections of human character will always give rise to acts of individual violence either deliberately or on sudden provocation. In such cases, until a fairly certain non-violent method of self-defence is discovered and made known to everyone, a spirited man will always resist the aggressor with counter-violence. This will take place even amongst such fully pledged disciples of non-violence as monks, sadhus, and the like. So again, not only children will fight with one another, but even parents and children, husband and wife, and blood brothers will sometimes abuse, beat and even go to the extent of committing murder. Even in a predominantly non-violent society we shall have such happenings amongst peaceful citizens, even as we hear of motor car accidents. As usual, the cause of quarrel will be generally property, sex, or petty selfishness in the enjoyment of common comforts. On such occasions there will be at times a combination of several individuals also. This combination may be premeditated or accidental. If it is the former, it is organised, and is not covered by the 'legal' right of self-defence. Even where arms and military training are given to every person, citizens are not allowed to organise themselves in a body, except under the control of the State.

Thus there is a difference between individual violence, collective unpremeditated (and so, unorganised) violence (such as by a mob), and collective organised violence, as by a trained body of goondas, dacoits, volunteers, policemen or soldiers.

In the suggested organisation of *Shanti Dals* (Peace Brigades) the problem of violence and right



of self-defence by individuals cannot arise. They are concerned with the problem of organising collective protection of citizens against the violence of unsocial elements. And the principle laid down is that the *Shanti Dals* must not meet this violence by organised counter violence.

The personal right of self-defence is here not touched. But it does not follow that an individual may not choose to forego that right. The *Shanti Dal* is an entirely new type of organisation. Its purpose is to perfect a new method of counteracting violence by adopting its opposite. There will be two types of men amongst its members. They may be either members of a militia or a non-violent corps. Members of the latter, though not bound in rule, will not use violence even in self-defence, as that will interfere with the development of the new technique. If an engineer is studying the problem of friction in his factory, he will not be heedless of that factor in his private laboratory. So, too, an individual member of a peace brigade. He will rather court risk of defeat through non-violence than achieve an apparent success through violence. It is for each individual member to choose which place he would like to fill in the peace organisation.

The same considerations incidentally dispose of the question whether a votary of non-violence may not also help the organisation of a corps, not pledged to non-violence, if the latter seeks his guidance. It is clear that he can do so only at the risk of defeating his own objective.

Sevagram, 22-3-42

### COW'S MILK FOR LEPERS

[ Dr. Santra is an authority on leprosy. What he says should carry weight. Apart from my views on the cow, the medical profession owes a duty to the country to discover the relative values of different milks.

Sevagram, 23-3-42

M. K. G.]

"Recently I was in Bajajwadi in connection with work at the Maharogi Seva Mandal. During my spare hours I visited places of activities at Maganwadi, Nalwadi and Mahila Ashram, etc.

I bought some pamphlets and reports, and it was very pleasing to read what you said on the 30th September, 1941. You said, 'Fundamentally by protecting the cow we realise our duty towards all living beings, but having reduced cow service to a farce we have forgotten our real duty.'

Some fifteen years back when most of my evenings were spent in villages giving magic lantern lectures on leprosy, I laid particular stress on the protection of the cow while explaining the effect of milk on leprosy. I told people that, if we have more leprosy, it is because of the fact that we have ill-treated the cow which was supposed to be a goddess but was the most neglected, and therefore God punished us with leprosy.

It might appear to be a sentiment or a religious mania. I cannot offer scientific argument in favour of the theory that protection of the cow will protect us from leprosy; but there are indications that the use of milk reduces the virulence of leprosy.

In the last century a Sikh Baba got the reputation of curing leprosy at Sitalani in the Amritsar district. This reputation reached the ears of the Government, and the popular belief regarding the cure was so strong that the Government instituted an enquiry. The Civil Surgeon of Amritsar visited Sitalani and reported that the reported improvement was true, and that it was due not to any secret remedy but to the inclusion of a liberal amount of milk in the diet of the lepers who came to stay there.

Dr. Muir, the father of anti-leprosy campaign in India, advised that lepers should take two seers of milk a day. The propaganda leaflets that he prepared had the picture of a cow, and he advocated the use of cows' milk.

In recent days Dr. Cochrane of South India found that children having a malignant type of leprosy became benign more quickly when they got skimmed milk in addition to treatment. He would have done a great service, if he had obtained the milk locally rather than getting the powder from foreign countries. That would have given an opportunity to the lepers to do goseva and provide manure for the kitchen gardens. Some time back it was claimed that vitamin A produced changes in leprosy toward good. We know that cows' milk, specially of those who feed on green grass, is very rich in vitamin A. Thus we have some scientific indication that the use of cows' milk will decrease the virulence of leprosy. When it becomes benign, the disease being unable to propagate itself, the number of lepers will naturally decrease.

To my mind today a leper in India is neglected as much as, or more than, our cows. They are not dumb like the cows, but they have not organised any association through which they could speak their mind. The care of the leper like the care of the cow was a part of Indian culture. Even today daily meals for lepers at the local leper asylums at Deoghar and Puri are supplied by the temple authorities. In South India there are temples where there is a special place for a leper to live. Their food is supplied by the temple authorities. Customs like this might have originated from the time when Manu laid down laws for the conduct of lepers. He advised them to leave their homes and spend the remaining part of their life at holy places. I met Shastriji (who is a case) of Sevagram and requested him to study the status of lepers in our old shastras.

Today our culture might have been rendered weak but it has not vanished. The protection of the cow and eradication of leprosy will progress in proportion to the effort we make to revive our old culture. They should have their place in the national planning of our country."

### Status of Indian Princes

By Pyarelal

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## LOVE OF ONE'S OWN LANGUAGE

## I

In his pamphlet on the Constructive Programme, referring to our indifference to and disregard for our indigenous languages, Gandhiji has cited, by way of contrast, the examples of Japan and the Chinese Generalissimo, Marshal Chiang Kai-shek. A few facts about both of these are given below in the hope that they will interest the reader.

The Japanese language is very difficult to learn. "A child should learn about 3,000 different characters by the time he is ten or twelve; he must know about 5,000 to read a newspaper intelligently. These characters are Chinese, but the *language* is different." The efforts of the Japanese to simplify interpretation of the Chinese characters have only made Japanese "by all odds the most formidable tongue in the world", says John Gunther. But the Japanese have neither given up their language nor do they think of Romanising their script. All their education is given through their own tongue, and yet "Japan has a record in education that no Oriental country can remotely match." Japanese literacy is 95% as compared with less than 15% in India and 10% in China.

The Japanese Emperor, Hirohito, is a man of wide culture and the first Japanese Emperor to travel abroad. He prefers, though he knows a little English and French, to use his own tongue, Japanese, while speaking to foreigners. "One discovers soon," says Gunther, "that Tokyo, for all its modernity, is the hardest of the great eastern capitals to get around in. This is largely because a recent Home Minister . . . abolished foreign language street signs. . . Later when tourists became hopelessly confused, some English signs were permitted to reappear at railway stations." The authorities frown even on such semi-English expressions among Japanese as "Papa-san" which children use for father.

The Chinese language is perhaps no less difficult than the Japanese. Yet the Chinese have not given it up. They are now trying to evolve a simple variant of it in order to make it easier for the masses to learn. Though pronunciations differ widely from province to province, the written language is the same throughout China, and "the uniform written language has played a colossal role in keeping China together."

The love of one's language is shared in an eminent degree by the Generalissimo, Marshal Chiang Kai-shek. When the Generalissimo and the Madame meet a foreign visitor, she interprets for him since his only foreign language is Japanese. Here is one of the makers of modern China, one whom Gunther describes as "probably the strongest Chinese individual since the third century B. C. when the Great Wall was built", feeling no sense of shame because he cannot talk in any language other than his own. Gunther also reports that the Marshal was responsible for the removal of English road signs in China. The Marshal's insistence on the use of his own tongue is shared by some of

his most prominent associates like General Chan Cheng who is reputed to be the choice of Chiang Kai-shek as his successor.

## II\*

Let us now turn to Western Asia. It has been a characteristic common to all nationalist movements of modern times that the resurgence of the national spirit has been accompanied by a linguistic revival. Arabic was the predominant language of Western Asia, being the language of the Koran, and was the common bond that united all sects of Islam. It was also the mother-tongue of the populations inhabiting Arabia, Syria, Egypt and some other territories. Syria was the first to "awaken to the idea of nationalism in its modern form . . . Like European nationalism, Arab Syrian national consciousness had its origin in a literary renaissance. The ancient, classical language and the poetical and philosophical works written in it were studied: new life and a spirit of romance were breathed into the old, traditional subjects: the speech which for decades had only been current among the people or used for theological disquisitions was raised once more to the dignity of a modern literary language by the creation of a new terminology: foreign classics were translated, and finally the new knowledge was sifted and collected in great encyclopaedias and dictionaries." The linguistic revival made rapid strides in subsequent years. The most remarkable fact emerging from this movement was the determination of the educated ones — both Arabs and Christians — to refashion and develop their own mother-tongue in order to make it an efficient vehicle of modern thought and science, and their insistence throughout on making it a medium of instruction instead of adopting a foreign tongue for the purpose.

In the first decade of the present century, when attempts were made by the Turkish rulers to force the Arabian provinces to adopt Turkish customs and to suppress Arabic even in the schools, Arabic national sentiment rose in revolt which spread even to Mesopotamia hitherto less advanced than Syria. Among the demands made by the Syrian Arabs from the Turkish rulers were these: "Arabic was to be recognised as the official language in the provincial administration and courts of law; Civil servants were to know Arabic; European experts employed to reorganise the administration were to sign a 15 year contract and were to know either Arabic or Turkish."

In Egypt, where the people's language was Arabic, the people had to struggle for years to get the English rulers to make adequate provision for the teaching of Arabic and adopt the people's language as the medium of instruction in schools. The national leaders, however, carried on the political education of the masses through papers

\* The facts and quotations in this and the subsequent sections have been taken, unless otherwise indicated, from Hans Kohn's *A History of Nationalism in the East*.



conducted in Arabic and acquired, in the meanwhile, a remarkable hold on them.

John Gunther, writing in 1938 about the regime of Reza Shah Pahlevi in Iran, says that "only Persian characters may be used in street signs and the like. Name-plates of foreigners in Teheran will be torn from the doors unless they are in Persian. Even kilometre posts along the roads are painted with Arabic numerals which are quite different from the English numerals." It is necessary to note that the national language which was thus fostered and encouraged not only did not prove a barrier to the progress that Iran made in recent years but the message of reform and enlightenment perhaps reached the masses more easily because of its being conveyed in their own language.

### III

The brotherhood of Islam included many nations. In several of these countries nationalist movements often began with an effort to break away from the common religious language. In Morocco, for example, "as early as the 12th century Ibn Tumart, who was champion of Berber nationalism, translated the Koran into Berber and had the call to prayer proclaimed in Berber instead of Arabic." Turkey of the eighteen-fifties seems to have taken the lead in the movement, inspired by the liberal sentiment that was aroused in the wake of the Crimean War. The Edict promulgated by the Sultan in 1856 breathed a new spirit of liberalism. Till 1860 literary Turkish had been a highly artificial language made up of Persian and Arabic words and turns of speech. The people could not understand it. With the growth of the nationalist sentiment there grew up also "a new unaffected and natural language akin to the vernacular". Shinasi Effendi was the father of the new language, which he was the first to use in translations and his newspapers. Turkey woke up from her torpor. A similar movement was afoot amongst the Russian Tatars of Crimea and the Volga who wanted to substitute "the Russian alphabet for the Arabic" in the Turco-Tatar language and replace all Arabian and Persian words by words of pure Turkish derivation."

There are a few States belonging to people of non-Russian Asiatic origin within the U. S. S. R. Be it said to the credit of the latter that the peoples within its borders are allowed "to lead a national life of their own and to develop their own language and traditions. In every small autonomous republic or territory the vernacular was the official language and became thus a written, literary language." In the province of Turkistan, inhabited largely by Muslims, the indigenous language is used as the medium of instruction, and these local tongues are coming into general use and beginning to oust Russian as official languages. Even Afghanistan, without adopting English or any other Western language as the medium of instruction, achieved remarkable results. The progress made in education, the

London *Times* (1929) declares, can hardly be described as other than astonishing.

Hebrew is now the language of the Palestinian Jews not only in schools and colleges but in all cultural and social activity, having completely replaced Arabic.

### IV

Europe has not been free from this universal process, and the national upheavals there, which preceded those in Asia, had this one feature common to all. The struggle of the Irish nation, to cite but one instance out of several, for establishing its birthright of using its own national language in all spheres of life, is a glorious episode in the history of humanity's fight for freedom. Even the Englishmen's love for their own language and the devoted labours of generations of them to enrich it provide an object-lesson to us. And it was a German lexicographer, Jakob Grimm, who, in his introduction to the German dictionary, wrote thus: "German fellow countrymen, whatever your political allegiance, whatever your religious faith, enter the portals of your ancient hereditary language that stands open to you all, learn it and hold it sacred and cleave to it. Your national vigour and survival depend upon it."

In none of the countries mentioned has education suffered a setback because it did not adopt a foreign language as the medium of instruction, nor has any of them found it an impediment in their self-expression. What Gandhiji has been saying on the subject is, as is evident from the foregoing facts, wholly in consonance with experience and entirely in keeping with the spirit of the times. Indeed the national awakening in its many aspects penetrated the masses of our country only after, and in so far as, the Congress adopted the national language or the provincial languages in the conduct of its affairs and succeeded in popularising the use of the latter in the provinces.

Ahmedabad, 25-1-42

C. S.

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# HARIJAN

Editor : MAHADEV DESAI

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[ FIVE PICE

## A COMPLETE VINDICATION

A most important item on the constructive programme of the Congress, ever since its adoption of non-cooperation in 1920, was total prohibition of intoxicating drugs and drinks. In pursuance of this programme, peaceful persuasion of addicts and peaceful picketing of liquor shops was undertaken by Congressmen and Congresswomen throughout India, and thousands suffered imprisonment and sustained physical injury in furtherance of the cause. Therefore when the Congress accepted office in 1937 the Working Committee were none too hasty in advising the Ministries that it was "incumbent on them to work to this end", and expected them "to bring about total prohibition in their respective provinces in three years." The Committee even appealed "to the ministers in other provinces and to the Indian States also to adopt this programme of moral and social uplift of the people."

Three provinces — Madras, Bombay, Bihar — took up the work in right earnest. The masses hailed the programme and legislation with delight. Madras was the first to begin, Rajaji bringing in a Bill within three months of assuming responsibility. Bombay followed the lead within a few months, making even a bolder experiment by introducing prohibition in the premier industrial cities of Bombay and Ahmedabad. There was strong opposition in Bombay by the vested interests, though the legislation was cautious to a degree, and was in no way as thoroughgoing as the prohibition legislation in the United States. There were permits for Europeans and addicts, and the whole objective was the moral and social uplift of the masses, especially the working classes.

Whereas Madras had an Act, Bombay took a short cut by issuing notifications under section 14 B (2) of the old Bombay Abkari Act of 1878. This Act already contained specific provisions authorising Government to prohibit entirely the possession of intoxicants by "a person or a class of persons". The notifications of 1938 applying prohibition to Ahmedabad and Bombay did not go beyond these provisions, excepting in the extent of their application.

There were prosecutions against those who infringed the law, an accused in Ahmedabad being convicted, and the accused in three cases in Bombay being acquitted. The Government filed appeals against these acquittals, and the convicted man filed an appeal against his conviction. All these appeals came in for hearing on the 10th of April

1940, and a special Bench consisting of five judges heard the appeal. The special Bench held that

1. The notifications were *ultra vires*;
2. Whereas the notification could be issued with respect to "a person or a class of persons", the Government had no power to apply it to the public generally;

3. Power to control or regulate the trade was conferred on the executive, but it was never intended to authorise "the introduction of total prohibition of intoxicants as a measure of social reform".

The judgment delivered by the Chief Justice went even further than the bare interpretation of the law. It was a specious plea for the vested interests. The Chief Justice observed that, if the words "any person or class of persons" were held to include "the public generally", the construction "would place it in the power of the Government of the day not only to bring the whole administration of the Abkari Act to an end, but by a stroke of the pen, without any warning or the provision of any compensation, to destroy the value of businesses built up, it may be, over many years and with the expenditure of much capital in reliance of the continuance of Government policy under the Abkari Act."

The Chief Justice used an argument which upheld a trade which, to use Gladstone's words, has wrought more ruin (he was talking of England) than war, famine and pestilence put together. It is common knowledge that those who had invested capital in the liquor trade had done so in spite of the warning of 20 years. If as a result of the 20 years' work there was voluntary abstinence from drink on a vast scale, whom would the liquor dealers or the Chief Justice have held to blame?

### II

But the decision of the Bombay High Court went even further to undo the work of the Ministry as we shall presently see. In order to remedy the effect of the special Bench decision, the Bombay Government immediately brought in a remedying legislation, viz. the Bombay Abkari Act of 1940, validating the notification and removing all doubts as to the purpose of the legislation, viz. promoting, enforcing and carrying into effect the policy of prohibition. This Act, in its turn, soon came in for judicial interpretation. The Presidency Magistrate, before whom a person in possession of country liquor was brought for trial, referred two questions to the High Court: (1) Has the Provincial Legislature power under item 31 of List II of the



7th Schedule of the Government of India Act of 1935 to pass a law of which the object is to introduce a policy of total prohibition? (2) In the event of the question being answered in the affirmative, whether there is in existence any effective notification under section 14 B (2) of the Bombay Abkari Act of 1878 absolutely prohibiting the possession of intoxicants by persons generally in the city of Bombay.

The High Court on this reference held that the Amending Act went beyond the powers of the provincial legislature, and that it would not affect the notifications already declared invalid. The Government thereupon applied for a certificate under section 205 of the Government of India Act to enable the Government to appeal to the Federal Court. The High Court refused to grant this certificate on the ground that no question of law as to the interpretation of the Constitution Act was involved in the case.

Prohibition was thus given a decent burial, and an effective step was taken to prevent its resurrection.

### III

Not so, however, in Bihar. The Bihar legislation was also on the lines of the Bombay legislation. Prohibition was introduced by a notification of March 26th 1939 issued under a sub-section of the old Bihar and Orissa Excise Act. There was a prosecution and conviction under this notification; as in Bombay; also an appeal to the High Court, and the decision by the High Court that the Provincial Government had no power to make a notification prohibiting the public generally from possessing intoxicating liquor. As in Bombay, again, the Governor of Bihar enacted a Governor's Act amending the preamble of the original Act, so as to bring in prohibition within its scope, and also amending section 19 (4) of the old Act so as to include, under "any person or class of persons", all persons in Bihar or in any specified area. There was a fresh notification in terms of this Governor's Act; a prosecution under it, an acquittal, but, unlike Bombay, a reversal of the order of acquittal by the High Court who held that "in view of the Amending Act the appellant had no defence in law."

It was against this order of the High Court that the convicted man appealed to the Federal Court. Chief Justice Sir Maurice Gwyer's judgment, delivered a short while ago, upheld the order of the High Court, and in the course of a lucid analysis of the whole question it discussed and disposed of effectively practically all the questions raised in the Bombay province, and completely vindicates the action of the Congress Ministries both in Bombay and Bihar. The Chief Justice, without expressing any opinion on the two judgments of the Bombay High Court and the Patna High Court which questioned the validity of the notifications, held that the Legislatures were competent to issue the notifications they did, and that the view which influenced both the courts that the old Acts were merely revenue or excise Acts and not meant for promot-

ing a policy of total or partial prohibition, was wrong:

"There is no reason in theory or principle why an Excise Act should not have a double object, the benefit of the revenue and the improvement of public health or morals by a greater control of the liquor trade; the Licensing Acts in England are an example. We find it not easy to understand the purpose or object of section 19 (4), if it were not intended for the purpose of promoting the cause of temperance, whether by means of the policy which used to be known as local option or by means of total prohibition; and its appearance on the statute book in so many provinces in the course of the same generation is a proof that temperance doctrines were, as indeed is common knowledge, attracting public notice at that period over a considerable part of India. The only novelty about more recent legislation is that it goes further and is more radical in character."

The Chief Justice also disposed of the argument about the loss resulting to the liquor dealers, which argument was only "faintly suggested" by the counsel for the Bihar appellant, but was made much of by the Chief Justice of Bombay:

"It was faintly suggested that, in the absence of any provision for compensating those whose livelihood might be taken away by the enactment of prohibition, it ought to be assumed that the Legislatures had not been given power to enact it. Where a statute is ambiguous, the presumption that a Legislature does not intend to interfere with vested rights is no doubt reinforced by the absence of provisions for compensation; but where the language is clear and there is no ambiguity, as we hold to be the case here, there is no room for such arguments."

One would have thought that there should have been no doubt about the interpretation of entry No. 31, which sets out the matters about which a Provincial Legislature is empowered to legislate:

"Intoxicating liquors and narcotic drugs, that is to say, the production, manufacture, possession, transport, purchase and sale of intoxicating liquors, opium and other narcotic drugs."

But much argument was expended to show that this gave no power to the provincial legislatures to introduce total or partial prohibition. On this point the Chief Justice, who characterised the argument as "bold", has clearly held that

"A power to legislate" with respect to intoxicating liquors "could not well be expressed in wider terms, and would, in our opinion, unless the meaning of the words used is restricted or controlled by the context or by other provisions in the Act, undoubtedly include the power to prohibit intoxicating liquors throughout the Province or in any specified part of the Province." Also: "A power to regulate does not include a power to prohibit, but since neither the word 'regulation' itself nor any other comparable



expression appears in entry No. 31, it does not appear necessary to pursue the argument further."

There is another aspect which, it is gratifying to note, has not escaped the learned Chief Justice's attention. If the great Reforms introduced in 1935 which transferred certain departments to the Provincial Legislatures had any value, it was this that the people's representatives were given the fullest liberty to legislate for their moral and social well-being. Entry No. 31 could have no other meaning, and if it was held, as the Bombay High Court held, to have a narrow meaning, the little value that the Reforms had would be gone, and the Reforms would be reduced to a mockery. The Chief Justice did not say so in so many words, but his meaning is clear beyond the shadow of a doubt:

"We must again refer to the fundamental proposition enunciated in *The Queen v. Burah* that Indian Legislatures within their own sphere have plenary powers of legislation as large and of the same nature as those of Parliament itself. If that was true in 1878, it cannot be less true in 1942. Every intendment ought, therefore, to be made in favour of a Legislature which is exercising the powers conferred on it. Its enactments ought not to be subjected to the minute scrutiny which may be appropriate to an examination of the bye-laws of a body exercising only delegated powers, nor is the generality of its powers to legislate on a particular subject to be cut down by the arbitrary introduction of *far-fetched and impertinent limitations*." (Italics mine)

#### IV

This weighty judgment has far-reaching importance. It validates prohibition to the extent it was introduced in Bihar. But what about Bombay? In Bombay anarchy prevails. The Government of India cannot legislate on a provincial matter, and the Bombay High Court decisions which still stand have deprived the Governor and the legislature of the power to legislate in the matter of prohibition. Does the Federal Chief Justice's decision validate the Bombay Governor's Act of 1940 and resurrect prohibition? The criticism made by certain legal luminaries, after the Bombay High Court's decisions, that the Congress Governments had, in their zeal for reform, driven a coach and four through all principles of law, is now dispelled by the Federal Court's judgment. There must be a way found whereby the good work done by the Congress Government, which "by a stroke of the pen" was ruined by the Bombay High Court decisions, can be revived.

New Delhi, 29-3-42

M. D.

#### Constructive Programme

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## A POSER

An esteemed friend writes:

"Recently, under the caption 'Criminal Assaults', Gandhiji advised women at the mercy of ravishers to use nails and teeth when non-violence had failed. In the current *Harijan* similar precepts are taught. If the non-violent way is not clear, Gandhiji recommends organisation for armed defence against robbers and dacoits. Again, the work has perforce to be done by the evacuees violently, non-violently, or both ways. Am I incurably stupid at some point in the reasoning? Can this be the deliberate teaching of the apostle of non-violence? Is *ahimsa* only the preferable of two legitimate courses, the one which has the right of prior trial but may properly be abandoned as soon as its inadequacy is perceptible? Time was when I understood *himsa* to be the antithesis of *ahimsa*, to be abhorred as much as the other was to be worshipped; the one was away from God, the other towards Him."

*Himsa* is certainly the antithesis of *ahimsa*, as much as untruth of truth; and for him or her who is wedded to *ahimsa* as a faith there is nothing higher than *ahimsa* which must be adhered to at all costs. For him or her *ahimsa* is the only way towards God, *himsa* away from Him.

The precept that my friend has facilely tried to reduce to an absurdity is addressed not to those who have unflinching faith in *ahimsa* but to those who are vacillating or in doubt, or who would fain take to their heels in the name of *ahimsa*. To these Gandhiji has always said: *Ahimsa* or *himsa*, but no cowardice. Let me remind the friend that what Gandhiji has been saying now was said in identical language twenty years ago.

Having said this, I would invite the friend's attention to Hindu moral philosophy. In the ultimate analysis everything but Truth is relative, and the distinction between *ahimsa* and *himsa* is relative, not the absolute distinction between Truth and untruth. Hindu moral philosophy—Gita ethics—posits three gunas, *Sattwa*, *Rajas* and *Tamas*, and declares that there is no being in the three worlds that is free from the three gunas—in a greater or less degree. A man of *sattwa* guna is predominantly *sattvika*, but he has a certain amount of *rajas* and *tamas* in him. The Gita goes even further and classifies even virtues like *tapas* (penance), *yajna* (sacrifice), *danam* (charity) into the three categories *sattvika*, *rajas* and *tamas*. *Sattvika* has to be worshipped in preference to the *rajas* and *tamas* which last is to be abhorred, but everyone and everything earthly cannot but manifest in himself or itself the three gunas in a greater or less degree. The only one who transcends the three gunas is He. *Ahimsa* belongs to the *sattvika* category, *himsa* belongs to the *rajas* category, and cowardice belongs to the *tamas* category. Fearlessness, which may express itself in *ahimsa* or *himsa* according as a person is *sattvika* or *rajasa*, is the antithesis of cowardice. The one is the attribute of the brave, the other brings down man from man's estate. That is why cowardice has to be shunned at all costs.

New Delhi, 29-3-42

M. D.



# HARIJAN

Apr. 5

1942

## A YOUNG CANADIAN'S QUESTION

(By M. K. Gandhi)

From my American post I pick up the following typical letter from Vancouver:

"I cannot truthfully say that I am an advocate of your 'India for the Indians' policy, but I have read your article in *Liberty* magazine and followed newspaper accounts of your illustrious life. I say 'illustrious' not in the sense of the mighty heads of Europe but of a man who is truly attempting to better his own people, not to perpetrate his personal fancies. I knew, of course, that your principles constitute a return of India to village industry and more international economic co-operation and goodwill towards men, but I should like to know just what stand your new democracy would take in world politics. The small countries of Europe thought that they would keep their finger out of the pie, as the saying goes, but look where they are now. I should like to know from the pen of the spiritual leader of India himself what the Government's attitude towards resident Britons would be and if British and other foreign trading firms would be allowed. Would the new Government of India follow the policies of Japan until Admiral Perry and the United States fleet entered the harbour of Yokohama in 1853? That is, would foreigners and foreign trade be excluded?"

I hope that you will pardon the intrusion of a young Canadian who wishes to more fully understand the problems of your country."

Denuded of the courtesies, the writer's straight question is, "Will there be room for Britishers and foreigners in free India?" The question should have nothing to do with my spirituality supposed or real. It does not arise for free America or free Britain. And it will not arise when India becomes really free. For, India will then be free to do what she likes, without let or hindrance from anybody. But it is pleasing to speculate what India would do if she becomes free, as she must sooner or later. If I have any influence over her policies, foreigners will be welcome, provided their presence is beneficial to the country. They will never be allowed to exploit and impoverish the country as they have done hitherto.

What free India will otherwise look like remains to be seen. She has nothing to fear from the contemplation of the helplessness of the small nations of Europe, if she continues to tread the non-violent course she has done with more or less perfection and with more or less success. For a non-violent State bigness is wholly unnecessary for its protection against aggression. Such a State will need spend nothing for protection against aggression from without. Whether such a State will ever come into being is a fair question to ask. Reason suggests no flaw in the theoretical conception of it. Whether human nature will respond to

what has been called an exacting call is another question. It has been known in individual cases to rise to unimaginable heights. There is nothing to prevent its multiplication by patient endeavour. Anyway I am not going to lose my faith and abandon the attempt because I can show no visible sign of such a response from India. One might as well abandon all hope, as some have done, for the attainment of India's unadulterated freedom. For they say, it will take centuries for India, which is largely and wholly unarmed, to become a military nation. I refuse to be prey to such despair. In the ringing words of Lokamanya, "Freedom is India's birthright, and she will have it cost what it may." Glory lies in the attempt to reach one's goal and not in reaching it. I passionately believe in the possibility of attainment through the perfection of the non-violent technique whose hidden resources no one has fathomed. We have only found a foothold. Perseverance opens up treasures which bring perennial joy. If the toil is great, so is the fruit thereof.

On the way to Delhi, 26-3-42

## Notes

### Scorched Earth

From the well-reasoned press statement of Shri Gaganvihari L. Mehta, President of the Federation of Indian Chambers of Commerce and Industry, I give below the following important extracts:

"It should be pointed out that economic relationships are so close, complex and delicate that it would be impossible to demolish important industries or plants without grave repercussions on the economic fabric and life of the country. For example, if industrial plants like those of jute, cotton or sugar are destroyed, they will take years to be rebuilt even after the war and, meanwhile, not merely the owners of the factories but also the cultivators of these commodities, the industrial workers as well as those engaged in ancillary and subsidiary industries, trades and occupations would all suffer. Such demolition of industries built up after years of struggle at large expense and often against heavy odds will cause economic dislocation and disorganisation altogether disproportionate to any benefits secured as a measure of war.

After the grossly discriminating treatment which has been admittedly meted out to Indian evacuees in Malaya and Burma, the Indian commercial community and the public naturally have apprehensions as to the manner in which such a vital policy as that of scorched earth would be carried out in practice. The representatives of the people of this country have had no voice whatever in the formulation and execution of the defence policy of the country so that the people have no means of determining whether the heavy sacrifices entailed in any policy such as that of scorched earth is justified in any particular situation."

Scorched earth policy is a self-defeating measure. Time will show how true this remark is.

New Delhi, 30-3-42

Caveeshar

Lala Dunichand of Amballa writes:

"I have been asked by the dear and near ones of S. Sardul Singh Caveeshar, who is being detained



without trial, to write this letter to you. Since his arrest about a fortnight ago, he is being detained inside the Lahore Fort, and he is not being allowed to have any kind of contact with his relations and friends. Authorities have been repeatedly approached for an interview with him, but the request has been flatly refused. I and a few other M. L. A.s wanted to see Mr. Wace, D. I. G. Police (C. I. D.), with a view to put his case before him for proper treatment, but he peremptorily refused to see us in this connection. I am reliably informed that S. Caveeshar is being kept by himself in a cell, and this amounts to solitary confinement. He is not being allowed even those few facilities such as newspapers, correspondence, etc., which other detainees enjoy. The fact that he had been suffering from fever for a long time at the time of his arrest adds poignancy to his case. Other detainees of similar position such as Babu Sarat Chandra Bose and others are being treated properly."

One can understand detention, in these times, of persons who are suspected of complicity with the Japanese. Therefore, in spite of my having receiving angry letters, I have observed silence about Sarat Babu's detention though I have felt keenly about it. There was no question of his ill-treatment. Sardar Sardul Singh's is a different case, if what Lala Dunichand says is true. There can be no cause for the ill-treatment of any prisoner, no matter what his offence is. Caveeshar is detained on mere suspicion. The public know nothing about the evidence against him. In war times it is difficult to demand an open trial or even disclosure of evidence in certain cases. All the greater, therefore, is the reason for the special treatment of such prisoners. I hope that Caveeshar's case will receive the attention of the authorities concerned and all cause for complaint will be removed.

New Delhi, 29-3-42

#### Praja Mandals and Congress

Thus writes a correspondent from an Indian State:

"On page 67 of *Harijan* (of March 8, 1942) there is a question which is of great interest and importance to Praja Mandals in Indian States. The latter part of the question is, 'Who should be responsible for political policies there (in States)?' I am afraid that the answer does not sufficiently clear the position. From what appeared in this connection in *Harijan* before, and from the present answer, in an indirect way, it seems that you wish the Praja Mandals to be responsible for the political policy in the States concerned. It would follow that the local branch of the Congress would not independently initiate any political policy or come into conflict with the policy of the local Praja Mandal."

I think there was no confusion about my answer. The Congress organisation has its centre and chief work in British India. It has branches in some States. They are not expected to dabble in local politics. They are, therefore, advised to confine themselves to constructive work. But Praja Mandals have to do constructive work always, and political work properly so called wherever it is allowed or where there are brave and able enough men to

carry on the political struggle. It is thus purely a question of local ability and opportunity. At the present moment when everything is in the melting pot, no heroics in politics are called for in the States.

#### Stopping Animal Sacrifice

A Belgaum correspondent writes:

"The Marikamba Fair which is being generally held at Sirsi is one of the biggest in the Bombay Province. The Sirsi temple is well known in this part and has a huge income which is utilised for various purposes by donating a high school, a maternity hospital, etc. This was the first temple in the Province which opened its doors to Harijans when your Harijan campaign began. You asked the people not to kill the buffalo, sheep or hens in the name of religion, and had said that such a temple did not deserve support. Your speech had its effect on the public. Shri S. N. Keshwain, M. L. A., President Canara District Harijan Sevak Sangh and one of the trustees of the temple, was responsible for stopping the killing of buffaloes a few years back. This year he was responsible for stopping the killing of sheep and hens at the recent Mari Fair. Thus the lives of about ten thousand sheep and fifteen thousand hens were saved, for which the whole district is grateful to him for his courageously coming forward at the proper time without heeding a few resenting voices."

This is indeed good news. Shri Keshwain deserves congratulations for his humanitarian spirit. Those who wish to may eat what meats they like, but it is defaming God to offer animal sacrifices in temples. What God wants, if He can be said to want anything, is the sacrifice made by a humble and contrite heart.

On the way to Delhi, 26-3-42

#### Literary v. Craft Work

Shri Narhari Parikh writes:

"I feel that in many of our khadi and other schools the emphasis laid on literary training is wholly wrong. Certain hours are assigned to craft work and certain to literary work, but it is believed that knowledge can only be imbibed through book reading. I hold that more intellectual progress is possible for our students through craft work than books. I shall be grateful if you will give your opinion on this issue."

The writer's complaint is justified. Literary training does not always mean expansion of the intellect. Primarily it is a matter of memorising. A letter is imprinted on the brain in the same way as any other picture. But literary training is more than mere reading. The same thing is true of handicrafts. A knowledge of handicrafts is not limited to the mere craft. It includes a knowledge of its science. Then the expansion of the intellect is much greater and quicker than in the high schools and colleges. Therefore, to run down craft work or give it a secondary place in the school programme is greatly to be deplored. Students thus underrate the value and place of craft knowledge in the expansion of the intellect. Book learning damages the eyes and cramps thought and originality. There is no such danger in learning crafts and their science. This too involves some study of books.



But that study is related to crafts and, therefore, requires the exertion of the intellect. This is what I mean by basic training. It must, in time, come into its own, for it is so true. But meanwhile let there be no differentiation made between book learning and craft work. The latter must be looked upon as an integral part of education and must have the same status as any other subject. This obvious truth should be recognised at least in national schools. (Adapted from *Harijanbandhu*)  
Sevagram, 25-3-42 M. K. G.

## TRAGEDY OF THE ENGLISH MEDIUM

(By Shriman Narayan Agarwal)

Gandhiji's trenchant criticism of the English medium of instruction on the occasion of the Benares Hindu University's Silver Jubilee celebrations has once more roused Indian educationists from their mental torpor. Whether it will stir them into fruitful activity is, however, quite doubtful. But if our educationists fail to do their duty, time cannot wait endlessly to restore the balance. Indian youth is restive under the yoke of a foreign language, and the English medium is, assuredly, on its last legs.

Apart from other baneful effects, the greatest tragedy of the English medium is its crippling influence on the intellect. It is now patent that the students who learn through the mother-tongue show a better grasp of subjects and develop a healthier intellect than those who study through English. Authentic and weighty evidence in favour of this statement is, indeed, overwhelming. Messrs Abbott and Wood in their educational report of 1937 observed:

"It is not possible accurately to assess the mental dislocation and the inhibitions which boys suffer from being required to give and receive information, to formulate ideas, to record their experiences, and to express their sense of values in a language other than which they use and have always been in the habit of using in domestic and social life. . . . They are hampered at every turn by having to handle an instrument which comes between them and spontaneity."

Dr. Mackenzie, the late Pro-Vice-Chancellor of the Osmania University, also confessed that students learning through an Indian language showed better progress than those learning through a foreign medium. One language only holds the key to our emotions, one language only conveys to us, surely and instinctively, the subtler overtones of suggestion which its words possess. That is the language that we use at our mothers' knees; the language of our first prayers and our first spontaneous outbursts of joy or grief. To make any other the vehicle of education is not merely to add immeasurably to the pupil's labours; it is to lame his mind in its freedom of movement, remarks Mr. H. N. Brailsford, the renowned English thinker.

This fact is also corroborated by the Hartog Committee which reported:

"Many witnesses have told us that the boy who has received a vernacular schooling, though he may be

handicapped at first by his weakness in English, very often outstrips the Anglo-vernacular boy in the long run in consequence of his better grasp of those general subjects which he learns through the vernacular."

The Government of India Resolution of 1913 also stated:

"There is much evidence to the effect that scholars who have been through a complete vernacular course are exceptionally efficient mentally."

The Rev. W. E. S. Holland, who was the Principal of St. Paul's Cathedral College, Calcutta, and later the Principal of St. John's College, Agra, replying to the questionnaire issued by the Sadler Commission, observed:

"A large part of college teaching and learning is concerned with understanding the meaning of the English words in which the subject is being studied. There is less time and strength for the attainment of high standards in the subject itself. I consider that the large number of failures at each successive stage in the University course is due to the same cause. . . . Further, freshness and keenness of interest in a particular subject evaporate when the medium through which it is studied interposes such difficulty. . . . Enquiries from staff and students alike have revealed the fact that they do almost all their thinking in the vernacular. To be educated in a language which is not the vehicle of thought must cramp intellectual development in all kinds of ways. The foreignness of our whole curricula sterilises our best Indian minds. . . . There will be a new outburst of intellectual life in Bengal when throughout their education they think and express themselves in the vernacular."

Mr. W. C. Wordsworth, for some time Principal of the Presidency College, went a step further and wrote:

"I believe that students should be permitted to use their own vernaculars in all University examinations. . . . I think that the teaching of English would be improved if schools were permitted to make it a second language, and not the medium of instruction in the higher classes."

Miss A. L. Janau, Principal of the Bethune College, Calcutta, also eloquently advocated the introduction of the vernacular medium and wrote to the Sadler Commission:

"There is no excuse for imposing English as the language of teaching or of examination, and so to impose it is to lay a burden on the Indian pupil which is likely to kill any originality of thought individuals may possess and is sure to kill the genius of Indians as a race."

I have purposely cited the evidence of only English educationists to lend added weight to my argument. I have no quarrel with the English language as such. It is a rich and well-developed language and has gained international importance. It can very well remain a compulsory second language in high schools and colleges. But I see no justification for making it the vehicle of instruction.

Will University Vice-Chancellors and Directors of Public Instruction care to check the colossal waste of national energy without further delay?  
Wardha, 22-3-42



## VACATION WORK

(By M. K. Gandhi)

A Poona correspondent writes :

"Students are now going on long leave for their summer vacation. Most of them will leave the cities and go to their native places. Looking to the urgent exigencies in the country due to the war situation, and its consequent responsibilities on the people of India, will it not be useful if a message is sent to the student world reminding them of their responsibility and duty at this critical juncture? May I therefore request you to kindly issue an appeal at the earliest to the students calling them for some action during the vacation and after? My humble suggestions are as follows:

1. Reading out the news to the villagers about the War and the Indian political situation and special articles from *Harijan*.

2. Explaining to them the present emergency and possible events.

3. Organising Nagarik Samrakshana Dals.

4. Propagating and organising the idea of self-sufficiency in villages, so far as food and clothing is concerned.

5. A persistent campaign against untouchability. It is possible that the students, some of whom are under the fanatic influence of communal organisations, might harm rather than help the cause in view. But we have to take the chances with the students as they are, and hence I have deliberately dropped, out of the above list, items of communal unity and Congress ideology and mentioned only such items as would give least scope for either communal or ideological differences."

I have no difficulty in endorsing the suggestions made by the correspondent.

Self-sufficiency is a big word. Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru has adopted that and self-reliance as slogans in his U. P. speeches. They should prove catching at this juncture. Villages will be swept away, if they are not self-sufficient as to their primary wants and self-reliant as to their protection against internal disruption by dissensions and disease and external danger from thieves and dacoits. Self-sufficiency, therefore, means all the cotton processes and growing of seasonal food crops and fodder for cattle. Unless this is done there will be starvation. And self-reliance means corporate organisation ensuring adjustment of internal differences through arbitration by the wise men of villages and cleanliness by corporate attention to sanitation and common diseases. No mere individual effort is going to suffice. And above all villagers must be taught to feel their own strength by combined effort to make their villages proof against thieves and dacoits. This is best done by corporate non-violence. But if the way to non-violence does not seem clear to workers, they will not hesitate to organise corporate defence through violence. I am not having in mind Congressmen who have adopted non-violence as their final creed and so have no choice in the matter.

Thus the students, if they will, can have a strenuous vacation. Who knows that the vacation may not prove even indefinite? But if it is not, two

months are good enough time for laying down a good foundation for self-sufficiency and self-reliance.

My correspondent is timid. There is no cause to fear communal strife. Students who take up village reorganisation cannot afford to be communal. Communalism is an urban product fated to flourish only on urban soil. In rural areas the people are too poor and too interdependent to find time for communal quarrels. Be that as it may, student workers are assumed, for this note, to be free from the virus.

On the way to Delhi, 26-3-42

## FROM UNOFFICIAL NOTES

(By M. K. Gandhi)

I extract the following useful information from the unofficial notes published from time to time by the Principal Information Officer of the Government of India, which sometimes make interesting and instructive reading:

## Medicinal Plants

Research on Indian medicinal drugs has been undertaken to assist the local manufacture of drugs. By chemical and biological tests it has been established that pyrethrum cultivated in the hills of Northern India compares favourably with the imported commodity. Another investigation establishes that antrypol, a British product, is a good substitute for Naganol, a German product extensively used for veterinary medicine. A detailed distribution of medicinal plants growing in India is now being worked out. It will help in the supply of good vegetable products and stimulate the cultivation of medicinal plants.

The question of producing a fish liver oil containing vitamin 'A' and 'D' for both military and medicinal purposes has been examined. In the different fish curing yards of the Madras Fisheries Department, an oil of very high potency is extracted from the livers of sharks and saw-fishes. To develop this a proper organisation is necessary to work along the entire coastline of India.

## Manuring of Paddy

Varieties of rice evolved at the Council's research stations have been multiplied and distributed to cultivators. Further experiments to find out the economics of manuring of paddy with oil cakes on the basis of their nitrogen content have been recommended.

Cheap synthetic manure from town refuse and other waste materials prepared in Mysore has been found to be effective in quality and to possess high manurial value for rice, millets, tomatoes and other crops.

## Registration of Cattle

The Council initiated a scheme for Central Herd Books for the registration of Sahiwal, Sindhi and Haryana cattle and Murrah buffaloes. It has been found that 'berseem' makes a good substitute for concentrates up to three-fourths of the usual ration of dairy cattle.

Owing to increasing menace of adulteration of ghee, the Council sanctioned research on the detection of the adulterants at the Imperial Dairy Institute, Bangalore.

On the way to Delhi, 26-3-42



## QUESTION BOX

(By M. K. Gandhi)

### Weakening Non-violence?

Q. In the instructions issued by the Working Committee of the Congress in the matter of organising Congress volunteers it has been clearly stated that the organisation should be based on "strictly non-violent basis". In the pledge forms prepared in this behalf by some Congress committees, however, it is stated that volunteers when on duty only should observe non-violence. The Karnatak P. C. C. has prepared the volunteers' pledge in this form. The Chief Organiser of volunteers in the Province appointed by the K. P. C. C. declared in a public meeting held for the purpose of enrolling volunteers that a Congress volunteer even on duty might exercise the right of private defence by resorting to violence in an emergency, and further that such an action on his part did not contravene the instructions of the Working Committee. All this is creating confusion. If the instructions of the Working Committee are not to be strictly carried out, it would be better that the condition of non-violence were dropped altogether rather than were allowed to be diluted to suit individual ideas. What is your opinion in the matter?

A. My answers must not be taken as authentic in questions the answers to which require the *imprimatur* of the Congress as this one does. My personal opinion is decisive. Violence in self-defence has no place in any corps organised by or in the name of the Congress. There can be no laxity in the enforcement of this rule without risking a breakdown of the whole non-violent structure in the Congress. Use of violence in private self-defence is said to be permitted by the Congress because the Congress does not and cannot regulate the personal and private life of individual Congressmen. The individual in his private life is unfettered by the rules of the Congress. He is dominated by his own ethical code, if any.

### Full Faith in Non-violence

Q. There are some Congressmen, though their number is very small, who have full faith in non-violence and who desire to organise on that basis. Should not Congress committees organise such men? Or should not Congress committees allow such men to form their corps under the auspices of the Congress?

A. Congress committees cannot organise sections. The Congress can have only one policy. Today it is pure non-violence so far as internal affairs are concerned. Therefore I see no reason for separate peace committees. Purists, if they are humble and not self-opinionated, will act as a leaven in bodies which may contain men and women even of doubtful faith, as there must be in democratic organisations.

### Bewildering Conflict

Q. There is a bewildering conflict of opinion among Congress leaders. Sardar speaks with one

voice, Rajaji with another, Maulana with a third, and Jawaharlalji with a fourth — not to speak of the lesser lights. Whom is one to follow, who is to be regarded as the sole authority to interpret the Congress policy and resolutions?

A. Legally and constitutionally the President is the sole authority. If there is a conflict of opinion between the majority of the Working Committee and the President, as was once the case in the early stages, the majority view would supersede the President's. But on critical occasions legal opinion is not of much value. People have their favourite heroes, and they will follow the heroes even blindly. My advice, therefore, is that in the ticklish question of ahimsa each one should be his own authority not on the law but on interpretation. If all the four distinguished leaders whom you have mentioned were to sit together, they would probably give the same interpretation, but in the course of their speeches each would put his special emphasis on one aspect or another of the same matter.

On the way to Delhi, 26-3-1942

### Spinning in Midnapore

Sutabata Thana has, according to a letter from Dr. P. C. Ghosh, a population of 85,000 and can boast of 494 self-spinners today as against 60 charkhas plying there in 1940. The improvement is due in large measure to the efforts of satyagrahis who were not arrested. 371 spinners held a demonstration there last February, some of whom had walked 10 or 12 miles. Out of these 152 were habitual wearers of khadi, and in six months all should have sufficient cloth for themselves from their own yarn. 500 more charkhas and 1,000 dhanush taklis are to be introduced this year. One of the workers is being trained at the Khadi Vidyalaya, Sevagram. Spinners used to be supplied with slivers or carded cotton, but now people are being trained to card for themselves. Spinners have begun to stock their own cotton, and all the yarn is woven into cloth in the Thana.

Sevagram, 21-3-42

A. K.

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# HARIJAN

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[ FIVE PICE

## SCORCHED EARTH

(By M. K. Gandhi)

Thus writes a correspondent on my article 'Scorched Earth' in *Harijan* :

"In your article headed 'Scorched Earth' appearing in *Harijan* of the 22nd March you say as follows :

'As a war resister my answer can only be one. I see neither bravery nor sacrifice in destroying life or property for offence or defence. I would far rather leave, if I must, my crops and homestead for the enemy to use than destroy them for the sake of preventing their use by him. There is reason, sacrifice and even bravery in so leaving my homestead and crops, if I do so not out of fear but because I refuse to regard anyone as my enemy — that is, out of a humanitarian motive.'

Firstly, although I do not approve of the violence which characterized Russia's resistance, I am of the view that there is great bravery and sacrifice in the scorched earth policy which they are adopting to resist the invader. I cannot, therefore, understand your saying that there is neither bravery nor sacrifice in destroying property for defence. Secondly, although you ask people to resist the invader, you would prefer them to leave their crops and homestead for the invader to use, not out of fear but out of a humanitarian motive. I cannot understand how this can be reconciled with your teaching of resistance to evil. I think that non-violent resistance to the invader demands it of me that I should prevent anything which will be of use to him, such as crops or homestead etc., from falling into his hands even if this means sacrificing my life. May I request you to clarify this subject because it is of vital importance that people should know how they should offer non-violent resistance to the invader?"

Surely the meaning is plain. There is no bravery in my poisoning my well or filling it in so that my brother who is at war with me may not use the water. Let us assume that I am fighting him in the orthodox manner. Nor is there sacrifice in it, for it does not purify me, and sacrifice, as its root meaning implies, presupposes purity. Such destruction may be likened to cutting one's nose to spite one's face. Warriors of old had wholesome laws of war. Among the excluded things were poisoning wells and destroying food crops. But I do claim that there are bravery and sacrifice in my leaving my wells, crops and homestead intact, bravery in that I deliberately run the risk of the enemy feeding himself at my expense and pursuing me, and sacrifice in that the sentiment of leaving something for the enemy purifies and ennobles me.

My questioner has missed the conditional expression "if I must". I have imagined a state

of things in which I am not prepared just now to die and therefore I want to retreat in an orderly manner in the hope of resisting under other and better auspices. The thing to consider here is not resistance but non-destruction of food crops and the like. Resistance, violent or non-violent, has to be well thought out. Thoughtless resistance will be regarded as bravado in military parlance, and violence or folly in the language of non-violence. Retreat itself is often a plan of resistance and may be a precursor of great bravery and sacrifice. Every retreat is not cowardice which implies fear to die. Of course a brave man would more often die in violently or non-violently resisting the aggressor in the latter's attempt to oust him from his property, but he will be no less brave if wisdom dictates present retreat.

Sevagram, 7-4-42

## HOW TO BE WORTHY OF OUR HERITAGE

While the still-born proposals that Sir Stafford Cripps has brought are meeting the fate they deserved, a lot of speculation is going on as to whether the British Cabinet cannot yet be made to see the error of their ways and persuaded to revise the proposals and entrust the defence of India to us. Whether this can be done one does not know. But assuming that it can be done, it is worth while considering whether we can withstand an invasion violently. I have very grave doubts, and I shall endeavour to state some of the obvious reasons.

General Molesworth, Deputy Chief of the General Staff in India, in the course of an address at the Rotary Club, made what I should think was a grave admission for a General to make. Here are his words :

"Everybody in India is asking what are we going to do to keep the Japanese out. From the point of view of the Army in this enormous battle front we shall hold vital places which it is necessary to hold in order to make India safe, but *we cannot hold everyone*.

Therefore, what is to be done for the rest of India *where we are unable to put troops or air or naval forces*? That question is not entirely impossible of solution. The next few months will put us down in history either as *worthy or unworthy of our heritage*. This is the time at which we have got to put everything aside, political, communal, racial and social squabbles, and if we really feel India is worthy of having, we have got to see that we defend it. *We cannot arm all*. On the other hand we can do a great deal to educate the masses to give the Japanese a great deal of trouble.



This must be done by the civil people like you. *The army cannot do it. The people can work in bands and give trouble and delay and destroy invasion.* It may be there is no proper lead from the top and no proper leadership down below. Still I feel the Japanese invasion can be beaten, if we *educate the people on the lines of 'They shall not pass'*. Psychologically it can only be done by the intelligentsia, working definitely shoulder to shoulder to work up the peasant."

I would invite the reader to read carefully the words I have italicised. The General makes the candid admission that it is not possible for the Army to hold every one of the "vital places", and that there are vital places—how many he naturally did not like to say—where "we are unable to put troops, or air or naval forces." It might have been better if he had also told us what exactly is India's strength on the land, on the sea and on the air—after what India has sent to Lybia, Malaya, Singapore and Burma. And even though he has not acquainted us with these facts, it is not difficult to see that we are ill prepared to resist militarily a foreign invasion.

"But," it may be said, "if we are given full control, there is yet time, we can still get ready, and be yet worthy of what is really our heritage and not General Molesworth's heritage." It may not be forgotten that after all is said and done General Molesworth's heritage is not here but elsewhere. Britain is his heritage, and all the resources of Britain are being concentrated for the protection of Britain against a foreign invasion. In the face of that natural fact, can we pretend that we can militarily get ready, to face an invasion? Let us see.

Andre Maurois, the famous French writer, who served as a liaison officer attached to the British Army in 1914-18, and who served in a similar capacity with the British Army in France before the collapse of France during the present war, has recently published a book *Why France Fell* which throws a flood of light on the whole question. Before the war the French Army, it will be remembered, was regarded as invincible. Mr. Hore-Belisha, the British War Minister, was invited to France for the review of July 14th in 1939. He went there with Mr. Winston Churchill.

"It was a splendid occasion," writes Maurois, "Paris' last happy day. Never had the French army been more magnificent . . . Churchill beamed. 'Thank God for the French Army,' he said. We did not know at that time that the courage of men, their military virtues, and the traditions of even the finest regiments were *powerless when the mechanical equipment is not worthy of the Army*. . . . The procession of tanks reassured the onlookers in the Champs Elysees and filled them with enthusiasm, but the latter were uninformed of the situation in Germany; they did not know that the Germans possessed many more tanks, more heavily armoured and invulnerable to our anti-tank guns."

"In the afternoon," Maurois goes on to say, "Mr. Hore-Belisha came to see us at Neuilly with a colonel who was his aide-de-camp. He talked of the difficulties he was encountering in building up a British Army:

'Conscription,' he said, 'is all well and good, but for the moment it is more a formula than a reality. *I cannot call up all the men who have registered, because I have neither equipment to give them nor officers to train them.*'

'What about the officers of the last War?' I asked.

'*They do not understand the new weapons.*'

'And if war were to break out tomorrow, how many divisions could you send us?'

'Right away? Not more than six.'

That figure frightened me. I was even more terrified when I learned a few weeks later that our General Staff had asked from England for the whole duration of a European war only thirtytwo divisions."

I cannot summarise here the whole of Maurois' revealing document. There were numerous causes why France fell. Among them may be numbered (1) The stupidity of the French ways of industrial mobilisation; (2) The woeful paucity of machine-tools; (3) Failure of morale—"at a time of great peril Frenchmen and Englishmen were living routine lives governed by the petty rules of a military bureaucracy"; (4) Superannuated and scarce tanks in Britain; (5) Lack of enthusiasm created by the numerous political divisions and factions and squabbles in France, and too much optimism in England; (6) The intrigues of the three thousand persons in Paris, who, as Byron said, 'because they go to bed late believe they are the leaders of the world', "which placed the nation in great jeopardy"; (7) Successful German propaganda setting England against France and France against England.

But Maurois returns again and again to the charge and says that the principal cause was the military unreadiness and inferiority of France and even Britain.

"The war was lost, so far as France was concerned, at the very moment it was begun. It was lost because we did not have enough aeroplanes, or enough tanks, or enough anti-air-craft guns, and because we did not have enough factories to build what we lacked. It was lost because our Ally had only a tiny army and did not possess the means of expansion which could have permitted her to take quick advantage of her immense reserves of men and riches."

Again he says:

"A great civilisation was foredoomed because 5,000 tanks and 10,000 aeroplanes which we could have built or bought without trouble were not constructed in time."

Describing how the men in the army were unaccustomed to modern warfare Maurois says:

"I remember asking one of our Generals why he did not accustom his men to the sight of flame-throwing tanks and dive bombers. 'If their first experience of this method of attack takes place on the field of battle, they will be terrified.' 'You are perfectly right,' he replied. 'I asked about it on several occasions. But I received the answer that tank manoeuvres would ruin the crops and that the civil authorities were opposed to it.'"

This last extract reminds me of an article by Edgar Snow I read last year, in which he describes how China tried to train women for military service and what disasters occurred during the first months.



Many of the trained women screamed and fainted and fled, and casualties were heaviest without there being any casualty on the enemy's side.

I would like to find out whether with all our man power we can be militarily ready, even within ten years, to fight Germany and Japan; whether we can have the necessary training; whether millions of our men—if we could put them in the field—would not be mown down like hay. Let us also remember that we shall have to depend entirely for training on the British officers; let us also remember Mr. Hore-Belisha's admission to Maurois (already quoted) that "they do not understand the new weapons"; let us remember too that we shall have to depend for most of the infernal weapons of warfare on America, and General Molesworth's admission that "the whole difficulty is that the production in U. S. A. has not come up to expectation. They are always ten months behind whatever they may say. Let us remember too that, even if America was capable of producing much that we required, America like Britain has to look to her own protection. Britain, which was regarded as immune until a little while ago, is daily thinking in terms of an invasion, and America is no better case." Louis Fischer, in his book of memoirs, *Men and Politics*, says, referring to an interview he had with M. Reynand just before the outbreak of the war: "Reynand thought America would be in grave danger if Germany won the war. 'In 1914,' he recalled, 'we never dreamed of the arms that we were using in 1918. This war will see the birth of new weapons and the perfection of old ones which will bring the United States within easier range of European armed forces.'"

One last extract from Maurois bearing on the point I am trying to make. Talking of England before the outbreak of war, he says: "England had turned a deaf ear to all talks of armaments and fighting. Her professors taught the youth of the country that war was a survival of barbarism and could easily be eliminated. They did not tell their pupils that, unless force is used to sustain justice, injustice will triumph." Well, we do not know how much, if any, was the effect of the British professors' pacific teaching on the mind of the British youths. But if it really had the effect of undermining their mental and physical readiness for resisting a foreign invasion, how colossal unreadiness must be for that sort of resistance, when we have regard to our forcible emasculation since 1857!

One last consideration. A thing which is entirely forgotten by our military enthusiasts, if I may so call them, is that we who talk so loudly of a free and independent India shall have to be dependent on England and America, if we can dream of ever possessing the military equipment necessary to face a foreign invasion in the orthodox way. They refuse to calculate or even to contemplate the consequences of that dependence.

I am, however, thinking only of the human chances of our readiness, assuming that everything

else was favourable. I think I have shown that they are none. President Roosevelt, in his proclamation declaring April 6 as the Army Day, called the day a total war day and reminded the Americans that "our army is a mighty arm of free liberty. It is the living part of the American peoples, a tradition that goes back to Israel Putnam, who left his plough in a New England furrow to take up a gun and fight at Bunker Hill." Can we get our kisans to leave their ploughs and march to the front with guns? Even if we can, General Molesworth has frankly said, "We cannot arm all."

What then is the alternative? Louis Fischer, in the book I have already quoted from, also analyses the causes of the fall of France in pretty nearly the same way as Maurois. While Germany was concentrating on giant tanks and giant bombers, France was watching supinely. "Cot shouted, 'More planes.' Colonel Charles de Galle cried, 'Produce tanks.' The appealers, the defeatists, the defensivists replied, 'We have the Maginot line.'..... But it is not merely a matter of counting planes, guns and soldiers. Munich demoralised France and made it more defeatist. That applied to some extent to England too. The small countries of Europe had less confidence in the stamina and courage of the big Western powers. *Spirit can often be weighed against planes.*" There is no defeatism here, there need be none. But defeat—irretrievable defeat—stares us in the face, if we choose the wrong weapons. It is the spirit that we have to weigh against the planes. And that spirit, thanks to the practical teaching and experience of twenty years, we have in a fair measure. Even General Molesworth, who knows that he cannot arm our peasants, knows that they can be educated on the lines of 'They shall not pass', in other words, non-cooperation. That is in our bones. A few years' suffering, no matter how meagre, has trained us somewhat in the art. That can be cultivated without any foreign experts and foreign equipment. It does not require long time either. All that is needed is the spirit, the will to resist, the will to shake off our lethargy, cowardice, inertia, the will not 'to live routine lives'. The other thing is no better than a will-o'-the-wisp. Spirit pitted against tanks and planes can alone make us worthy of our heritage, which is essentially a spiritual one.

Whether the nation as a whole is prepared to offer non-violent resistance is another matter. As Gandhiji said to an Australian war correspondent, "That the nation is not behind me does not worry me. There is no cause to be impatient. What right have I to be impatient when I know that I cannot carry even my closest associates, the members of the Working Committee, with me? It is my fault. It means that I have not yet the necessary amount of non-violence to take everyone with me." The beauty of the non-violent method is that even individuals can make their contribution. Everyone must give expression, as best he can, of the witness he bears to the faith within.

New Delhi, 3-4-42

M. D.



# HARIJAN

Apr. 12

1942

## NON-VIOLENT RESISTANCE

(By M. K. Gandhi)

Japan is knocking at our gates. What are we to do in a non-violent way? If we were a free country, things could be done non-violently to prevent the Japanese from entering the country. As it is, non-violent resistance could commence the moment they effected a landing. Thus non-violent resisters would refuse them any help, even water. For it is no part of their duty to help anyone to steal their country. But if a Japanese had missed his way and was dying of thirst and sought help as a human being, a non-violent resister, who may not regard anyone as his enemy, would give water to the thirsty one. Suppose the Japanese compel resisters to give them water, the resisters must die in the act of resistance. It is conceivable that they will exterminate all resisters. The underlying belief in such non-violent resistance is that the aggressor will, in time, be mentally and even physically tired of killing non-violent resisters. He will begin to search what this new (for him) force is which refuses co-operation without seeking to hurt, and will probably desist from further slaughter. But the resisters may find that the Japanese are utterly heartless and that they do not care how many they kill. The non-violent resisters will have won the day inasmuch as they will have preferred extermination to submission.

But things will not happen quite so simply as I have put them. There are at least four parties in the country. First the British and the army they have brought into being. The Japanese declare that they have no designs upon India. Their quarrel is only with the British. In this they are assisted by some Indians who are in Japan. It is difficult to guess how many, but there must be a fairly large number who believe in the declaration of the Japanese and think that they will deliver the country from the British yoke and retire. Even if the worst happens, their fatigue of the British yoke is so great that they would even welcome the Japanese yoke for a change. This is the second party. The third are the neutrals, who though not non-violent will help neither the British nor the Japanese.

The fourth and last are non-violent resisters. If they are only a few, their resistance will be ineffective except as an example for the future. Such resisters will calmly die wherever they are but will not bend the knee before the aggressor. They will not be deceived by promises. They do not seek deliverance from the British yoke through the help of a third party. They believe implicitly in their own way of fighting and no other. Their fight is on behalf of the dumb millions who do not perhaps know that there is such a thing as deliverance. They have neither hatred for the British nor love

for the Japanese. They wish well to both as to all others. They would like both to do what is right. They believe that non-violence alone will lead men to do right under all circumstances. Therefore, if for want of enough companions non-violent resisters cannot reach the goal, they will not give up their way but pursue it to death.

The task before the votaries of non-violence is very difficult. But no difficulty can baffle men who have faith in their mission.

This is going to be a long drawn out agony. Let non-violent resisters not make impossible attempts. Their powers are limited. A resister in Kerala is not physically responsible for the defence of Assam which is just now in imminent danger. If Assam is non-violently inclined, it is well able to take care of itself. If it is not, no party of non-violent resisters from Kerala can help it or any other province. Kerala can help Assam etc. by demonstrating its non-violence in Kerala itself. The Japanese army, if it gets a foothold in India, will not stop at Assam. In order to defeat the British, it has to overrun the whole country. The British will fight every inch of the ground. Loss of India will probably be admission of complete defeat for them. But whether it is so or not, it is quite clear that Japan will not rest till India is wholly in her hands. Hence non-violent resisters must remain at their posts wherever they are.

One thing has to be made clear. Where the British army is actually engaging the 'enemy', it would be perhaps improper for direct resistance to function. It will not be non-violent resistance when it is mixed with, or allies itself to, violence.

Let me therefore reiterate what I have said so often. The best preparation for, and even the expression of, non-violence lies in the determined pursuit of the constructive programme. Anyone who believes that without the backing of the constructive programme he will show non-violent strength when the testing time comes will fail miserably. It will be, like the attempt of a starving unarmed man to match his physical strength against a fully fed and panoplied soldier, foredoomed to failure. He who has no belief in the constructive programme has, in my opinion, no concrete feeling for the starved millions. He who is devoid of that feeling cannot fight non-violently. In actual practice the expansion of my non-violence has kept exact pace with that of my identification with starved humanity. I am still far from the non-violence of my conception, for am I not still far away from the identification of my conception with dumb humanity?

On the train to Wardha, 5-4-42

### Constructive Programme

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## GOVERNMENT CONTROL OR PUBLIC CONTROL?

[A friend having great experience sends the following note.]

While the shortage of foodstuffs is partly due to the deficit in the total supply caused by the stoppage of rice imports from Burma and wheat imports from Australia, coupled with exports of wheat from India, the position has been greatly aggravated by the inefficient handling of the entire situation by the authorities in this country. Unless suitable measures are taken to rectify the defects of the present administrative control, the growing scarcity of foodstuffs in the country as a whole may lead to consequences, the implications of which may be very grave and widespread.

It is common knowledge that India is normally self-sufficient in respect of the total food requirements of her people. Virtual cessation of rice imports from Burma, which on an average amounted to nearly 14 lakhs of tons during the last three years, and of the small quantity of wheat imported from Australia, would no doubt cause a considerable deficit in the total available supply of rice and wheat for internal consumption. But it should be remembered that, against the imports of 14 lakhs of tons of rice from Burma, India's total production of rice was as much as 24 million tons in 1938-39 and 25 million tons in 1939-40. We may add to this the production of other food grains which amounts to nearly 23 million tons. The deficit caused by the cessation of imports thus hardly amounts to nearly 3 per cent of the total supply. Apart from the gap caused by the cessation of imports, the mishandling of the situation by the Government of India is, in the main, at the root of the serious position in respect of foodstuffs, which has developed in the market in recent months.

The attempt of the Government to control prices of foodstuffs has proved a complete failure. It is common experience that, far from benefiting the consumer, the recent control of the price of wheat at a maximum of Rs. 4/6 per maund created a regular wheat famine in a number of marketing centres inasmuch as it led to a psychology of panic and hoarding for private consumption. The result has been that wheat is not obtainable at any price in the market. The whole procedure of price control followed by the Government was wrongly conceived and inefficiently executed. They had no machinery for administering distribution of supplies, while whatever private machinery there was, was destroyed by the Government action. If the Government wanted to control the price of wheat, the proper course was to create efficient machinery for purchasing of supplies and distributing the same at cost price. This meant a vast and efficient machinery. That was not set up. The Government announced a maximum price for wheat one morning and then set about the task of searching for supplies. Such amateurish attempt of the Government to control prices without due regard to the machinery of distribution and the cost of replacement, coupled with the terrorising of the middleman in many places,

the restrictions about the method of accounts in provinces like U. P., and the restrictions on the free movement of grain from one place to another, even from one district to another, seriously dislocated the normal channels of trade and led to public panic with the consequent hoarding for private consumption.

The authorities would, therefore, be well advised in abandoning the control over prices, distribution and free movement of food grains. The prices of certain foodstuffs, such as wheat, would tend to rise sharply upon the abandonment of control. But so long as the mass of consumers is not able to get adequate quantities of foodstuffs at the so-called controlled rates, the present policy can only cause artificial scarcity of food grains to the consumer. In most cases the control of prices as instituted by the Government led to a strange result in that all stocks in the market disappeared and the consumer was not able to get the controlled commodities at any price. The conclusion is, therefore, irresistible that the absence of control will be far more in the interests of the consumer than inefficient and incomplete control.

If there is no control, the public have a special responsibility. They must not get panicky and hoard foodstuffs which are out of all proportion to their normal requirements.

Traders and merchants should realise their duty by the country in these grave and difficult times by giving up all attempts at profiteering. Any policy of hoarding would be a serious danger to their own interests while causing great distress to the nation.

The mercantile community can do what the Government have failed to do.

## Notes

### Curious Non-violence

A friend sends the following extract from A. Vambery's translation of *Travels and Adventures* by Sidi Ali Reis (16th Century):

"Amongst the learned of this land of Banians (Gujarat), there is a tribe which they call the Bats (Bhats), whose business it is to escort merchants or travellers from one land into another, and, for a very small remuneration, they guarantee their perfect safety. Should the Rajputs, i.e. the mounted troops of the land, attack the caravan, the Bats (Bhats) point their daggers at their own breast, and threaten to kill themselves, if they should presume to do the slightest harm to the travellers entrusted to their care. And out of respect for the Bats (Bhats), the Rajputs generally desist from their evil purpose, and the travellers proceed on their way unmolested. Occasionally, however, the Bats (Bhats) carry out their threat, otherwise it would have no force. But if such a thing does happen, if a caravan is attacked and the suicide of the Bats (Bhats) becomes necessary, this is considered a terrible calamity, and the superstition of the people demands that the offenders be put to death, and not only the offenders themselves but the chief of the Rajputs deems it necessary to kill their sons and daughters also, in fact to exterminate the whole of their race. The Mohammedans of Ahmedabad had given us two such



Bats (Bhats) as an escort, and so, about the middle of Safar of the said year, we started on our overland journey to Turkey."

On the train to Wardha, 5-4-42

M. K. G.

#### A Correction

The Secretary to Government C. P., Education Department, writes:

"With reference to the allegation that 'the closing down of the Basic Normal Schools at Wardha and Seoni is, it is understood, being seriously contemplated by the Government of the Central Provinces,' published under the paragraph 'Sad contrast' in the issue of *Harijan* dated the 15th March 1942, I am directed to state that there is no proposal to close down the Basic Normal Schools at Wardha and Seoni. Adequate budget provision for 1942-43 has already been made on account of the two Basic Normal Schools. The allegation referred to above has, therefore, no basis whatsoever."

The statement that the closing down of the schools in question was contemplated was based on authority which there was no reason to question. But I am thankful for the assurance that the Government do not propose to close down the Basic Normal Schools at Wardha and Seoni.

New Delhi, 4-4-42

M. D.

#### The Merits of Amla

Vitamin C or ascorbic acid, the vitamin which prevents scurvy, is found in fresh fruits and vegetables. Among vegetables, the green leafy varieties are the best sources. When pulses and cereal grains are allowed to sprout this vitamin C is formed in the grain and in the growing green sprouts. *Amla* (Indian gooseberry) grows abundantly in all Indian forests and is obtainable in almost unlimited quantities from January to April. The fresh juice contains nearly twenty times as much vitamin C as orange juice, and a single fruit is equivalent in vitamin C content to one or two oranges. It is possible to preserve *Amla* without losing much of the vitamin, for unlike other fresh fruits or vegetables it contains substances which practically protect the vitamin from destruction on heating and drying. *Amla* is included as an ingredient in many Ayurvedic medicines and tonics. It was found to be a most effective cure for scurvy in 1940 in the Hissar famine area. The above useful information is gleaned from *The Indian Medical Gazette* of March 1942.

#### Improved Diets

"One of the tasks of those who are striving to improve diet in India is to educate the educated," writes Dr. Aykroyd in *Health Bulletin* No. 23. He bemoans the fact that it is not only the poor, whose choice is extremely limited, who are ignorant and prejudiced, but also those who can afford an excellent diet who do not feed properly, with the result that their children suffer from malnutrition and food-deficiency diseases. Even for people with limited incomes effective improvement can be made with little increase in cost. He says it is desirable that children should consume upwards of 8 oz. of milk a day, but, if funds do not admit, then butter-milk or skimmed milk may be supplied, for "even a little milk is better than none." Careful experi-

ments have shown that the giving of 8 oz. of skimmed milk daily to children fed on an average 'ill-balanced' Indian diet results in an acceleration of growth and a great improvement in health and well-being." Calcium is found abundantly in milk, and children need relatively more calcium and other minerals than adults, just as they need relatively more protein. Rice being very deficient in calcium, its insufficiency is one of the most important defects of the rice-eater's diet. The milled rice eater, therefore, needs more 'protective' foods — milk, green vegetables, fruits, etc. than the consumer of whole wheat or *ragi*. "Parboiled rice, even when milled, is superior in nutritive value (particularly as regards the anti-beri-beri vitamin) to raw rice milled to the same degree." Since diets among the general population are low in fat, Dr. Aykroyd suggests that "addition of extra vegetable oil (at the expense of a quantity of cereal supplying an equivalent number of calories) does not greatly increase expenditure. Pure ghee or butter is, of course, preferable to vegetable fat, but very much dearer." Fruits, he avers, must always be included in children's diets. Tomatoes, oranges and other juicy fruits are richer in vitamins than bananas.

Sevagram, 5-4-42

A. K.

#### Non-slaughter Leather

At the last meeting of the Board of Management of the A. I. V. I. A. it was decided to give our support to the sale of goods made from leather tanned from the hides of cows, bullocks and buffaloes which have died a natural death. The reason that weighed with the Board was neither ethical nor religious, but purely economic. In most other countries cattle are reared for milk and meat. Milch cows are kept well, and when they cease to yield milk or bear calves they are sent to the slaughter house. Apart from the stud bulls the others are fattened for the table. Therefore rarely do any of them die a natural death. In India the case is almost the reverse. Excepting in large towns and cities, cattle are not slaughtered. A majority of them die in villages. Machine or factory tanning, which requires a large and steady supply of hides, is not possible in the villages, as only a few hides at a time are available in rural areas, and that not regularly. However, in addition to slaughter-house hides, large numbers of hides from cattle dying a natural death also are collected, salted, and sent to tanneries near towns. Comparatively this type of town-tanned leather is only a small proportion of the whole. Leather of slaughtered animals is usually in good condition and without blemishes from improper handling. Further, town-tanned leather on cottage basis is of good quality and capable of standing on its own merits with machine- and factory-tanned leather. So tanneries in towns do not stand in such dire need of help from our Association as the tanneries in remote villages. Hence our choice lay between leather that was machine-tanned, or cottage-tanned in towns, or cottage-tanned in villages, of which the last group was the largest and the most in need of improvement. The first two were concerned with hides of slaughtered



animals mostly, while the last was exclusively with hides of naturally dead cattle. Therefore the Association decided to limit its patronage to leather from hides of non-slaughtered cattle. We hope, therefore, that not only those who have scruples on religious grounds against the use of leather from slaughtered animals but also the larger public which, even if indifferent to the question of leather from slaughtered or non-slaughtered animals, still have at heart the welfare of the indigent chamar in the villages, will restrict their patronage to the leather of non-slaughtered animals on economic grounds.

J. C. K.

Hand-weaving in New Mexico, U. S. A.

*Textile World*, a New York monthly, for December 1941, contains a short article by Fremont Kutnewsky on the revival of hand-weaving in New Mexico (one of the Southern States of the U. S. A.) of which Santa Fe is the capital. Hand-weaving "was an old art in 1540" when the first seeds of European civilisation were sown in the American South-West. The "Red" Indians who lived there at the time "were weaving cotton garments for which they had grown the cotton and woven the fabrics." "Spanish settlers brought sheep, and taught the Indians to card and spin the wool. The art continued to develop in a homely way for 300 years, till Yankee traders brought in cheaper yarns and dyes, and the industry of hand-weaving in New Mexico became an adjunct of the curio shop." A few remnants of it survived in the shape, for instance, of the "heavy, well-woven rugs" woven by Navajos in their village homes.

The years following the last World War saw a revival of the craft, when "a group of artists and writers decided to stimulate the native arts, and Preston McCrossen and his wife arrived on the scene and gave the first big push to hand-woven production" by taking up weaving themselves in a village. Hand-weaving seems to have some decided advantages in this territory. "It requires," says the writer, "no costly machinery. A large number of the looms in use today were made by hand. The labour supply is unlimited. . . . McCrossen Hand-Woven Textiles Inc., of Santa Fe, have become the largest producers of hand-woven fabrics in New Mexico. They are now taking the lead in finding new world markets for tweeds and other fabrics." But they have evidently realised that no revival of the textile handicraft could be complete, stable and self-reliant without the spinning wheel. So they and several other operators are beginning to use hand-spun, vegetable-dyed yarns, from New Mexico wool." This is happening in a part of the United States of America, the most mechanised country in the world.

This is but one of the many instances which show how organised attempts are being made in many parts of the world to foster handicraft as an alternative method of production, in some ways even superior to the machine method. It possesses a vitality that has enabled it to withstand the onslaughts of machinery and survive to an extent which is astonishing.

Ahmedabad, 23-2-42

## NATIONAL WEALTH

(By J. C. Kumarappa)

An American Mission is coming to India to organise industries to help the war effort of the Allies. Up to now our raw materials have been taken away from the country and production of manufactured goods had given employment to nationals of countries other than our own. The difficulties of transport, shortage of shipping accommodation and the urgency for the materials in the Middle East has made the warring nations turn to India for production. The avowed purpose of this Mission is not the creation of wealth for India, but the seeking of better and quicker ways of destroying the opponent. Destruction cannot be the end of true wealth, nor can destruction create wealth.

At every turn we hear the word 'wealth', but few of us understand its full significance. We talk of 'wealth production', 'distribution of wealth', 'national wealth' and so on. What does wealth consist of? It is commonly used to signify the possession of materials in plenty. The root meaning signifies welfare, which implies the wholesome reaction of material things to human well-being. The man who possesses merely gold is not wealthy unless he can make it serve his needs. What good is the yellow metal in the pockets of a man who is sinking in water? It will only make him sink the faster. Therefore, before we can declare anything to be 'wealth', we have to see how it affects the welfare of human beings. Do we produce wealth when we merely add to the number of chairs we possess when there are no human beings to sit on them?

When a country abounds in iron ore can we say that that country is wealthy? If not, how can we convert that iron ore into wealth? Iron ore can be regarded as wealth only from its relationship to human welfare. If such iron ore afforded opportunities to the people to supply their wants, then such opportunities are wealth. We cannot convert that iron ore into wealth by selling the material any more than a young man can produce wealth by selling his ancestral property. He may convert that inherited property into cash and run through it by wasteful living. But that is not wealth production. Our country is much in the position of such a prodigal when it exports its raw materials which represent rich potentialities of being converted into human well-being if such raw materials were worked on and made into consumption goods by the people of the land where such materials are found. Working up the raw materials of India is the birthright of the Indian people. Therefore, exporting of such raw materials to other lands to be converted into consumption goods is to impoverish our own land. It is for this reason that we have been advocating the converting of raw materials into finished goods by the people of the locality as far as possible.

Production of goods of any kind in itself is not wealth creation. Manufacture of a lancet for a surgeon or fruit knife may be wealth as these are calculated to increase the welfare of human beings.

C. S.



Shall we call a burglar's jimmy or an aerial torpedo, which are intended to injure or destroy others, wealth? Leading economists of the West have stated, "Burglars' jimmies are wealth by the very fact of the marketable services that they afford, their proceeds." Is this going to be our criterion? Is the bearing of children for the purpose of replenishing the army true motherhood?

Industries must provide for supply of the needs of people, distribute wealth in the process, and contribute towards the happiness and well-being of mankind, if they are to be real contributors to the national wealth of the country. Ammunition production may make a few men rich, but it does not ennoble humanity. On the other hand, it degrades it to the level of beasts of prey.

### QUESTION BOX

(By M. K. Gandhi)

#### The Theory of Trusteeship

Q. From your writings one gathers the notion that your 'trustee' is not anything more than a very benevolent philanthropist and donor, such as the first Parsi Baronet, the Tatas, the Wadias, the Birlas, Shri Bajaj and the like. Is that so? Will you please explain whom you regard as the primary or rightful beneficiaries of the possessions of a rich man? Is there to be a limit to the amount or part of the income and capital which he can spend upon himself, his kith and kin and for non-public purposes? Can one who exceeds such limit be prevented from doing so? If he is incompetent or otherwise fails to discharge his obligations as a trustee, can he be removed and called upon to render accounts by a beneficiary or the State? Do the same principles apply to Princes and Zamindars, or is their trusteeship of a different nature?

A. If the trusteeship idea catches, philanthropy, as we know it, will disappear. Of those you have named only Jamnalalji came near, but only near, it. A trustee has no heir but the public. In a State built on the basis of non-violence, the commission of trustees will be regulated. Princes and Zamindars will be on a par with the other men of wealth.

Sevagram, 6-4-42

#### Expedience

Q. Several years ago I once had the temerity to ask whether the fact that you had allowed non-violence to come into the Congress as an expedient rather than as a creed would not be conducive to its breakdown at the critical time. You said you did not think so. But do you still feel the same? Would you not today have had an organised band of believers in non-violence whom you could have sent in groups all over the country? It almost seems as if we had lost time and are found unprepared, as it were, to shoulder responsibility?

A. Yes, I adhere to my opinion that I did well to present to the Congress non-violence as an expedient. I could not have done otherwise, if I was to introduce it into politics. In South Africa too I introduced it as an expedient. It was successful

there because resisters were a small number in a compact area and therefore easily controlled. Here we had numberless persons scattered over a huge country. The result was that they could not be easily controlled or trained. And yet it is a marvel the way they have responded. They might have responded much better and shown far better results. But I have no sense of disappointment in me over the results obtained. If I had started with men who accepted non-violence as a creed, I might have ended with myself. Imperfect as I am, I started with imperfect men and women and sailed on an uncharted ocean. Thank God that, though the boat has not reached its haven, it has proved fairly storm-proof.

#### The Roman Script

Q. You are prejudiced against the Roman script because you are prejudiced against the English. Otherwise you would unhesitatingly advocate it in the place of Devanagri and Persian.

A. You are wrong. I am prejudiced against neither. But I am against anything or anybody usurping a place not belonging to it or him. The Roman script has come to stay in India. But it cannot take the place of the Indian scripts. If I had my way, there would be only the Devanagri script, for all the provincial languages, and Devanagri and Persian for the all-India speech. The Arabic script, from which the Persian is derived, is a necessity for Muslims as Sanskrit is for Hindus. Roman has been suggested as a compromise and not for its merits. It has none except that it is almost universal in the West. But it must not displace either Devanagri, which is the parent of most provincial languages and is the most perfect of all the known scripts, or Persian, because it is written by millions of Hindus and Muslims in the North. So far as the scripts are keeping them apart, Hindus and Muslims will not come together by adopting a neutral and imperfect script. But they will, if both take the trouble, for the love of one another, to learn both scripts. The Roman script has its own great and unique place. It need not aspire after greater.

Sevagram, 7-4-42

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# HARIJAN

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[FIVE PICE

## Notes

**Acharya Anandshanker Dhruva**

The death of Acharya Anandshanker Dhruva is an irreparable loss not only to Gujarat but also to the U. P., for he had rendered invaluable services to the Benares Hindu University for a number of years. It will be extremely difficult, if not impossible, to replace him. He was an active educationist to the end. Many students have lost a true friend in him. He was Malaviyaji's right hand. Malaviyaji's grief can be better imagined than described. But Anandshanker Dhruva was no mere educationist. His interests were many and varied. He was a keen student of politics, a worshipper at the shrine of Swaraj, and a social reformer. His relations with the orthodox were cordial, for he was an observer of many of their ceremonials. But his instinct and heart were always with the reformer, and he expressed his views fearlessly. He was widely respected for his outstanding knowledge of Sanskrit and the Hindu scriptures, and was a fine representative of the Hindu religion. As for me I had invariably received his help. He was friends equally with labour and capital and, having gained the confidence of both, was able to render great services to both in Ahmedabad. The bereaved family's sorrow will be shared by, and they will have the sympathy of, all who had the privilege of knowing the late Acharya.

Sevagram, 13-4-42 (From *Harijanbandhu*)

**Lala Shankerlal**

I have two letters about the treatment accorded to Lala Shankerlal of Delhi in jail. They say he is no better off than Sardar Sardul Singh Caveeshar. I have nothing to do with Lala Shankerlal's politics or views, but the same remarks apply to his case as to Caveeshar's. He is as much entitled to decent and humane treatment as Caveeshar. This is what his nephew writes:

"I went to the place in the company of my aunt, the wife of Lala Shankerlal, for an interview at 3-30 P. M. on the 23rd inst. When face to face, I at once detected signs of great weakness and reduction in the energy of Lalaji. He was reduced physically, his complexion was pale, and his face drawn. To my great horror and dismay I found that he is confined day and night to a dark, damp and unhealthy dungeon which could hardly be a befitting place for confinement even for a criminal, much less a gentleman of Lalaji's status."

If this statement is true, the matter calls for immediate attention and redress.

## Economy in Travelling

B. B. & C. I. Railway management are discountenancing travelling as far as possible. It is a timely warning. People should travel as little as possible. Only urgent necessity can warrant railway travelling. One fine morning we may find that all civil booking is stopped. Movement of troops may render this precaution absolutely necessary. It is a good thing to accustom ourselves to the practice well in advance of the necessity.

Sevagram, 13-4-42

## Distress in Bengal

Bengal has suffered from communal riots, it is suffering from famine, and now it threatens to be the target of Japan. Military preparations are inevitable. This means eviction of villagers. Satish Babu sends me a graphic account of an eviction near Chittapore. Thirtythree villages have been evacuated under very short notice. The notices were dated 1st April, served on the 2nd, and the villagers had to leave on the 4th. The troops entered on the 4th. In one village the villagers got the notice on the same day that the troops entered. The evacuees were paid removal cost at the rate of Rs. 10 to 100 according to the Union rates they were paying. Compensation is to be determined and paid hereafter. The rules framed for evacuation are elaborate and read reasonable. But however reasonable they may be, the hardship of sudden evacuation is inevitable, and the enforcement of the rules having unavoidably to be left in the hands of many and petty officials, fairness cannot be ensured. Under the circumstances the utmost that workers like Satish Babu can do is to cheer up the people. Their solid contribution must be to teach the villagers to face the inevitable hardships calmly and bravely and derive comfort from within. Unless they are depressed by their so-called comforters, they respond to the best in them and cheerfully face the worst. This is not to say that the authorities should be callous to the sufferings of the poor. In the present case I do not see what they could have done if the troops had to be located where they have been all of a sudden. Laymen cannot judge whether the military officers should not have anticipated events and made arrangements in good time.

Sevagram, 14-4-42

## Linguistic Basis

My reply to the Maharaj Kumar of Vizianagram on the Andhra Province has brought me lengthy correspondence about Hindi- and Marathi-speaking provinces. The argument is that all Hindi-speaking



areas should be regarded as one province, as also should Marathi-speaking areas. So far as I am concerned I am quite in sympathy with the suggestion. I believe that the linguistic basis is the correct basis for demarcating provinces. I should not mind two provinces speaking the same language, if they are not contiguous. If Kerala and Kashmir were speaking the same language, I would treat them as two distinct provinces.

The writers suggest, however, that I should lead the agitation for the redistribution, or in this case amalgamation, of the Marathi-speaking and Hindi-speaking areas. This is an impracticable proposition. The demand for amalgamation has to be made by Congressmen living in the respective areas. If it is unanimous, the Congress cannot resist it. The thing is entirely in their own hands.

Let my correspondents and others not mix up the Andhra agitation with their proposals. Andhra is already a separate province for the Congress. But, whilst the Congress ministry was in office, the Andhras agitated for legal recognition. My correspondents ask for Congress recognition of their proposals.

Whilst on merits I endorse the proposal, I would discountenance any such agitation and diversion from the main theme before the country — the duty of every Indian in face of the impending invasion of India by Japan. Redistribution of provinces etc., important matters though they are in themselves, pale into insignificance before the question which overshadows every other. These things may easily await the termination of the war. We hope to see a new vision and a new order at the end of the present catastrophe.

#### Hissar Famine and Spinning

Dr. Gopichand has been discussing with me famine in Hissar. It seems to have become almost chronic. The A. I. S. A. has been working for many years in that district and giving relief to the poor people through spinning. Dr. Gopichand thinks that, if more capital can be made available, much aid can be given. It is perhaps not possible to make a successful appeal outside Hissar. There is so much distress everywhere, and with the terrible spectre of war much more is to be expected. Therefore everywhere local charity has to be depended upon. As often happens even in poor areas there are to be found monied men. Bhiwani is a big trade centre in Hissar, and it has several monied men. Let me hope that they and those others in Hissar who can will come to the rescue and do what they can for the much-needed relief.

Sevagram, 12-4-42

M. K. G.

#### Economics of Khadi

By Gandhiji

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## SOME DANGER-SPOTS OF YARN CURRENCY

(By K. G. Mashruwala)

I have long been an advocate of a currency based on a commodity like grain or yarn. I agree that yarn is more suitable than grain in this respect. Naturally, I am glad to find that the idea is now taking some practical shape. But haphazard isolated experiments of introducing this currency are likely to be attended with failure and loss either to the public or the institution introducing it. I, therefore, hasten to point out a few danger-spots which should be avoided in making the experiment.

Firstly, it should be remembered that, as long as the rupee continues to be the legal tender of the country, it will remain the ultimate controller of prices. All the problems of 'bimetallism' and 'ratio' will arise, and the advantage will generally accrue to the legally recognised currency. The attempt to maintain a fixed ratio between the yarn and the rupee will not succeed in the event of heavy fluctuations in money-prices of essential commodities. This is more likely than not during the war. If you insist on having a fixed ratio, there will be a heavy loss either in your grain and village products department, or in your khadi department. For you will be constantly faced with the operation of Gresham's Law. You will find either the yarn-*rukhas* or the coin-money disappearing rapidly from circulation. The disappearance of the former will mean that shrewd people are hoarding the *rukhas* and, since you cannot exceed your own limits of issuing them, you will find that after a certain stage you have to pay and receive ordinary coins only in your dealings. The disappearance of the coins, on the other hand, will mean that all those who have need for it will have to pay premium to those who have them.

You should also remember that the A. I. S. A. has a special schedule of wages for its spinners and other artisans. It is higher than what they are able and willing to receive elsewhere. A part of the wage is paid in the form of khadi. The dire economic condition on the one hand and the low standard of life on the other tempt the A. I. S. A. artisans to sell off their wage-khadi even at a discount to consumers or uncertified khadi dealers. The latter as well as professional money-changers will purchase the yarn-*rukhas* at a cheap rate, when the ratio between yarn and coin is in their favour, and the coin is not easily available though badly wanted. This will happen when they have to discharge their legal obligation to the Government and creditors; also, when you cannot provide all those things which the villagers rightly or wrongly badly desire, e. g. toddy, tobacco, kerosene, a cup of tea or sweets at the hotel, a cinema show (on the bazar day), a showy foreign toy, an umbrella and the like. The yarn-*rukha* thus cheaply purchased will be returned to you in exchange for khadi, which will be resold by them at prices lower than yours. It will be in all outward appearances genuine khadi made by your own institution, and still sold cheap.



So, I think, it will not be right to lay down a principle that the ratio between the gundi and the coin will be unalterable in any case. I do hope, however, that the necessity to revise the ratio will not be very frequent, if proper precautions are taken in fixing the right ratio.

The precautions are : (1) You should not make all your payments in *rukkas* only, but partly in *rukkas* and partly in coin. (2) the gundi price of the commodities which you undertake to sell must be as nearly as possible equivalent to their money-price. That is to say, if the price of grain in our centre is, say,  $1\frac{1}{2}$  as. per seer, and your gundi is priced by you at 1 anna, you should not sell grain very much cheaper than  $1\frac{1}{2}$  gundis per seer. (3) If you want to help your villagers by giving them cheap grain, you should do so directly. That is to say, you should set apart a sum to be written off as loss, issue passes to such villagers as you consider to be deserving of help, and put a control on the quantity to be sold to each. (4) Until the yarn-currency becomes the legal tender of the country, i. e. it is accepted by Government in payment of revenue and taxes, and debtors are entitled to tender it in discharge of their obligations, it would be wrong to expect that it can by itself keep prices steady. So, if in your enthusiasm to rapidly introduce the yarn-currency, you begin by giving an undue advantage to the possessor of the *rukkas*, you will ultimately ruin your own business. (5) In the initial stages, you should not undertake to sell too many articles which you yourself do not produce or get produced and have to purchase them from the market. If you want to open a general store, you should freely sell the commodities for money, and not give an extra advantage to the possessor of the *rukka*.

The possibility of counterfeit *rukkas* will be another danger-spot. You cannot afford to take all those precautions which a Government takes in manufacturing its currency notes. Very probably you will use handmade paper. It will more often than not vary from piece to piece both in its quality and tinge; and your design will be far from complicated. In spite of their vigilance, even Governments have to face the problem of counterfeit notes. If the ratio between the *rukka* and the coin is in favour of the possessor of the *rukka*, the temptation to make counterfeit *rukkas* will be very great.

To avoid this, I make the following suggestions :

(1) There should not be a common issue of the *rukka* for a large area but a separate issue from each centre. The forms and policy will be common, but the patterns of the *rukkas* should be different, so that each centre will easily identify its issue. (2) The *rukkas* of one centre should not be accepted at another centre as currency. They should circulate only within the limits of that centre. (3) If a person from one centre wants to use his *rukkas* in another centre, the issuing authority should give him a credit note or draft upon the other centre *at par*. Thereupon the other centre will issue to him its own *rukkas* of the same value. (4) The denomination of the freely

exchangeable *rukkas* should not, for the present, exceed, say, 25 gundis, and should not be less than one lati (a quarter of a gundi). I suggest a lati, a gundi, 5 gundis, 10 gundis and 25 gundis. Large payments should be made either in these prices or by appropriately drawn cheques, hundis, promissory-notes etc., drawn in favour of a specified individual or institution. Of course, I assume that the usual precautions about numbering, section, dating, signing etc. will be carefully taken.

Sevagram, 26-3-42

## QUESTION BOX

(By M. K. Gandhi)

### Why Not in Universities ?

Q. You have expressed yourself against communalism in cricket. Are not communal universities also to be deplored ? In colleges and hostels that are open to all, deep friendships spring up and religious tolerance becomes a natural thing. Would not well-endowed Chairs in common centres of learning serve the purpose of advancing different cultures ?

A. You are right. If we can do without communal institutions, it would be good. But I am unable to say that there should be no Muslim or Hindu Universities as I am able to say positively that there should be no communal cricket. The communal universities, if their origin is not tainted, may conceivably serve a national purpose. Thus the Hindu University and the Muslim University may, as they ought to, be seats of communal concord. But communal sports seem to be a contradiction in terms. I wholly agree with you that there should be, as there are, non-communal colleges and hostels. Unfortunately the virus has entered even these. Let us hope that it is a passing phase.

### When Leaders Differ

Q. You say people in the cities should evacuate under certain circumstances. Panditji and Rajaji say they should not on any account. What are we to do ?

A. I appreciate your difficulty. I can only advise you to use your judgment and choose that advice which appeals to your reason. We are living in hard times such as we have never experienced before. I am quite sure of my ground. People who are not wanted should evacuate from cities which are within the danger zone. There is no cowardice in orderly withdrawal. Women and children and aged people and all those who are not wanted should evacuate so as to enable the defenders the better to regulate defence of cities under their control. The evacuees will show real courage, if they will settle down in villages and tackle problems that face villagers. Differences of opinion between leaders ought not to worry people. Honest differences are often a healthy sign of progress. And the differences you refer to are honest.

Sevagram, 13-4-42

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# HARIJAN

Apr. 19

1942

## THAT ILL-FATED PROPOSAL

(By M. K. Gandhi)

It is a thousand pities that the British Government should have sent a proposal for dissolving the political deadlock, which, on the face of it, was too ridiculous to find acceptance anywhere. And it was a misfortune that the bearer should have been Sir Stafford Cripps, acclaimed as a radical among radicals and a friend of India. I have no doubt about his goodwill. He believed that no one could have brought anything better for India. But he should have known that at least the Congress would not look at Dominion Status even though it carried the right of secession the very moment it was taken. He knew too that the proposal contemplated the splitting up of India into three parts each having different ideas of governance. It contemplated Pakistan, and yet not the Pakistan of the Muslim League's conception. And last of all it gave no real control over defence to responsible ministers.

The fact is that Sir Stafford Cripps, having become part of the Imperial machinery, unconsciously partook of its quality. Such is its strength. It is the almost invariable experience in India that those Indians who are drawn into it lose their originality and become like their companions in the service and often outdo the latter in their loyalty to the Moloch of Imperialism.

Had Sir Stafford remained detached, he would have conferred with his radical friends in India and secured their approbation before undertaking his very difficult mission. If it be said in answer that he could not very well do so, that is exactly what I mean when I say that, having become part of the machinery, he was bound to fall under its spell and could not do the obvious thing.

But it is no use brooding over the past or British mistakes. It is more profitable to look within. The British will take care of themselves, if we will take care of ourselves. Our mistakes or rather defects are many. Why blame the British for our own limitations? Attainment of Independence is an impossibility till we have solved the communal tangle. We may not blind ourselves to the naked fact. How to tackle the problem is another question. We will never tackle it so long as either or both parties think that Independence will or can come without any solution of the tangle. There are two ways of solving what has almost become insoluble. The one is the royal way of non-violence, and the other of violence. In the first way the formal consent or cooperation of the other party is unnecessary. If there is a dispute between two boys over the ownership of an apple, the non-violent way is to leave the apple for the other party to take, the latter well knowing that it would mean non-cooperation on the surrendering

party's part. The second way is the usual way of violence. There the parties fight with each other till one is for the time being worsted. All interested in freedom have to make the choice. I suppose the choice has already been made by the chief actors. But the rank and file do not know their own minds. It is necessary for them, if they can, to think independently and take to non-violent action in terms of unity. It consists in Hindus and Muslims on the wayside fraternising with one another, if they believe that joint life is a perfect possibility, nay a necessity. Whether those who believe in the two nation theory and communal partition of India can live as friends cooperating with one another I do not know. If the vast majority of Muslims regard themselves as a separate nation having nothing in common with Hindus and others, no power on earth can compel them to think otherwise. And if they want to partition India on that basis, they must have the partition, unless Hindus want to fight against such a division. So far as I can see such a preparation is silently going on on behalf of both parties. That way lies suicide. Each party will probably want British or foreign aid. In that case, good-bye to Independence. The fight will then range round not Independence but the imaginary apple after the manner of the imaginary boys. I dare not contemplate the actuality. I should not like to be its living witness. I would love to see a joint fight for Independence. In the very process of securing Independence it is highly likely that we shall have forgotten our quarrels. But if we have not, it will be then only time to quarrel, if we must.

Sevagram, 13-4-42

## WITH FOREIGN CORRESPONDENTS

There were three foreign correspondents in Delhi who succeeded better with Gandhiji than others. Miss Eve Curie, the daughter and biographer of her distinguished mother, Madame Curie, has had an American education and is now a press correspondent representing *New York Herald, Tribune* and allied newspapers in London. She happened to catch Gandhiji when the Working Committee meetings had not yet begun. The other two were war correspondents from London and Chicago—Mr. Moorehead representing *The Daily Express* and Mr. Busvine of *The Chicago Times*. Some of Miss Curie's questions were the same as these war correspondents' who persisted for days in asking for a few minutes from Gandhiji and succeeded at last on the eve of his departure.

Miss Curie's question was direct—on the present situation. She admired the sincerity with which Sir Stafford Cripps was trying to bring about a settlement, and she wanted to know Gandhiji's reaction to his efforts. The other friends asked if there was any hope of a settlement. To these latter Gandhiji said: "It is a question I should avoid. I am not officially on the Working Committee which has not yet arrived at a final decision." To Miss Curie he gave a more suggestive reply: "Sir Stafford is a very good man, but he has entered bad machinery—British Imperialism. He hopes to improve



that machinery, but in the end it will be the machinery that will get the better of him."

Miss Curie spoke like a partisan, and naturally. She belonged to a nation that had lost its freedom, and the hope of betrayed France lay in the victory of the Allies who had pledged to restore freedom to their erstwhile Ally. "Axis Powers' triumph would bring India to a fate comparable to that inflicted on Poland and France. That is why the average citizen of conquered countries puts his belief and hope in Allied victory," she said.

"India can win her laurels only through non-violence," said Gandhiji to her. "What we have achieved during the last twenty years shows what immense results could be obtained if the principle of non-violence was generally practised by our people."

"But," said Miss Curie, using the stock argument, "Indians will have a tougher time opposing by non-violence German and Japanese divisions than undermining British rule."

"Quite possible," said Gandhiji. "But this is the hour to live up to our faith. If the Japanese invaded India, I would not encourage our people to fight with arms. Neither would I suffer them to make a pact with aggressors. Our struggle will be hard, but it will bring out the best in us."

"So you accept the idea of India refusing to fight or even to be defended by others?"

"It is physically impossible to transform India suddenly into an armed nation. To give our people weapons and to teach them non-violence are two different methods of making them strong. Both take time. I simply believe that my method is surer, more precise, and in the long run more successful. In order to beat the Japanese and German armies by force, you must become stronger than they are, and therefore worse and more ruthless. Then what have you won? Nothing. On the contrary, nations fighting with non-violence are unconquerable, for their strength does not depend on the number of rifles and machine-guns they possess. And when the method is good, there is no need to worry about immediate results. Success is bound to come in the end. In a non-violent struggle there are two alternatives: either the enemy comes to terms with you, then you win without blood; or the enemy annihilates you. This last solution is not worse than what a violent war in any case brings about. I don't blame you for wanting to liberate France just as I want to see India free; but it is a sign of too great impatience to think that any country can really be liberated by use of arms."

The American and British correspondents tried to take a more detached view, and thus succeeded in drawing Gandhiji into a fairly long argument. They requested Gandhiji to say something generally about the situation. "I would not like to say anything," said Gandhiji. "All I can talk about is my special subject, viz. how non-violence can work in the difficult circumstances of today. But what use is that to you? Is it relevant? As war correspondents, it will not interest you."

"No, sir," said Mr. Moorehead, "anything you say would be of importance."

"Well, then," said Gandhiji, "it puzzles me to find fine people deriding non-violence, when it is emphatically made clear that non-violence requires greater courage, though both the violent and non-violent men have to face death. The one inflicts death and destruction; the other inflicts no death but endeavours to gain what he wants by death, if he has to die. Let us take the instance of China. If that mighty nation said to the Japanese hordes, 'Do what you like, we will not cooperate with you'?"

"It did happen to some extent. But it did not succeed."

"No, it should have happened to the fullest extent. A sufferer from malaria must take the full course of quinine—say thirty grains for the prescribed number of days—and cannot stop short midway."

"But if the Japanese were to run over the whole of China?"

"They cannot do so. They have to cut to pieces every man and woman before they do so. Violent warfare requires tremendous previous training; not so non-violent warfare. It is not the skill of arms, but the skill of the heart. It will mean an immensely larger number of men and women in the field; it will be a living wall. If the nation is trained in non-violent warfare, it will give no kind of cooperation to Japan, who will have either of the two alternatives—exterminating the whole of the Chinese race (assuming that the whole nation participates), or retiring and leaving the country free."

"But the Japanese will do no such thing. They will quietly occupy the country, consume the food crops, etc. Or do you suggest that the Chinese will destroy the crops?"

"The Chinese will destroy nothing—not a single crop grown with patient toil. But the Japanese cannot use the crops, because there will be a human Chinese wall between the Japanese and the crops, if the Chinese can bring that non-violent courage into play."

"But what about a nation (like Japan) which has no heart?"

"Then China has a victorious death."

"If the whole of India takes to non-violence, the Japanese will enter India."

"That being the assumption, you can see that the Japanese cannot have India without mowing down 350 million people."

"But they will land."

"I grant that."

"You will also have to grant that the Japanese are evil people bringing a crop of evils to India. In that case non-violence will succeed in inviting results which you would never desire."

The correspondents had probably in mind the stories of Japanese and Nazi brutalities in China and Poland respectively, e. g. the injection of various poisons in defenceless men and women, rapes, etc.

"Non-violent resistance means resistance to all these things. I am prepared to assume the worst."



If Japan will kill every man and woman, we will be the better for it."

"So the only hope of survival is non-violence?"

"Yes. What is happening today is mutual slaughter."

"You mean to say that violence will cause worse evils in the long run?"

"I do not admit that the evils of non-violence in the short run will be greater, if that is what you mean. The evils of violence both in the short and the long runs are terrible. The only evil, if you will call it so, of non-violence is voluntary death. But I proceed all the while on the assumption that the stoniest heart will melt, given sufficient non-violence."

The war correspondents went on putting questions one after another, deeply interested.

"But how would people protect their food? By surrounding it?"

"In the technique I have assumed, while there is a single Chinaman living, the Japanese cannot help themselves to the crops. They will have to kill all."

The whole argument rested up till now on the fact that we were an unarmed nation. But if we had arms? Would we then too talk of non-violence? That was the next question.

"Then I would say," said Gandhiji, "choose. Why kill the Japanese who have the same skin, the same eyes, the same ears, the same minds as we have? It is easier to lay down arms than to take others' lives. Why not lay down arms and be killed?"

"But that would be, if you had inferior arms. If you were superior to them in military strength?"

"The same answer—for it would be beneath human dignity to crush one's inferior."

"I see. There are three alternative situations to which you react with the same answer for different reasons. If you are inferior—do not fight. If you are equals—the mutual slaughter is useless. If you are superior—it is beneath human dignity. So there is no compromise on any point between British policy and yours. There is thus no hope of a settlement?"

"You are trying to catch me," said Gandhiji laughing. "I like your quick grasp of what I am saying. I will not say, 'There can be no settlement.' On the basis of non-violence a settlement is always possible. But I know I am treading here on delicate ground."

"You are not thinking of a surrender, I hope," said the American friend.

"Never any idea of a surrender. That is what I said in my open letters to the Czechs and to every Briton. I am sorry that my words have been wrenched from the context and my appeal has been distorted both in England and America."

"Then our difference is a difference of degree, not of principle. For both of us want to avoid war, if it were possible, and both want India to remain for the Indians."

"You may put it that way, if you like, but our means are different. No one will, however, admit that it is only a difference of degree."

M. D.

## PLANNED ECONOMY

The following is an abridged version of Shri J. C. Kumarappa's illuminating article in the March issue of *The Indian Journal of Social Work* on the Gandhian approach to planned economy.

The writer maintains that while planned economy is new to the Occident it was the rule in India and, what is more, while the Western plans are conceived purely from the economic standpoint the Indian is all-inclusive, covering the political, social and religious aspects too. Inasmuch as our ancient social order was planned to fulfil the requirements of people thousands of years ago it cannot cater in detail to the needs of today, but the soundness of the eternal principles on which it was based remain. It was based on the philosophy of non-violence. Gandhiji clings to this ancient culture with might and main, and that is why we also find him battling for our political freedom through non-violent means. "Freedom for the individual means freedom to do what is right, to think for himself and express his thoughts and to work for himself as and how he likes. Freedom implies duties, rights and limitations. Our rights are curbed by our duties to others. When the curbing comes from within we have a society based on non-violence." Naturally when the curbing is external, society has to depend on force. But true freedom cannot be in a State based on violence. In the modern highly organised States, like Germany and Italy, citizenship has become a form of slavery to the State. Fear, hatred and suspicion are bred, man becomes selfish, materialistic; his growth and evolution are unnatural and therefore ephemeral. If then we are to save ourselves and rebuild on solid foundations, we have to preclude violent methods and resort to cultural means to develop the individual. Self-discipline and self-control are the pivots on which a non-violent society can work. They cannot be developed in a day. "Superficial experience and knowledge do not produce culture; it comes only with the permeation of experience into the subconscious self. It will involve considerable conscious effort." A cultural standard means a standard based on eternal values. It is as poles apart from the money values which dominate Western civilisation. These have led to the glorification of wealth and violence, whereas in a non-violent society the emphasis will be on the renunciation of property and the dedication to service. There is always a temptation to mistake the means for the end; but Gandhiji has with unerring precision pointed to the non-violent way in economics, social reform, education and politics.

*Economics.* If we concede that the wealth of a nation does not consist in what the few possess but in the majority being able to satisfy their daily wants, we shall have to condemn centralised methods of production. Cottage industries which will distribute wealth must predominate in a country where there is no shortage of labour but where capital is deficient. Methods of production must, therefore, be adopted which involve little or no capital and for which raw materials and a ready local market for



finished products are easily available. The money spent on village industries goes towards payment of wages, whereas the bulk of expenditure on mills is for overhead charges, sales organisation and materials. Unlike the economics of the West which are dictated by prices, the prosperity of an agricultural people demands high prices. The capitalistic system depends for its development on the helplessness of its customers. It kills initiative—the opposite is the case with cottage industries. Division of labour there must be, but drudgery makes an automaton of man, while work intelligently performed develops the individual both mentally and spiritually. The writer stresses the necessity of cow protection in any scheme of economic reconstruction in an agricultural country, in particular, for obvious reasons. He wants exhibitions to be centres of education and research, not organised merely to attract sales. People should know what they buy, how it is produced, and why khadi, to take one example, is the only type of cloth one should buy from the moral and humane standpoint. "For a business transaction does not begin and end with the transfer of goods and payment of money. It involves the consideration of one's duties to one's fellow men."

**Social Reform.** In the matter of social reform emphasis is laid on communal unity, untouchability, prohibition, sanitation and hygiene, and uplift of women. All these connote the right relationship between man and man and are essential to a well-ordered society.

**Education.** In the matter of education the urgency of instruction through the mother-tongue is stressed. It is surely violence to do otherwise, and the English medium of instruction has been one of the biggest crimes committed by the alien power against our motherland. The value of basic education or education through a craft is being gradually acknowledged by most countries. For us, as Gandhiji has said, it is the only type of education that will develop the minds and bodies of our children.

**Politics.** Most interesting of all is the portion on non-violence in politics. The main difference between Gandhiji's approach and that of most politicians is that the former looks upon political power as a means to serve the masses better, while with the latter politics is an end in itself usually culminating in a political career and enjoyment of power and patronage. The moment Gandhiji entered into politics in India he brushed aside the city outlook and told us that the roots of politics were in village India. The essence of democracy is that the executive and legislative power must be vested in the people—in each individual. Each citizen must be capable of being a law unto himself; and if the State is to work for the common good, a high standard of moral individual development is essential. Democracy in the West differs little from the totalitarian States. They are based on rights. An emphasis on rights leads to conflict ultimately. In the non-violent approach the emphasis is on duties. The one may be said to be the primitive stage, the other a high stage of evolution. When each citizen

is disciplined to act on what is right, he can be trusted not to abuse executive and legislative power. It follows that there will then be no place for armed forces. The effort, in Gandhiji's plan, is to ennoble man. Satyagraha invites self-suffering. There is no room in it for the baser elements of human nature. It is an appeal to the higher nature in man.

**Government.** Those items which have to be undertaken in the common interests of the nation will be detailed out to a group of trusted men. Their pay will be on the basis of the earnings of the average citizen of a village. Today this income is about a rupee a month. "The best of village industries cannot pay more than about Rs. 75 per mensem per family. Hence even a salary of Rs. 200 p. m. for a Commissioner of a Division would be on the liberal side." Everything, including emoluments, professional fees etc., would be on a standard in keeping with the country's capacity to pay.

The Government—apart from efficient administration—has to be the chief partner in the business of the people. Therefore it should control forests, minerals, power resources, and communications for the economic betterment of the people. Today, for example, only the revenue-yielding capacity of forests weighs with the Government. Mines and quarries are treasure houses. They may be exhausted by exploitation. The ores may not be sent out of the country as they are today. A Swaraj Government will help the people to use them in their industries.

Supply of cheap power and light must be provided by the Government. Roads, canals, railways, shipping etc. all have to be provided by the Government too, but all must be in the people's interests. Today railways in many instances impoverish the people by depriving them of employment.

**Taxation.** This may not fall heavily on the taxpayer who is below the subsistence level. Taxes from the villages today go to benefit the towns. This must cease. Taxes may also be collected in kind. Allowances to officials can be met partly in kind. This system worked well in ancient times, still prevails in most Muslim countries, and is employed with satisfaction today in the Pathan States of the North West Frontier Province. Money from taxation should as far as possible be spent on the area from where it is gathered.

**Large-scale Industries.** There will be a restricted field for these, but they must be State-owned and State-managed. Within those limits there is a large field of service for such units. If run on a service basis, their natural place can only be as part of the Government organisation of the country.

Sevagram, 27-3-42

A. K.

### Constructive Programme

#### Its Meaning and Place

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## TREACHEROUS JAPAN OR COMPLACENT BRITAIN?

(By Rammanohar Lohia)

The Japanese victories are incredible. But the British attempt to explain them is fantastic, at least in one direction. It is said that Japan struck treacherously, and that her onslaught was so sudden that the Briton in Asia was taken unawares and the swift series of Japanese victories inevitably followed. Had I been a friend of the British Empire in Asia, I would have called this explanation subtle fifth column work, an attempt to sleep-dose the patient before his death.

Let us recall the first act in what is now misnamed Japanese treachery. A good two years before the war in Malaya broke out a British Commission of expert Generals and such like investigated into the defences of the country. It reported that the soil of Malaya was too soft to bear the weight of 10 and 15 ton tanks. Bren-gun carriers were, therefore, ordered for the defence of the country. One may easily guess the surprised and tortured faces of the British commanders, when the Japanese actually marched into Malaya with their heavy tanks. Were these really tanks? But the experts had said no! Unless it is suggested that the British experts were bribed by the Japanese — and I have nowhere heard this charge made — it would be ridiculous to call this first collapse of Britain in Malaya an act of Japanese treachery. The British experts are foolishly ignorant, although excellent diners and winners who dance through the small hours.

The second act of the Malayan collapse has something similar to tell about the British administrator. Some six months before the Malaya war broke out, a deputation of Indians waited upon Governor Shenton and asked for shelters and other precautions against air raid. The reply of the Governor was characteristic. After gentlemenning the deputationists, he pooh-poohed the idea of a Japanese attack on Malaya, oh, the tiny Japanese craft against the mighty British navy, and added that, although a very occasional bomber might come, that surely would be nothing so serious as to worry about. This amazing complacency was not the monopoly of the British administrator; it was shared by the army-man. May I ask to be told the number of hours that elapsed between the first request for instructions from Kota Bahru and the reply from the Headquarters?

The good and frank Americans have given us documentary evidence of this amazing complacency in their own ranks. The Pearl Harbour authorities were far too complacent to listen to the panicky calls from Washington! The British and Americans do not yet realise that enslaved Asia has its own way of revenge. Through constant association with our kow-towing gentry and because of their mounting luxury at our expense the Gentlemen of the East combine an overdose of arrogance with an underdose of grit.

Naval and air bases on the coast are of no importance unless the hinterland is secure. The real security of Britain in the Mediterranean, it was so well said years ago, was not the little rock of Gibraltar but Don Alfonso of Spain. The Alfonso tribe in Asia, even where it exists, is barren. The British themselves have castrated it. Did not the lifts of Singapore carry a notice, until a few months ago and perhaps even up to the date of surrender, that Asiatics, unless carrying heavy loads, were not permitted to use them? Have not motor cars been commandeered from Indian owners in Burma ostensibly for the war effort but actually for the evacuation of Europeans? And an Indian refugee has come back to this country with the pathetic story of how, when he was trekking, he glimpsed his car and British evacuees inside. Indians and Burmans have no inducement to fight the battles of Britain against Japan; it is the other way about.

Indians are a humbled and humiliated Asiatic race, let us not run away from that fact. And Japan is an Asiatic power. Had I been trained merely in the European ethic and not been impressed by Mahatma Gandhi and what I consider as the nobler side of my history, I would have hailed Tojo. He is not merely defeating Britain, that is a small affair, he has outclassed Hitler. If Hitler can strike over a thousand mile front, Tojo is fighting over how many thousand miles, I do not know. As the Indian idiom goes, Tojo has proved to be the uncle of Hitler. That is a matter of vicarious satisfaction for all Asiatics. As it is, I regard Tojo just as wicked as Hitler or Churchill, for, if this wretched slaughter were to end in the victory of one or the other, my hopes for a better world are dashed.

It is perhaps too late for Britain to save India and, presumably, too early for India to save Britain. But what we can do, Indians and Britons alike, is to attempt to save the whole world. That is not so absurd as it sounds. Formulate a genuine basis for a free and peaceful world, and ask every warring power to accept it and, should some powers prove too greedy and arrogant, it might then be a different war for the Asiatics.

[I do hope that this note will receive the attention it deserves from all concerned.

Sevagram, 12-4-42

M. K. G.]

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# HARIJAN

12 pages

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[ TWO ANNAS

## TEN QUESTIONS RE: THE NATIONAL LANGUAGE

(By M. K. Gandhi)

1. Q. The Persian script did not originate in India. It came during the Moghul period just as the Roman script has with the advent of the British. But you do not advocate the Roman script for the national language. Why then the Persian?

A. If the Roman script had made a home for itself in India in the same way as the Persian, I would agree with you. But the knowledge of the former is confined to a mere handful of English-knowing persons, while crores of Hindus and Muslims are conversant with the latter. You should try to find out the exact number of persons knowing the Roman and Persian scripts respectively.

2. Q. If you advocate the learning of Urdu for the sake of Hindu-Muslim unity, then please remember that a large number of Mussalmans in India do not know Urdu. They are conversant only with their own provincial languages. These people would far more easily understand a national language comprising of words familiar to the provincial languages. The Northern India languages are all derived from Sanskrit and therefore resemble each other a good deal. Sanskrit words have even crept to a large extent into the Southern languages. Then why advocate for these people the learning of an unfamiliar Urdu tongue full of Arabic and Persian words?

A. There is force in your argument. But I would like you to delve a little deeper into the question. I admit that in asking people to learn the Persian script I have at the back of my mind a contribution to Hindu-Muslim unity. There has been a long-standing conflict between the Hindi and Urdu tongues as between the two scripts. Today it has assumed a virulent form. In 1935 in Indore the Hindi Sahitya Sammelan, while defining Hindi, gave a definite place to the Persian script. In 1925 the Congress gave the national language the name of Hindustani. Both scripts were made permissible. Thus Hindi plus Urdu was recognised as the national language. The question of Hindu-Muslim unity was definitely in the forefront in all these decisions. I have not raised this issue today. I have only given it a concrete form. It is a logical outcome of events. If we want to develop the national language to the fullest extent, it behoves us to give the two scripts an equal status. In the end whichever is appreciated more by the people will be the more wide-spread.

The provincial languages are closely allied to Sanskrit, and it is true that lacs of Muslims are conversant only with their provincial languages, and

that Hindi and the Devnagri script will, therefore, be easier for them to learn than Urdu and the Persian characters. My scheme will not interfere with this. In fact the people will benefit more than ever by learning the Persian script. Your trouble arises because you look upon this as a burden. Whether it is a gain or a burden depends on the outlook of the learner. He who is filled with a love of country will never consider such learning a burden. There will be no compulsion by my scheme. Only those who consider it a gain will learn the Persian script or the Devnagri as the case may be.

3. Q. A very large proportion of persons in India know the Devnagri script. Surely Punjabis, Sindhis and the Frontier folk can easily learn it too.

A. The reply to this is really embodied in the preceding answer. Frontier people and others will have to learn the Devnagri script.

4. Q. A national language is really more for speech than literary purposes. Its script is, therefore, not so essential or is, at any rate, of secondary importance. Moreover is it not easier to learn the national language through one's mother-tongue? And where would be the harm in so doing?

A. You are right. It is easier to learn the national language through one's mother-tongue. As far as I know this is being done in Southern India though perhaps not systematically. Unlike you I do not look upon the learning of two scripts as a burden. It is not so hard as you fear. I can never be opposed to the learning of the national language through the mother-tongue. Given the keenness to learn it, all systems will be employed.

5. Q. If it is not possible to make real contacts with the non-Hindi-knowing provinces until some of us have learnt the national language, why not limit the acquiring of this knowledge to workers only? Why make it obligatory for the whole of India?

A. The question of everyone learning Hindustani does not arise. Indeed everyone will never do so. The necessity is for those who have to travel and those who want to serve. The latter's ability for service will be greatly increased by a knowledge of both languages and scripts. If you agree, your opposition and suspicion should subside.

6. Q. Today the national language is written in both scripts. Whoever wants to learn can choose the one he prefers. Why the insistence on both?

A. In spite of my so-called insistence, only those will learn it who find real gain in so doing. In my eyes he who knows only one of the languages and one script will be half-equipped. If he desires a full certificate from me, he must be conversant with



both. I am sure you will have no objection to the desirability of there being many such persons in the country. And unless this number goes on increasing there will never be a proper blending of Hindi and Urdu. The Congress ideal of Hindustani will never be fulfilled. That Hindus and Mussalmans in the Hindi-knowing provinces should have a common speech is a consummation devoutly to be wished. Many of us cling to this hope, and some day it will certainly come to pass.

7. Q. Will it not be a terrible burden and a futile endeavour for people of the non-Hindi-speaking provinces to learn the national language through both scripts at the same time? To learn first one and then the other would surely be simple.

A. The answer to this will best come from experience. He who does not know either script will not learn both at the same time. He will master one before commencing on the other. So far as the vocabulary is concerned the words used in the textbooks in the early stages will more or less be the same. I look upon my scheme as a most important and useful experiment. If it is properly worked, it will be found to have energised the nation and made a big contribution towards giving practical shape to the Congress resolution. I hope lacs of patriotic men and women will take to it.

8. Q. Certain changes must inevitably take place in any language, as for example, the ingress of foreign words which become part of the language and cannot be evicted. But Devnagri has been the traditional script all through the ages. During the period of the Moghul dynasty the Persian script came in. But Gujarati, Marathi, etc., while assimilating Persian, Arabic and English words, have not abandoned the script. Why should the Devnagri script then not be maintained?

A. There is no question of giving up anything that is ours by tradition. It is a question of adding to or improving what already exists. If I know Sanskrit, what harm if I learn Arabic too, or *vice versa*? The result will probably be an enrichment of my knowledge of either language. And my contacts with the Arabs or Hindus, as the case may be, will increase. Surely there can be no opposition to the acquiring of right knowledge in any sphere.

9. Q. From the point of view of easy mastery over the pronunciation of the national language, is not the Devnagri script the best? The Persian script is surely defective for the purpose.

A. You are right, but your opposition to the Persian script has no place here. Devnagri is not to be displaced. It is a question of adding to the existing knowledge.

10. Q. Where is the need for a national language? Will not the mother-tongue and an international language suffice? And then why not the Roman script for both?

A. Your question surprises me. English no doubt is the international language. But can it ever be our national language? The latter must be the common property of millions of our people. How can they sustain the burden of learning the

English tongue? Hindustani is the natural national language, for it is already understood by 21 crores. The remainder of the population can also easily understand it. But English may be said to be the mother-tongue of a mere handful—say, a lac at the most. If India is a nation, it must have a national language. English will appropriately remain the international language with the Roman script. But the latter can never be the script of the national language.

Sevagram, 19-4-42

(From *Harijanbandhu*)

## HANDICRAFT AND EDUCATION

(By E. W. Aryanayakam)

In discussing the fundamental principle underlying the system of Basic National Education, that education should centre round some form of manual and productive work, and all other activities to be developed or training to be given should, as far as possible, be integrally related to the central handicraft chosen with due regard to the environment of the child, we have often been confronted with the question: "Can you tell us of any other countries where this system is being practised?" In answer to this question the following extracts from the *Bulletin of the International Bureau of Education* (Geneva) will be found interesting. What is going on in the countries mentioned has been here reduced to a science.

### Switzerland

The Swiss Society of Handwork and School Reform has launched an appeal to all the Swiss communes to allot a piece of land for cultivation by the upper classes in the school. It asks that the scholars should carry through the whole process of working the land, sowing seed, tending the young plants, observing and studying the growth of the plants, keeping records of their observations, harvesting the crops and calculating the turnover, and preparing the soil for the next year. By planting vegetables the pupils will be helping the commune to increase the area of land under cultivation. The Department of Public Instruction of the Canton of Vaud publishes this appeal in its official Bulletin of Feb-March 1941; and asks the Vaudois municipal and school authorities to carry it into effect.

A report published by the Education Commission of the National Alliance of Women's Societies shows that in 1939 and in 1940 the majority of cantons encouraged schoolchildren to help with agriculture. Several of them opened labour exchanges so that the young helpers could be sent to the peasants most needing their help. Apart from this, many teachers and youth leaders organised agricultural work days for their classes or groups. The "relief" troops, for example, helped with the potato harvest or with weeding.

### U. S. S. R.

The ten-year education plan introduced in 1932 makes it compulsory for children to attend school for ten years. There are three classes of schools for general education: (1) pre-school; (2) single labour school; (3) institutions for protection and education of homeless and ill-treated children and



defectives. The pre-school group, for children between the ages of 3 and 7, includes children's homes, day nurseries, kindergarten, supervised playgrounds and evening recreation rooms. The single labour schools correspond to the elementary and secondary schools. They are divided into interrelated standards allowing the pupil to pass from lower to higher grades. Essential features of the system are practical training in the use of the simplest tools of all industries and the close connection between teaching and the economic needs and developments of the country. There are three main types in this group of schools: (1) elementary for ages 8 to 11, consisting of four classes; secondary for ages 8 to 14 with seven classes; (3) secondary for ages 8 to 17 with ten classes. All the three types are co-educational and free of charge. The attendance growth at these schools has been remarkable, altogether out of proportion with the increase in the number of schools, resulting in serious overcrowding and the necessity of arranging for the children to attend school in three shifts. From the lower schools the pupils pass into the technical schools, which are of five types: (1) elementary technical schools which are the trade schools, workshop schools and training workshops; (2) secondary technical schools or institutes; (3) workers' faculties; (4) higher educational institutes and special technical schools; (5) non-school technical courses.

Sevagram, 6-4-42

### BEGGING FOR HARIJANS

"This practice of charging a price for an autograph is peculiar to Mr. Gandhi," said a foreigner. "No other leader in India and none in other countries charges anything for his autographs. The request for an autograph is itself an honour and should not be charged for like this. Besides one may like to pay Rs. 5 for some object other than the one that is dear to Mr. Gandhi." Well, Gandhiji knows that it is a practice peculiar to himself, but he also knows that it is he alone who has invested a useless, if a harmless, hobby with value and purpose. (I remember, though, that Gurudev once in London fixed a price of one pound for his autograph and used the collections for Visvabharati.)

Without a price attached it adds perhaps to the sense of possession of the owner of the album, and often becomes a nuisance to the giver of the autograph who at all hours of the day and on all occasions is pursued by the autograph-hunters. With the price attached it blesseth him that gives and him that takes, and also the poor Harijan. Thus it is not twice but thrice blessed. As for those to whom the cause does not appeal or who do not want to pay, the best thing is not to covet the autograph.

But I began this note not to give a reply to the foreign critic, but in order to tell those who do not know that Gandhiji tries to serve the Harijan brethren in a variety of ways, and this is one of the many. I have not got the exact figures, but I am not far wrong when I say that every year Gandhiji gets a few thousand rupees for the Harijans

by signing autographs. If he did the continual travelling that he used to do when he was much stronger, he would earn very much more.

The other practice is begging for Harijans during travel and after the evening prayers. It is amazing how at small wayside stations poor people come in to put a few coppers into his outstretched palm for the benefit of the Harijans. Often he is too preoccupied to go to the carriage door. I have seen people coming unasked to pay their mite for the Harijans. They know that it is usual for him, whenever he travels, to beg for the Harijans, and if preoccupation or silence makes him omit the task, they remind him of it.

The readers may be interested to know that during his recent stay in Delhi, over and above the autographs, he collected quite a fair amount at the evening prayers. For the first day the prayer was noisy and disturbed by sight-seers, but from the next day only those who cared to join in a devout spirit came. (It may be remembered that Birla House is a long distance from Old Delhi.) One day a young man asked for Gandhiji's autograph as this collection was being made. He signed it, as usual, in Hindi. The young man happened to be a Tamilian. But he did not ask Gandhiji to sign his name in English. Instead he said: "Please also sign in Tamil." "I shall try," said Gandhiji, "but you will have to pay another five rupees." "I have paid ten, Mahatmaji," said the young man laughing, and he watched Gandhiji scratching his head to remember his Tamil alphabet and sign his name in Tamil, letter after letter. But the autograph was perfect without a mistake, so much so that the young man exclaimed: "It is flawless. Mahatmaji, your memory is wonderful." With these words, he gave another ten for the autograph. "But nothing for my memory feat? I have passed creditably and you must give me a prize." A third ten rupee note came immediately out of his pocket, and Gandhiji said in great delight: "Thirty rupees for the Harijans within a few seconds. They will bless you."

The figures of the evening collections at Delhi will be of interest (note the pice and even half-pice):

30-3-42	123-0-0
31-3-42	179-3-7½
1-4-42	227-11-6
2-4-42	166-13-9
3-4-42	102-9-9

Plus contributions "exactd" from pressmen who had come to interview him an hour before his departure.

38-0-0  
837-6-7½  
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# HARIJAN

Apr. 26

1942

## FOREIGN SOLDIERS IN INDIA

(By M. K. Gandhi)

Among the multitude of questions contained in my correspondence is the one referring to the advent of foreign soldiers in India. We have foreign prisoners enough. Now we have promise of a never-ending stream of soldiers from America and possibly China. I must confess that I do not look upon this event with equanimity. Cannot a limitless number of soldiers be trained out of India's millions? Would they not make as good fighting material as any in the world? Then why foreigners? We know what American aid means. It amounts in the end to American influence, if not American rule added to British. It is a tremendous price to pay for the possible success of Allied arms. I see no Indian freedom peeping through all this preparation for the so-called defence of India. It is a preparation pure and simple for the defence of the British Empire, whatever may be asserted to the contrary. If the British left India to her fate as they had to leave Singapore, non-violent India would not lose anything. Probably the Japanese would leave India alone. Perhaps India, if the main parties composed their differences as they probably would, would be able effectively to help China in the way of peace and in the long run may even play a decisive part in the promotion of world peace. But all these happy things may not happen, if the British will leave India only when they must. How much more creditable, how much braver it would be for Britain to offer battle in the West and leave the East to adjust her own position! There is no guarantee that she will be able to protect, during this war, all her vast possessions. They have become a dead weight round her. If she wisely loosens herself from this weight, and the Nazis, the Fascists or the Japanese instead of leaving India alone choose to subjugate her, they will find that they have to hold more than they can in their iron hoop. They will find it much more difficult than Britain has. Their very rigidity will strangle them. The British system had an elasticity which served so long as it had no powerful rivals. British elasticity is of no help today. I have said more than once in these columns that the Nazi power had risen as a nemesis to punish Britain for her sins of exploitation and enslavement of the Asiatic and African races.

Whatever the consequences, therefore, to India, her real safety and Britain's too lie in orderly and timely British withdrawal from India. All talk of treaties with the Princes and obligations towards minorities are a British creation designed for the preservation of British rule and British interests. It must melt before the stern reality that faces all of us. Princes, in so far as they rely upon their armed strength, are more than able to defend themselves

against unarmed India. The fiction of majority and minority will vanish like the mist before the morning sun of liberty. Truth to tell there will be neither majority nor minority in the absence of the paralysing British arms. The millions of India would then be an undefined but one mass of humanity. I have no doubt that at that time the natural leaders will have wisdom enough to evolve an honourable solution of their difficulties. This presupposes Japan and other powers leaving India alone. If they do not, I should hope even then for wisdom to guide the principal parties to devise a scheme whereby they can act with one mind to face the new menace.

Holding the views I do, it is clear why I look upon the introduction of foreign soldiers as a positive danger thoroughly to be deplored and distrusted. The present state of things and the attempt to uphold it are a distinct sign of corroding consumption of the body politic in India.

Sevagram, 19-4-42

### Deenbandhu Andrews Memorial

Deenbandhu Andrews Memorial and Gurudev Memorial are convertible terms. Gurudev had initiated the Deenbandhu Memorial, but before it had fully materialised Gurudev followed Deenbandhu. Therefore Deenbandhu Memorial has become also Gurudev Memorial. The purpose is worthy of the two great souls — the improvement and upkeep of Santiniketan, Visvabharati and Sriniketan. These are all in reality one. It is a matter of great shame and sorrow that the paltry sum of five lacs of rupees has still not come whether from the rich or the students or the labour world. Everybody admits that Gurudev and his institution have brought a name and prestige to India which no one and nothing else have done. It was Santiniketan which stirred Generalissimo and Madame Chiang Kai-shek who gave very handsome contributions. For the work done at Santiniketan, the expense is ridiculously small. The reason is the comparatively low salaries paid where the work done is not purely honorary. The donations so far collected amount to nearly one lac. I hope that the balance will be forthcoming without delay and absolve me from having to venture out on a collection tour. I am in honour bound to finish the collection. When Gurudev was dying the last letter I wrote to him was that, if it was God's will, I would finish the Deenbandhu collection. It was also a trust handed by Andrews in that Santiniketan's financial condition was his daily concern. It is a call from these two servants of India and humanity which I dare not neglect. Let those who revere their memory and who value Gurudev's living creation help me to discharge the self-imposed trust.

Sevagram, 20-4-42

M. K. G.

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## CREED v. POLICY OF NON-VIOLENCE

(By Kailas Nath Katju)

[More than a month ago Dr. Katju sent to Shri Kishorelal Mashruwala what may be called a short thesis on non-violence. The latter was to decide what to make of it and, if he liked, show it to me. Shri Mashruwala gave it to me some time ago. But I could get time to read it only during the journey. I read it carefully. It was too long for publication in *Harijan*; and yet I felt that it should be placed before the readers of *Harijan* in some form. The following is the result. I have spent considerable time in reducing the original without leaving out the essential argument. I wholly agree with Dr. Katju that non-violence cannot make further headway without the Congress making it a creed. He suggests that there should be a plan to show how it can be worked under given circumstances. He suggested a book or a series for the guidance of the votaries. Much literature has sprung up on the subject. Richard Gregg has spent years of labour in research. He has written text-books for the guidance of the votaries of the West. His books are very readable. Let Dr. Katju set apart time for producing a book which would be a guide for us in India at this critical hour.

On the train to Wardha, 5-4-42 M. K. G.]

The efficiency of non-violence with non-cooperation as a potent instrument of defence against external aggression has been very much discussed during the last three years. Gandhiji has emphasised that what can win us our freedom from British control must also prove equally useful to protect that freedom from violent attack. But the Working Committee were not prepared to go that length, and they said so in the well-known Wardha resolution last year. They thought that the country was not prepared to go that length. In this, I think, the Working Committee were quite right.

The shattering events of the last two years in the present war have influenced men in different ways. From many, with the growing realisation of India's utter defencelessness, there is an insistent demand for rapid 'militarisation' and industrialisation. On others, however, the reaction has been in a contrary direction, and they now realise vividly, as never before, the utter futility of resort to violence for purposes of defence. The collapse of strong, well-armed armies in Poland, Norway, France, Yugoslavia and Greece, and last of all the carnage in Russia, have shown to them—and I am one of those persons—that armed defence leads nowhere. If civilisation and human liberties are to be saved, we must seek and ensure peace by means of non-violence. It is obvious that non-violence can be of no use to nations imperialistically inclined to conquer and exploit others. That, I take it, is not the ambition of any Indian. So the question is only of the defence of a free India.

It must be conceded that, though the Congress has been working on non-violent lines for the last

twenty years, that has only been as a matter of policy. Leaving Gandhiji aside our leaders have not presented to the people the excellent doctrine of non-violence with all its possibilities and implications. Few, very few, have believed in it as a creed; and anyone who advocates its adoption as a mere matter of policy is likely to break down at the critical juncture. I think that on those of us who believe in the matchless efficacy of non-violence and non-cooperation as an instrument of defence and protection against external aggression now rests the duty of infusing into and inspiring our countrymen with that faith.

Previous preparation is essential. Just as you cannot turn an ordinary citizen into a trained and disciplined soldier overnight or manufacture guns and aeroplanes in a week, similarly you require time and patience to train a whole people in the art of non-violence and non-cooperation.

Violence has stolen a long march during thousands of years. There are so many misconceptions to be removed. Non-violence is unintelligible to so many. To some it is a counsel of perfection, fit for rishis only. To others it is stupid; there is seemingly such a childlike faith in violence. Non-violence ceases to be stupid when it is considered as non-cooperation. The present-day aggressor does not conquer in order to exterminate and settle down. He conquers or seeks to conquer in order to exploit, and it is at that stage that non-cooperation comes in.

We have to explain, to expound, to remove doubts, and to endeavour to make even the lame, the halt and the blind into heroes. All this requires time and devoted effort. And this can only be done with any reasonable prospect of success by those who themselves have a firm faith in the efficacy of the method of non-violence and whose personal lives are regulated by that faith. You cannot possibly divorce this doctrine from the purest and highest morals. And no distinction should be drawn between personal and public affairs. What is ethically bad in an individual is equally bad for a community and a nation. We must believe that it is feasible to conduct public affairs on that basis, and we must ourselves act accordingly to the best of our power and ability; and we must endeavour, by precept and example, to create a similar belief in our countrymen at large. Without this belief, I am convinced, non-violence cannot make any headway at all. Therefore those who advocate non-violence must live a life of non-violence, not resisting evil with evil but sterilising it with non-cooperation. The non-cooperation has to be above reproach.

I am by no means pessimistic of success, if only those of us who profess faith in non-violence are true to our creed. All philosophy seems to inculcate non-violence and chastity in thought and conduct and love of truth. The masses will follow, if properly educated in the doctrine. The doctrine of ahimsa has ever been there, and people have, all through the history of the race, regulated their private life by it. It is Gandhiji's contribution to



world welfare that he has taught us to apply non-violence and non-cooperation in the field of politics and public affairs also. This is a signal experiment and should succeed particularly in India if we proceed on right lines.

It is from this point of view that I suggest that, while we must endeavour by all truthful and non-violent methods to persuade our countrymen to cling to the path of non-violence to aim at conducting the government of the country by non-violent methods and to win our independence and retain and protect it by non-violence and non-cooperation, there should be no such thing as an effort to capture power in the vulgar sense of the word. The idea of 'capture' more often than not connotes use of Tammany Hall methods, political jugglery and cunning, and improper and corrupt practices. There is no place for these in our scheme of things. We can only succeed, if we have the people genuinely behind us. Political power, not resting on the willing and genuine consent of a vast majority of the people, can only function, in the last resort, by the use of force and violence; and that use we forbid to ourselves. So our whole programme of action must be directed to persuade the people to our ways of thinking by methods of public education, study circles, public meetings, private discussions and the Press, and above all by our exemplary lives.

Insistence on mere non-violence without concrete action is apt to be misleading. You have all sorts of conundrums put before you to show that non-violence is merely another name for cowardice and timidity. This false notion is partly due to the fact that equal insistence is not laid upon non-cooperation. Non-violence and non-cooperation are two wheels of the chariot. And taken together they require the greatest courage and sacrifice in their votaries. It is the weapon, as Gandhiji is never tired of saying, of the bravest; and what is more, it is the bravery of spirit that is the requisite thing. Thus it permits everyone, man, woman and child, the strong as well as the weak in body, to avail of it, provided one is stout-hearted and firm of faith and devoid of fear. It is non-cooperation which gives power and strength to non-violence, readiness to die, and a determined refusal to obey and cooperate with evil.

Just consider our present situation. We blame Gandhiji for lack of complete success in our political struggle for freedom, and we cavil at the method he advises. But have we really followed his advice? Is not British rule in its entirety based on our own cooperation? Do we not serve our masters and often even take pride and glory in such service? The army, the police and the Civil Services are manned by us, and our brightest young men labour strenuously to put on such shackles and consider them adornments. We are ourselves—I refer particularly to the English-educated middle classes—the greatest sinners; and yet we blame Gandhiji. And has the method really failed? In spite of our tragic shortcomings, in spite of our weakness of faith, in spite of our half-hearted and

apologetic pursuit of the method as a mere matter of policy, our success has been great indeed. The political awakening among the masses is marvellous.

The administration of a big country like India cannot be carried on by any foreigner, the Englishman or whoever he may be, without Indian cooperation. And if that cooperation is withheld, foreign domination is not possible. This is the lesson we have to burn into our minds, the minds of the masses as well as of the classes.

It is in this sense wholly true to say that non-cooperation is a powerful weapon for the defence of the country against an aggressor. As I have already said, extermination is a thing of the past. Aggressors aim at exploitation by making the subject people work for them and for their profit. And work is cooperation. Non-cooperation will make exploitation impossible and thus aggression itself unprofitable. The process of non-cooperation—we are aware of it—will put our non-violence through terrific tests. But if we can stand assaults; torture and shootings without any retaliation or even an attempt at retaliation from our side and persist in non-cooperation, the struggle must end in success. Examples of such heroic sufferings are not wanting. Guru-ka-Bagh morchas of the Sikhs, the Dharasana episodes, and the behaviour of processionists at innumerable places are shining examples of the practice of non-violence on a large scale. And the struggle of Bardoli peasants for relief against excessive land taxes is a valuable lesson in non-cooperation.

Much is said, in order to terrify people, of the results of the use of violence by the invaders and aggressors. But the thing is obviously overdone. I believe in the first place that human nature, though often bad and vile enough, will ultimately recoil from persistent cruelty and torture and slaughter of non-resisting non-cooperators. Suffering cheerfully borne will melt the heart of even a savage.

And after all does war—without non-cooperation—really sustain freedom? In the first place, national policies based on force and violence as instruments of defence lead to a race for armaments, and that race by itself indubitably leads to war. Moreover there is no finality in armaments. The machine masters and ultimately overwhelms mankind; and then what happens to the vanquished? Once the army is overthrown and defeated, people are forced to surrender.

What we have really to show is that people can act courageously and suffer hardship and even death without the temporary stimulus, and indeed intoxication, of war. A well-organised mass movement based on non-violence and non-cooperation for the noble purpose of winning or retaining national independence must raise people, not only young well-built soldiers but even the old and the infirm and men and women alike, to greater heights than a bloody war ever can. It is the hearts of the leaders that doubt and quail, but the heart of the common people is sound enough.

Non-cooperation with the aggressor and the foreigner is plain enough. That will obviously



involve the non-payment of taxes, a refusal to enter his service or do his bidding, a refusal to work in his mills and factories, and non-resort to his law courts. But it may become necessary even to non-cooperate with those of our countrymen, our own kith and kin, who flout the national will and cooperate with the aggressor. The thing to remember is that our non-cooperation has always to be non-violent and will, therefore, never do personal injury to the opponent. So there should be no interference with the supply of water to the thirsty or food to the hungry, medical assistance to the sick or burial to the dead. Within these broad limits a community is entitled to protect itself from its own backsliding brethren. And where public interests so demand, even filial and all family considerations must yield. National freedom is above everything. Human history teaches us that no nation has ever been able through violence to retain freedom and defend its independence against superior violence. Given the correct training, this is possible only through non-violent non-cooperation.

Non-violence is not a mere negative concept. It is essentially a constructive contribution to world politics. The present structure of society puts a definite premium on violence. Vast aggregates of private wealth in the hands of individuals who also constitute the ruling classes in the community naturally favour violence as a means of defence. It is now a commonplace that often so-called national interests are in substance nothing but the interests of private capitalists and investors in foreign lands. And even in local disturbances it is the moneyed man, the man of property, who shouts the loudest for the use of force for his protection. The adoption of non-violence as a national policy will inevitably involve a radical alteration in the social and economic spheres.

It is obvious that national wealth must be more widely and equitably diffused and social inequalities must disappear. Every citizen must have equal opportunities to grow. Much in socialism and communism will be found useful and admirable in a non-violent society, the basic difference being that a believer in non-violence holds that changes can be brought about by peaceful persuasion and non-violent methods, whereas those who profess the other doctrines do not share this faith and think that violent expropriation is the only course.

A believer in non-violence does not wish to abolish capitalism by violence. He wishes the community to avail itself of the results of individual enterprise, and he takes all sting out of capitalism when he converts a capitalist into a trustee for the benefit of the nation. If a capitalist were really to consider himself a trustee, he would never endeavour to swell his profits by sweating labour. If his wealth were ultimately to be applied for the benefit of the community, there would be no incentive left to enrich oneself by improper and Shylockean methods. He would, even in the process of earning his profits, genuinely endeavour to benefit his fellowmen as widely as possible.

The real considerations in a society founded upon non-violence may well be twofold. Firstly, we have no outside countries to exploit, no foreign markets to capture, with the aid of our armies; and secondly, there must be profitable employment for every fit person. I do not think that in a free India the adjustment of industries will be beyond the bounds of human ingenuity. The needs of the hand-spinning industry will have to be particularly borne in mind, capable as it is of giving employment to millions of people who would otherwise be wholly without work. In planning an economic programme suited to our needs we can draw with great profit on the great social experiment in Russia. I personally believe that working on cooperative lines is the true way to national salvation and to non-violence also.

For the propagation of non-violence on sound lines it is necessary that a picture — at least in broad outline, but distinct and well-defined, not vague and shadowy — of a well-planned non-violent society should be drawn and placed before the public. Such a scheme would serve many purposes. It would educate and make people think, and the plan itself would benefit by public discussion and criticism. As it is, people are left in doubt and do not know where non-violence will land them and India.

I realise that, like the experiment in Russia, the way to perfecting a plan of a non-violent society must be through trial and error. But basic principles must be settled and (as far as possible) precisely stated, and outlines well drawn. Shri Mashruwala has recently made attempts in that direction. His articles published in newspapers and magazines were both thoughtful and thought-provoking.

I dare say that adequate material for drawing up a preliminary outline as a basis of discussion for planned non-violence can be found in the writings of Gandhiji spread over a period of 40 years. Valuable hints can also be gained from Tolstoy and other eminent writers. But at present the material is all scattered, the picture much too hazy. Like the famous *Communist Manifesto*, we should have a manifesto of non-violence and non-cooperation.

The political and economic structure of a non-violent society must be broad-based on the conscious will of the people as a whole. If force as a dominating sanction is eliminated, then cheerful and willing obedience to the national laws is the prerequisite to any durable constitution. People will only offer non-violent resistance to an aggressor, if they are proud of their country and prize their national freedom. But if national freedom merely means for a vast majority of the people a slavish, care-worn existence with ever-present fear of want and hunger, then it will not be surprising if there is not too keen a readiness to offer non-violent resistance and to die for an order of things which has done so little for the individual.

In a non-violent State there should not be any communal questions or any minority problems.



When the highest rules of morality and ethics become the mainsprings of political policy and administrative action and non-violence actually becomes the foundation of national life, then there will not be the bickerings and rivalries and struggle for power with which we are nowadays so familiar.

The aim, it is said, of all good government is to cease to govern, for the State to fade away and for society to become classless. These aims can only be realised by genuine non-violence. Government will be truly the government by consent. Problems of poverty and social amelioration confront all communities and require similar treatment. It is the fear that majorities will resort to the use of force and violence which poisons the air. The moment non-violence becomes the instrument of national policy the majority will have no sanction at its back other than the willing consent of the minority, and if it wishes to rule (if rule it can be called at all), it can only do so by winning the confidence and disarming all suspicion of the minorities. Indeed in a fully non-violent society there are no minorities, for all are one people.

The conclusion, in my view, is that in our present environment non-violence can only succeed as a creed and nothing else. Just as Soviet Russia made a deliberate attempt to alter the whole structure of society and to modify all the current and accepted notions of human nature by conscious State effort, similarly those who believe in non-violence and non-cooperation as the future hope of humanity must acquire power in the body politic in non-violent ways, and then endeavour to make non-violence the only essential instrument of our national policy. I personally think that the ideal of non-violence is not unrealisable. On the contrary I think that it can be reached, and that humanity, after the experience of the horrors of two World Wars in the course of a quarter of a century, will willingly strive after it. But to attain that goal we shall have to educate public opinion in its favour, more particularly by radically planning the whole field of education on the basis of non-violence. We must begin with the child, and mould the mind of the coming generation accordingly.

So far non-violence (ahimsa) has been practised to regulate men's personal lives, and therefore one life, well lived according to the principles of ahimsa, has influenced many others. But the sphere of influence has been limited to the region of private and personal affairs. Unfortunately, during thousands of years, mankind has been taught that private life and national life are things apart, governed by totally different principles. Gandhiji teaches us that there is no such distinction. That lesson can only be learnt by the people as a whole, if those in charge of national affairs first learn it themselves and then endeavour to impart it to others. I fear we have not done our duty by the people. We have doubted and hesitated ourselves. How then can we blame the people? Let Congressmen first be firm believers themselves, give a little further time to the people in general, and then put them to the test.

## Notes

### Evacuees from Burma

Much has been written about the hardships of evacuees from Burma. Making allowance for all possible exaggerations, the remainder itself is a horrible tale of woes. Some of them must be inevitable in the circumstances that face us. What has to be dealt with is the avoidable hardships and blatant discrimination said to be in vogue in the treatment of Britishers and Indians. I understand that there are over eight lacs of Indians in Burma, yet to be evacuated. Life for them in Burma is impossible. The question is too big to be tackled by any existing organisation. It requires a special temporary committee of experienced men whose sole work would be to attend to the orderly and quick evacuation of the eight to nine lacs of men and their disposal after they are on Indian soil. Let us hope that there are enough public-spirited men who will make it their business to form themselves into a committee and see this very humanitarian work through.

Sevagram, 20-4-42

M. K. G.

### Simple Treatment for Cholera

Satish Babu recently spent 15 days in doctoring and educating the inhabitants of fourteen villages where an epidemic of cholera had broken out. He took with him one of his own workers and obtained the help of four village doctors. The following was the result:

Number of villages under treatment	14
" " cholera victims	114
" " recoveries	95
" " still under treatment	2
" " dead	17
" " those given saline injections — intravenous and subcutaneous	112

Out of the 17 that died 5 were beyond medical aid when Satish Babu got to them.

Only the following medicines were required for the treatment: 1. Calomel, 2. Bicarbonate of Soda. These were administered in the beginning and continued until such time as the bile began to flow freely. Subsequently 3. Castor oil and 4. Kaolin were given. 5. As constant diarrhoea causes great loss of blood serum in the patient, it is necessary every now and again to administer saline injections. The salt for the saline injection is prepared thus: Dissolve ordinary eating salt in water, and after filtering it bring it to boiling point. Continue to boil until the salt forms into crystals. Sometimes an alkaline saline is needed, in which case bicarbonate of soda can be added.

The villagers were terrified. Satish Babu and his helpers were soon able to gain their confidence and get complete cooperation from them. What might have been a severe outbreak was thus nipped in the bud.

Sevagram, 13-4-42

A. K.

By R. B. Gregg

The Power of Non-violence

Price Rs. 2. Postage 6 Annas Extra

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## PRICE CONTROL MUDDLE

The contribution in *Harijan* of the 12th inst. by an "experienced friend" on the price control muddle is to be greatly welcomed. A substantial reason why the present price control should be abandoned is that it has benefited no one, least of all the consumer. The whole question has to be considered afresh from the point of view not only of the manufacturers and distributors but also of the consumers. One very grave result of the price control policy was not only the driving away of the foodstuffs from the market, but of hitting the poor man hard where these stuffs were available. The Government announced the controlled price — without much forethought or consultation with the business community — but failed to make the commodity available at that price. If control had to be applied, it should have been applied to all "articles of daily need". It was applied to prices of articles of food but not to the prices of cloth, kerosene, matches, paper, iron and other articles which have gone up by 100 to 300 per cent — hitting the poor agriculturist hardest, who has profited little by the increase in the price of grains. From his point of view, the control of the price of grain is a terrible disadvantage inasmuch as the only commodity he has to deal with is controlled, while he has to pay through the nose for all other articles of daily need.

In this matter as elsewhere the main trouble is an irresponsible Government. An article in *The Economic Journal of the Royal Economic Society* on German price control during the last war throws a flood of light on the whole question, and shows a way out, if the Government will only care to benefit by it. The writer, Leon Zeitlin, says that conclusions from German experience may be drawn "for the benefit of the British efforts to strengthen the economic Home Front, and at the same time to try not unduly to disturb the equilibrium of equality of sacrifice."

The very first thing he has pointed out is the determination of the cost of replacement which has a twofold meaning: (1) For the manufacturer it means the cost of production; (2) For distributors (wholesale and retail) it means the price they have to pay for the repurchasing of the same qualities and quantities as they have sold from their stocks. But these costs should be determined by "an elastic system of averaging costs of old and new stock over a period of, say, three months."

The second point mentioned is about the number of goods coming under price control. "An efficient price control demands that the smallest possible number of goods should be exempted from its regulations." That would mitigate the hardship that the poor agriculturist has had to bear in our country.

But the most important of all points, and in our country one of primary importance, is enlisting the services of various trade associations. In independent countries like Britain or Germany, this was a natural course. Such a course would not occur, and even if it did, it would be repugnant to an alien bureaucracy. But the point is that

the whole price control would be the woeful muddle it has been, unless the services of the trade associations are utilised for the purpose. This, the writer points out, "played a more important part in German economic life than similar organisations in other countries. A kind of 'closed-shop' system was developed, and the associations obtained the right to decide whom they might or might not be prepared to admit as a member. . . . The officers of the associations become trustees of the Government by being appointed 'Deputy Commissioners of the Reich'. A special department of the War Office established immediately after the outbreak of the War, which by sequestering all available stocks of raw materials, controlled not only war requirements but also civil demands, was the centre of this organisation. In order to decentralise its manifold and far-reaching economic activities, this department had set up a considerable number of bodies with special tasks concerning the various industries and trades, and it was these bodies which directed and supervised the semi-official activities of the trade associations."

The writer adds:

"The Government policy concerning trade associations coincided with their desire to obtain a predominant position in German economic life. The formation of Central Federations of manufacturers, wholesalers, export merchants, retailers and craftsmen was, therefore, encouraged by Government. These Central Federations embraced all associations, corporations and guilds of the respective professions and proved a great help to the Government, because it had then no longer to face the almost unsolvable task of settling the incessant and tedious complaints of individuals or discontented groups. Furthermore, these Central Federations very soon developed into competent and responsible bodies which had to advise the Government in all matters concerning war production and distribution."

This system of enlisting the services of trade associations by changing them into self-governing bodies was "preferable from the point of view of efficiency . . . to the setting up of Committees the members of which are, it is true, most distinguished individuals but not elected representatives of their trades." If this is true in self-governing countries, it is truer still in a dependent country like India where the Government have no relation or responsibility to the people.

The last point is the enactment of legislation against the abuse of economic power. By an Emergency Decree in post-war Germany, "a special Supreme Court was set up with competence to declare null and void agreements detrimental to the common weal, to release members of associations from their obligations, to dissolve associations, to fine associations as well as individuals trying to influence the policy of production, distribution, and prices, etc."

Until steps in this direction are taken, the reasonless, pointless, ineffective and ruinous price control policy must be abandoned.

As to what should be done in the interval, the suggestions made by the businessman-correspondent cannot be bettered.

M. D.



## WITH JAMNALALJI

( By Rammanohar Lohia )

"Whom have you come here for," asked Jamnalalji, and my reply needed no thinking. "For Gandhiji and 'you.'" I had arrived in Wardha the night before and was preparing to go to Sevagram. Jamnalalji would not let me go, and when I threatened to board the earliest train to anywhere, he brandished his stick, and there was nothing left for me but to submit to this affectionate tyranny. "The British have tyrannised over me for nearly two years," I added, "it is now your turn!"

We went to his old house. On the way Jamnalalji wanted me to tell him all the stories and scraps I had collected and, when he felt there was a really good one, he wanted me to reserve it for lunch. He was in a glorious listening mood. I rattled off about the British Governors who ruled over him and over me and about whom few Indians are ever interested to know anything except during the boredom of prison when a railway time-table and a sales-catalogue are adventuring fiction. Two of the tallest of these Governors receive half-a-dozen lines each in a British-written *Who's Who*, and one of them, it is said, was the parliamentary private secretary to the parliamentary secretary to the secretary to the navy before being appointed Governor, while the other had a mother who was the daughter of the daughter of the nephew of the 10th earl of somewhere. Jamnalalji had a hearty laugh. The smarting insult to an Indian's nationhood is no doubt there, but the ridiculous pomposity of the British mind overweighs it. Only once did I notice a vacancy in Jamnalalji's looks, while I was relating one of my stories, and I stopped. He assured me that my stories were dissipating the heaviness in his mind, but I was satisfied only after he had repeated what I had related. How could anybody have known that Jamnalalji was using up his last ounces of energy to cheer himself up deliberately? Death was not to come to him in sombre and gloomy clothes, casting grief all around.

As we arrived at the house, I was introduced to two persons, a graceful young woman and a young man. The presentation was incomplete, and they knew who I was but I did not know who they were. That was Jamnalalji's way of doing things. He wanted to extract a joke out of everything. I was, he said, on test and, if I had some commonsense and a little knowledge of physiognomy and psychology, I should be able to tell who these two were. Innocent irrelevance is laughter, and it is surely irrelevant to connect physiology and commonsense with reading an unknown name on an unknown shape. And yet I ventured, and I was right in guessing his daughter-in-law, and the young man, I had to be told, was his third son-in-law.

I was a little disagreeably surprised when Jamnalalji told me that his son-in-law was the son of a Raibahadur-so-and-so in the United Provinces. Jamnalalji had himself kicked away lustily at his Raibahaduri at a very young age and, although he could have risen to the top rung in the ladder of British titles earlier than most others, his own

path had lain in an opposite direction. I must confess I have seen numerous Congressmen showing deference to wealth and titles and taking for granted all such as have not permitted themselves an interval of money-making between their playful and studious days and their political pursuits. Jamnalalji had, like Jawaharlalji, a redeeming feature; if he was a bit deferential to worldly goods, he was affectionate to the tramps and vagabonds. I am perhaps reading a bit too much into what was after all a mechanical nothing, an unthinking habit of rolling out a name along with its accustomed, though spurious, titles.

The mirth and satire during lunch continued afterwards. There were two little periods of serious talking on the part of Jamnalalji, one with me and another with his son-in-law, and some of the points raised with me were later swallowed up in the general talk. He wanted me to take up the work of the States' peoples. Apart from the vagabond's disinclination to be pinned down to anything specific, there are solid reasons for my refusal to accept such offers. I cannot tell them here. But one of these, not very convincing by itself, I told Jamnalalji, and his answer was significant. There was, I said, a good deal of difference between my way of looking at States' problems and that of the States' People's Conference. The Princes are, in my eyes, a useless lot who have lost every claim to govern, and I stand for their entire removal, while the States' People's Conference, undoubtedly for good reasons, cannot take up this position. I tried to make my language as aggressive as possible, but Jamnalalji was not put off. He suggested a variation. He said that the Conference could take up the line that most Princes were bad and, unless the Princely order reformed itself, it would have to be removed altogether. He reminded me that this was Gandhiji's language. Before I proceed further with the conversation, let me here pay a tribute to Jamnalalji's catholicity of outlook and his effort to accommodate what should be called extremist views. I do not deny that a part of this effort was due to a little trust that he otherwise placed in me. I have often noticed that, given an amount of trust in each other, two persons of different views may find it easier to talk and work together than if they were in the same group but had no trust between them.

I said that I could not talk Gandhiji's language, for, apart from its uniqueness, there were almost two generations between him and me. Moreover, Gandhiji was probably more cautious in certain spheres than he need be. Was it not time, I said, that Gandhiji should give up his theory of trusteeship or, at least, mix it up with the abolition of private ownership of capital? The war has caused a great deal of fear among property-owners, and could not Gandhiji turn it into disgust at capitalism and longing for a socialised economy in which there would be at least mental peace? Jamnalalji listened, and the talk ended up in general hilarity as to what I would do if I had a crore of rupees.

Was Jamnalalji a trustee? In his personal life, yes. It escaped me for a long while that a man



of his income should have led a comparatively lower middle class life; I, as many others, just took him for granted. There is something extremely difficult in this voluntary abnegation; and it is no wonder that, despite thirty years' labour, Gandhiji has not been able to produce many Jamnalals.

Jamnalalji was undoubtedly a trustee in the sphere of personal expenditure and employment of profits towards social purposes. In the sphere of production, he was not and could not have been a trustee. His factories and business were conducted on the present basis, as any other basis within the existing economy would have meant their total disappearance. Men must submit to the law of money relations, hierarchy of incomes and injustice, if they wish to remain in capitalistic trade and industry. Again, there is the problem of inheritance, and it was the extreme sacrifice of his wife and the good sense of his sons that enabled Jamnalalji to achieve fifty per cent trusteeship in this sphere.

Full trustee in personal expenditure, full capitalist in the sphere of production, and half-trustee as a bequeather would not be an inappropriate description of Jamnalalji in the management of wealth.

We had a few hands of bridge, and contract bridge at that, when Jamnalalji felt drowsy and we retired to another part of the room. After some time he got up, went in for a wash, came back, and started to lie down again. I was eager to go to Sevagram and, as everything had been normal, I shouted at him for trying to sleep so much during the day. How could I have known that I was speaking to a dying man? Jamnalalji tried to sit up, looked at us mutely and made restless movements. The blood-vessel in the head had apparently already burst. There was just a quarter hour of conscious pain, and the rest was a vast sea of unconsciousness for him. The candle was snuffed out inside of an hour. It had only known to burn brightly or not at all. To flicker and dim away by slow degrees was not its way.

Gandhiji came and, within a few seconds of his arrival, gripped the widowed wife by the shoulder and said, "Look at me. Laugh, I am laughing." I have often thought of Gandhiji's heart as of a sieve with numberless big and little holes. Does it not change every personal grief into a state of restful sorrow? The conversation between Gandhiji and Jankidevi reminded one of Buddha and other spiritual teachers who consoled mourners. There was one difference. The ancients consoled on the spiritual plane, while Gandhiji appears to transmute his own spiritual experience into active morality before communicating it to the mourner. His morality is service of the people.

It is customary to honour a dead leader by saying that his place cannot be filled. There is not much in this custom. A leader who leaves behind him a vacancy was lacking in something, somewhere. It is true that Jamnalalji's place may not be taken up by any one man, and that is only proper, but the numerous workers in the constructive cause who worked under him and whom he trained will, I hope, replace their dead teacher.

11-2-42

## IMPERIALISM WITHIN US

(By J. C. Kumarappa)

We usually understand by imperialism a state where one nation holds down another in bondage so as to obtain some benefit to itself at the cost of the subjection of the other. We may have the spirit of such imperialism without having to cross national, political or geographical boundaries. The essence of imperialism is often found in even a single individual. When reduced to its lowest terms it arises out of the desire to gain something for oneself at the cost of another. Wherever we find this we have the elements of imperialism.

In centralised industries under private ownership we find this spirit in a virulent form. Therefore every country that takes to this form of economic organisation will in the end produce imperialism and not freedom. It is a double-edged sword. It injures both him who uses it and the victim. It flourishes only with outside compulsion and external discipline.

Naturally, to such an evil the antidote is one's own initiative and self-discipline. The promotion of decentralised industries helps us to develop both. No country can then enslave us without our active cooperation. If we can generate sufficient internal discipline to resist any external enticement, we shall be able to attain and retain freedom; but until then we are doomed to be slaves. Hence Gandhiji's insistence on the constructive programme as the surest way to obtain Swaraj.

Imperialism governs from outside, and is based on violence and fear. But true freedom is an outcome of self-discipline, non-violence and love. Where the latter condition exists there can be no high or low, rich or poor, but all men will be brethren.

We are witnessing with our own eyes the ultimate outcome of the spirit of imperialism. Germany, Japan, Great Britain and U. S. A. are all fighting so that each may control the world's resources for its own benefit. We shall find this true, if we probe deep enough behind the ostensible causes set forth by each combatant. Imperialism amongst nations or within nations or between individuals leads to destruction, enmity and violence. Do we want this state of affairs to condition our lives?

As long as the selfish desire to benefit from another's toil is present amongst us neither Premier Churchill nor Sir Stafford Cripps can help us.

We are held in bondage so that we may supply the raw materials to the mills of Great Britain and afford a well-controlled market for their products. Therefore, the moment we begin to utilise our raw materials ourselves and supply all our needs, the foundation of imperialism is blasted. This then is the message of khadi that has been dinned into our ears in season and out of season by Gandhiji.

Though the prescription appears simple enough, the medicine is hard to take as it demands a considerable degree of self-control and presupposes self-discipline. As things are, village-made articles appear expensive as there is a greater degree of distribution of wealth included in the price, while the apparent cheapness of imported mill-made articles is due to a small share in the booty of the manufacturer



and his Government. Are we to be led away by this small share in the loot? Village-made articles are sometimes crude, largely due to our neglect of the villagers. Shall we abandon these for the small satisfaction we may get from the use of standardised products? These are the small crosses we have to bear in the initial stages to attain Swaraj ultimately. Do these loom too large on our horizon, dull our distant vision, and distort our judgment to such an extent that we prefer the foreign yoke with fineries to Swaraj. Better is a dry morsel and freedom therewith, than a house full of so-called good things with bondage.

To the extent to which rural India supplies the major and primary needs of the people, to that extent we shall attain Swaraj. Both producers and consumers can help in this programme. Every man, woman and child can take part in this fight against imperialism.

### QUESTION BOX

(By M. K. Gandhi)

If They Really Mean?

Q. If the Japanese really mean what they say and are willing to help to free India from the British yoke, why should we not willingly accept their help?

A. It is folly to suppose that aggressors can ever be benefactors. The Japanese may free India from the British yoke, but only to put in their own instead. I have always maintained that we should not seek any other Power's help to free India from the British yoke. That would not be a non-violent approach. We should have to pay a heavy price, if we ever consented to take foreign aid as against the British. By our non-violent action we were within an ace of reaching our goal. I cling to my faith in non-violence. I have no enmity against the Japanese, but I cannot contemplate with equanimity their designs upon India. Why do they not realise that we as free men have no quarrel with them? Let them leave India alone. And if they are well-intentioned, what has China done to deserve the devastation they have wrought there?

#### Guerilla War

Q. You declared the other day at Wardha that Jawaharlal Nehru was your 'legal heir'. How do you like the idea of your legal heir advocating guerilla warfare against the Japanese? What will happen to your ahimsa when Jawaharlal openly advocates violence and Rajaji wants arms and military training for the whole nation?

A. As you have put it the situation does appear awful. But it really is not so awful as it appears to you. In the first instance 'legal heir' is not my phrase. I had spoken in Hindi. I had said that he was not my 'legal heir' but that he was virtually my heir. That means that he will take my place when I am gone. He has never accepted my method in its entirety. He has frankly criticised it, and yet he has faithfully carried out the Congress policy largely influenced, when it was not solely directed, by me. Those like Sardar Vallabhbhai who have followed me without question cannot be

called heirs. And everybody admits that Jawaharlal has the drive that no one else has in the same measure. And have I not said also that when I am gone he will shed the differences he often declares he has with me? I am sorry he has developed a fancy for guerilla warfare. But I have no doubt that it will be a nine days' wonder. It will take no effect. It is foreign to the Indian soil. Twentytwo years' incessant preaching and practice of non-violence, however imperfect it has been, could not be suddenly obliterated by the mere wish of Jawaharlal and Rajaji, powerful though their influence is. I am, therefore, not perturbed by the 'apostacy' either of Jawaharlal or Rajaji. They will return to non-violence with renewed zest, strengthened by the failure of their effort. Neither goes to violence for his belief in it. They do so because they think probably that India must have a course of violence before coming to non-violence. No one can say beyond doubt how events will shape themselves. It may be that their instinct is correct and mine, backed though it is by experience, is not. I know this, however, that my line is cut out for me. Even though I may be alone in my faith, I must follow it unfalteringly, believing that the masses will never take to the violent method. They will either remain inert or take to non-violent action. Guerilla warfare can take us nowhere. If it is practised on any large scale, it must lead to disastrous consequences. Non-violent non-cooperation is the most effective substitute for every kind of violent warfare. If the whole nation takes to non-violent action, it can be wholly successful. It could not be quite so against the British because their roots have gone deep into the soil. The Japanese have not even got a foothold. I hope that the forthcoming A. I. C. C. will revert to the non-violent method and give the clearest possible instructions about non-violent non-cooperation. To aid the British effort in the violent way without any official connection and after the failure of the recent negotiations appears to me to court national disgrace.

Sevagram, 19-4-42

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[ FIVE PICE

## QUESTION BOX

( By M. K. Gandhi )

### Are You Not Inviting Japanese ?

Q. It is all very well for you to invite bravery, but are you not inviting the Japanese to attack India, by asking the British rulers to withdraw ?

A. I am not. I feel convinced that the British presence is the incentive for the Japanese attack. If the British wisely decided to withdraw and leave India to manage her own affairs in the best way she could, the Japanese would be bound to reconsider their plans. The very novelty of the British stroke will confound the Japanese, dissolve the subdued hatred against the British, and the atmosphere will be set up for the ending of an unnatural state of things that has dominated and choked Indian life. As far as I can see the Japanese seem to have made their plans independently of Indian opinion. They are not to be affected by any writing of mine. But they will be confounded by the action I have advised the British to take.

### Evacuation

Q. You have advised evacuation from the cities of those who are not wanted for service or other reasons. But what are those poor people to do who have no homes to go to and who would be unwelcome wherever they go ?

A. This is a real difficulty. They must be provided for by the people of the provinces to which they belong. If we are one nation, we should have no difficulty in providing for every contingency that may arise. If we are to establish a new order of society, we can act from now. I can only speak from the non-violent angle and no other. If the national mind is working in that direction, consciously or unconsciously individuals and institutions will, without fuss, be absorbing all such persons as you mention. I know that the process is going on, but not on a scale large enough to be impressive. No able-bodied person should be put on charity; he should be given work enough to feed him properly. This shifting of the population, if it is wisely done, must result in a silent reorganisation of villages.

Sevagram, 26-4-42

### No Narrow Provincialism

Q. There are, in certain places, some people who have come from other provinces but who have practically settled in those places. There is already a feeling in certain provinces that when times were good these people came from outside, earned, and enjoyed themselves, but that when danger is drawing near and when their help and assistance would be needed by the residents of the province, they are

thinking of fleeing to their 'homes'. Should you not advise such people to stay where they are and not to give vent to any narrow provincialism ?

A. This question has come to me in various forms. It comes from Bengal and Assam. Merchants from other provinces have settled there for generations. Though they went to the respective provinces for their own sakes, they supplied a want, often useful. There is no doubt that their sudden withdrawal must hit hard those who have been hitherto used to make their daily purchases from these merchants. They cannot be easily and suddenly replaced, especially at a critical time like this. Therefore for these merchants to wind up their businesses would certainly amount to desertion of duty, if they do not, before leaving, ensure the continuance of their shops by proper substitute. It would be a different thing, if the customers themselves evacuated and the merchants had to follow. The situation that faces the country is so novel that no opinion or solution can claim infallibility, nor can judgment be pronounced without carefully weighing all the facts. But it seems to me to be the duty of mercantile organisations to examine the situation and give guidance to the merchants affected.

### Not an Incitement

Q. You have written :

"If the vast majority of Muslims regard themselves as a separate nation . . . no power on earth can compel them to think otherwise. And if they want to partition India on that basis, they must have the partition, unless Hindus want to fight against such a division. So far as I can see such a preparation is silently going on on behalf of both parties."

As far as the Muslims are concerned I can say with better knowledge than you that there is no such preparation. It would be foolish in the midst of the present armageddon. But since you are apparently aware of the preparation to fight on the part of Hindus, is it not criminal for you not to prevent your co-religionists from this suicidal activity ? Your article is both cowardly and mischievous; indeed it is an incitement to the Hindus.

A. This is the mildest indictment I have picked up from many I have received. Even from this much poison has been removed. It is perhaps wise to notice some of the criticism to which I am exposed. I must not mind it. It has been my lot throughout my public career. I suppose it is that of every public servant. But when the criticism is ignorant, as this is, it harms the critic and the cause he espouses. I take notice of it in the hope that sober men will use their influence to restrain



ignorant criticism. I have no special knowledge of the preparation on behalf of the Hindus. All the knowledge I have is derived from the speeches of the leaders of both the parties and from the cuttings I receive from correspondents. They are proof positive of the preparations to which I have referred. But if what you say is right, in spite of the writings in the Muslim press, no preparation on one side alone can possibly provoke strife. It takes two to make a quarrel. You would be right, if I did not do so, in saying that it would be criminal on my part not to prevent my "co-religionists from this suicidal activity". You write about my co-religionists. I recognise none in such matters. Nor do they recognise me. For I claim Indians of all religions as my equal brothers, whether they believe me or not. I would, therefore, love to prevent everyone from quarrelling. All I write in these columns is designed to make reason rather than the sword the arbiter between rival parties. Hence the sentence you quote from my writing. I invite you to help me in my mission of peace. You can begin by understanding me and my writings.

Sevagram, 27-4-42

#### A GLIMPSE OF RIKHIKESH

From Delhi I went to Rikhikesh—that is the name in Government records and the Post Office—for a few days' change and rest. But I could not somehow make up my mind to stay there more than three or four days. The Ganges offered all that was expected of that holy river, and I met a few sannyasins, very kind and hospitable, but I felt that I could not bear to stay on there even for rest. The rest I would get, but it would not be worth much without peace. And peace it was difficult to get, with so many factors challenging it wherever one went—flies and filth, stray cows and swarms of beggars, and not much better than these the swarms of sadhus.

The Congress committee people somehow found me out. They wanted me to address a meeting there. A meeting of whom, I asked. And they smiled. There are a couple of thousand sadhus who are fed by the *chhatras*, about a thousand sannyasins, the same number of itinerant pilgrims, about five hundred beggars, and a few shopkeepers. There is a large number of students—Sanskrit students—they said, and some hill people, who might listen to the message of the constructive programme, but "the sadhus," they said, "abhor us." "But have you seriously tried to do the work?" I asked. One of the friends said: "Attempt had been made. There is enough land at our disposal. But we have not been able to do anything. Can't you lay the foundation of a constructive work centre? Tell us exactly what we can do." I said to them that, if they were so minded, two or three workers might be sent out to learn all the processes of spinning and weaving, of paper-making and bee-keeping. Those who knew spinning might make the start with collecting cotton and a few spinning wheels, but I who had gone there on a flying visit could not make the start. Later I met a sadhu with matted locks and a long

beard, who hailed me from a distance. For a moment I could not place him. But it was a familiar face, and I found that we had been jail mates years ago. He had chosen this kind of life and implored me to go to his *kuti*. He has two charkhas regularly working, he had two or three cows, and had laid out a nice little garden. "I have sat down here performing penance for Swaraj," he said, "and I am sure we will attain our goal." "But how? Have you been able to persuade any of the sadhus to take to the charkha? Will they go out to do constructive work?" I asked. He smiled and said he would work in the direction.

I had been drawn to Rikhikesh by Swami Shivanand who has settled there for some years and is conducting a monthly called *Divine Life*, and his Divine Life Society has numerous branches in the country and outside. The members pledge themselves to work daily for their moral and spiritual uplift, and meet together four times in the year. I met other sannyasins too—some of them very learned indeed—and all, it is curious to observe, interested in the happenings in the country and asking for the latest news. These were so keen on the latest news, why would they not work for the country, I wondered. "You know the definition of a sannyasin given in the Bhagavadgita," I said to them. "He who does the appointed task or the duty to be done without attachment to the fruit is a sannyasin and a yogi, but not he who ignites not the fire or does no action. (6:1) But here it is exactly those who ignite not the fire and do nothing who are regarded as sannyasins. How shall we make the country free?" Swami Shivanandji frankly agreed with me. He said the Gita definition was the right definition, but so long as thousands were sure of a square meal without working for it, it was not possible to do anything. He was good enough to promise to introduce the spinning wheel in his own ashram and do whatever he can to spread the gospel of the charkha.

But very much more work is needed. We need a number of sannyasins who will go about amongst these sadhus with the message of active work, and we have to disabuse people of their ideas of misplaced charity.

Seth Jugal Kishore Birla, with whom I went to Rikhikesh, had organised a *yajna* on a grand scale. Brahmanas from all parts of India and learned in the Vedas had been invited for the purpose, and he invited me to look in. Goswami Ganeshduttji, who was in charge of the ceremonies, said to me that he had already announced to the vast number of spectators there that I was coming. "It is very good of you," I said. "But I have not come for the *yajna*, and I do not want anyone to know that I am here. I have come for a little bit of peace and rest." He was all kindness, but he introduced me to the people in a long speech, and blessed me on behalf of those engaged in the *yajna*. The *yajna* was obviously, as I learnt, for the welfare of the Hindu community, and for the coming of peace. But the words 'Hindu kingdom', and 'Hindu sovereignty' were also freely mentioned. I was in



a quandary when I was asked to say a few words to the people assembled there. But with God's name on my lips, I ventured to say only a few words to express what then possessed my breast.

I said: "I have come here seeking for mental and bodily rest, in order that I may be able to do my work more energetically. You have assembled here to perform and associate yourselves with a *yajna*. You are all Hindus, and so am I. Let me then tell you the Hindu prayer that has appealed to me most:

“ सर्वेऽत्र सुखिनः सन्तु सर्वे सन्तु निरामयाः ।

सर्वे भद्राणि पश्यन्तु न कश्चिद् दुःखमाग्न भवेत् ॥

“(May all here be happy; may all be free from disease; may all see things that are good; and may none have misery.)

“When after a hard day's work I lay my tired limbs to rest I humbly utter this prayer every day, and I do so now. Let us pray for the good and welfare of *all*. That is the glory of Hinduism, and that is its strength.

“Now to offer prayers is easy enough. But they are not heard unless they are offered from a pure and contrite heart. Let me tell you that *yajna* has a deeper meaning than the offering of ghee and other things in the sacrificial fire. *Yajna* is sacrifice of one's all for the good of humanity, and to me these offerings of *ahutis* have a symbolic meaning. We have to offer up our weaknesses, our passions, our narrownesses into the purifying Fire, so that we may be cleansed. Then and then only our prayers would be heard.

“Let me also place before you another aspect of prayer. You have assembled here for the fulfilment of your desires, and the *yajna* is performed to that purpose. Now desires may be good and bad, and not every one of us knows which of his desires is good and pure and which not. It is *He* who presides over our thoughts and acts who knows this, and so I always pray that God may grant only such of my desires as may be good and pure, and reject all my prayers if they partake of impurity or grossness. I invite you to join me in that kind of prayer today.

“One last thing. The prayer for peace is accepted on all hands as a pure prayer, and in these times of severe strife and cruel bloodshed it is well that we offer our prayers for peace. There is a great Vedic prayer which I should like to recite in this connection; and I am sure you will all join me when I do so:

यदिह घोरं यदिह क्रूरं यदिह पापं तच्छान्तं तच्छिवं सर्वमेव शमस्तु नः ।

“(Whatever there is heinous, and cruel and sinful — may all that be stilled, may everything be good and peaceful for us.)

“It is my prayer on this sacred ground where we should pray for the purification of Hinduism that Hinduism may be purged of all in it that may smack of heinousness, cruelty and sinfulness. Above all let cruelty and strife and bloodshed cease, and let Peace and Harmony reign everywhere. That should be the prayer of us all. Let us offer our sacrifices to that purpose, and I know that God grants all

pure resolves — for Lord Krishna has said that ‘He who does good never comes to grief.’ I thank you.”

It is in that spirit that I associated myself with that *yajna*, and I am thankful to say that the organisers appreciated the spirit.

But as I look at the thing in the retrospect, I cannot excuse myself for having associated myself with that *yajna*, no matter in what spirit I did it. Whilst I indirectly criticised the motive and purpose of the *yajna*, I ought to have had the courage to dissociate myself from the *yajna* itself, even if it was for the most unexceptionable purpose on earth. For whatever may have been the conception of *yajna* in the past, I have no doubt that as it is performed today it is a wasteful anachronism. All the waste of precious cow's ghee and other materials, and the feeding of over two thousand people for over a month was a huge national waste and cannot conceivably be conducive to the welfare of the Hindus. Surely *yajna* of the Gita was not this. Selfless service of humanity was all it meant. Seth Jugal Kishore Birla has a heart of gold, but his charity and his lavish expenditure for the welfare of Hinduism and the Hindus need better direction. If he organised all the sadhus there for constructive work, if he assured them all a square meal and what little clothing they need for a few hours of daily constructive work, if he could persuade them to go out into the country to spread the gospel of liberal religion and to work for communal harmony, his money would be very well spent. But it is likely that he regards my views as grossly erroneous. Whatever, therefore, may be his duty, I am clear that it was my duty to speak out firmly and unequivocally that the organisers and the spectators were deceiving themselves under the cloak of religion. I failed in that duty.

Sevagram, 26-4-42

M. D.

#### ‘Harijan’ in Urdu

Dr. Gopichand Bhargav is bringing out *Harijan* weekly in Urdu from Lahore. Articles from *Harijan* have for long been published in *Hindustan* of Lucknow. Arrangements are being made to publish an authentic edition at the Navajivan Press. The latter will be possible only when I can get an Urdu scholar who can throw in his lot with me. The two have their own individuality. And if the Navajivan Press succeeds in the venture, there will be a third with its own individuality. With the impetus that is being given to Urdu learning through the proposed Hindustani Prachar Sabha such a venture has become a possibility.

Sevagram, 28-4-42

M. K. G.

#### Home and Village Doctor

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# HARIJAN

May 3

1942

## SCORCHED EARTH POLICY AGAIN

(By M. K. Gandhi)

Thus writes a correspondent:

"The controversy on the scorched earth policy has had reference to what the people have to do when their fields are touched by the 'enemy'. That may or may not happen. But what about the destruction that is going on of crops, wells, tanks, houses, boats, cycles, etc., in the name of preparation for war? The people are summarily driven out of their villages and houses in cities. If you will suffer this destruction, then how can you oppose destruction to prevent destruction?"

This is a very difficult question. The destruction that is going on is certain. The destruction that the enemy may work or which the receding portion of the population affected may have to do is problematical. And, in any case, such destruction will be nothing, even if it overtook us, compared to the crores already drained from the country for warding off a threatened danger. Money taken through taxation has not been felt so keenly as is the direct deprivation of thousands of homesteads as in Feni. No promise of compensation can be any comfort for the dispossession of the present tenements. To the poor people it is like taking away their bodies. The dispossession of the country boats is almost like that of the tenements. To deprive the people in East Bengal of their boats is like cutting off a vital limb. I wrote almost in defence of the procedure adopted by the authorities in Feni. I have polite but angry protests against my endorsement. The correspondents tell me that I know nothing of the conditions of life in East Bengal. I cannot plead guilty to the charge. Only I felt that people must be asked to resign themselves to the inevitable. Later information from Feni compels a revision of the attitude I had adopted. I had assumed considerate action by the authorities in the face of the impending danger. But I must defer final judgment. The authorities are reported to be carrying on an investigation. I hope it will be comprehensive.

Certain risks have to be taken even when danger overtakes us. Thus people cannot be asked or advised to starve or die of thirst for fear of the Japanese helping themselves to the people's provision or water. They may fight them to prevent their use, but they must risk their loss and not die before their death in order to prevent their use by the Japanese forces.

It is time I came to the last and the most vital part of the question. As an out and out war resister, is it my duty to ask the affected people to resist, non-violently of course, the deprivation of their holdings including boats? But my very non-violence has deterred me from offering opposition to the point of embarrassment. Whether

embarrassment through opposition in Feni would have been avoidable or not is a question of fact on which I cannot yet pronounce opinion. I would hesitate up to the last moment. I can only hope that the authorities will find a way whereby they can avoid distress such as has been caused in Feni. Sevagram, 27-4-42

## DRACONIAN ORDERS

The Central Press Advisory Committee has promptly and rightly passed a resolution viewing "with grave concern the action of the three Provincial Governments, namely those of Bombay, Bengal and the Punjab, against three daily papers, the *Bombay Sentinel*, the *Yugantar* and the *Pratap* respectively which has resulted in their suspension," and has described the action as "a violation of the spirit of the agreement" between the Government and the Press, and asked the President of the Standing Committee to summon an emergency meeting of the Committee.

It will be remembered that the action against the *Bombay Sentinel* arose out of the publication in the paper of a report of the firing by police on dock workers. The paper was ordered to suspend publication for a month. Mr. Horniman, to whom it was suggested that an expression of regret might influence the Government in reducing the period of suspension, rightly declined to express regret and thus vindicated the liberty of the press to publish, within its discretion, all news of public importance which was not directly or indirectly of assistance to the enemy. The action against the *Yugantar* arises out of a report published by it issued by no less a person than Dr. Prafulla Ghose, a responsible member of the Working Committee, who is known for his sobriety and restraint. The order directs the paper "to suspend further publication". The *Pratap* has had to suspend publication for no particular offence but because the Punjab authorities will not let it publish anything, "including headlines connected with the war, the internal situation, internal security or civil defence measures in India", without approval.

These Draconian orders were issued without previous reference to the provincial Press Advisory Committees and thus constitute a flagrant violation of the Press Agreement. But this violation has not happened for the first time. It has happened often enough in the past, and Government have taken no notice of the protests of the Standing Committee.

The situation will continue to be the same unless effective action is taken by the newspapers themselves.

The Press Regulations are of such a sweeping character that anything and everything can be brought under their operation. For to decide whether an item of news or comment is directly or indirectly of assistance to the enemy or calculated to undermine public confidence in the capacity or credit of Government depends on several factors including, among other things, the mentality of the Chief Press Advisers in various districts. And then there are panic-mongers among the press people also.



To give but one example. The *Hindustan Standard* commented very mildly, I should imagine, on the orders regarding the immobilisation of boats issued by the Government of Bengal. All it said was: "It will cause great hardship to the people. It is well known that in East Bengal country boats are the principal means of communication between one house and another in certain parts of these districts. The people's hardship will know no bounds if these boats are immobilised. We urge them to think out in time a modification of this order so that life in East Bengal may not entirely be paralysed for want of country boats." The *Statesman* in commenting upon this note went the length of attributing a base motive to the paper saying: "The motive is plain. It is to assist the enemy." It is worthy of note in this connection that the Orissa Government in a recent communique referred to an exactly similar public comment on an exactly similar immobilisation order and has even modified the order: "It has been represented to Government that the complete removal of all boats in certain parts of the deltaic areas will dislocate the life of the people residing in these localities and cause great hardship. It has therefore been decided that District Magistrates should allow the minimum number of boats, considered to be absolutely necessary for the life of the community, to remain in these areas." Thank God, there was no cry of "assisting the enemy".

Then there is the question of news of grave public importance. It is inconceivable how a paper can be silent over an incident involving the death of 2 persons and the wounding of 45 people in Bombay. We have before us reports of much more serious incidents which recently happened in the Feni Sub-Division of the Noakhali District in Bengal. The Additional Sub-Divisional Officer, Feni, himself says in a public notice about these happenings: "Our countymen have been upset over the death of two persons who were killed by the military's firing in the village Chanua. The highest military officer, the Brigadier and the S. D. O. are giving the assurance that an inquiry into this matter of firing by soldiers will be started at a very early date." Now this cryptic report is sure to alarm the public and to lead to all sorts of conjectures. Private reports about the same incident are indeed of a most alarming and revolting nature. Why should such news be banned? It is for Government promptly to issue notices correcting details of information, but to ban all reports of these happenings is an added outrage on the public.

The Standing Committee, when it meets — and it should meet without the slightest delay — should consider all these circumstances, and not rest content with registering protests and sending recommendations. It must take some strong action. Strong action was discussed in the past over certain happenings but was never taken. Cannot they refuse to publish all war news and decline to participate in all war propaganda unless redress is granted in cases like the ones I have noticed?

I have other remedies I can think of, but it is

not that the Standing Committee cannot think of proper action. They have to make up their minds to take it.

Sevagram, 26-4-42

M. D.

[Since writing the above, the news has come that the orders against the *Bombay Sentinel* and *Yugantar* have been cancelled. The order against the *Pratap* should also go. But what I have said has reference to the larger question of publication of news, and the Standing Committee should take up a strong stand on the liberty of the press to disseminate news in a sober and as far as possible accurate manner.

Sevagram, 28-4-42

M. D.]

## TWO AUSTRALIAN VISITORS

Sir Bertram Stevens is a member of the Eastern Group Conference and was some time ago Prime Minister of the Province of New South Wales in Australia. During Gandhiji's stay in Delhi Sir Bertram took the opportunity of having a few minutes with Gandhiji. Sir Bertram agreed to have a brief chat as Gandhiji was having his morning stroll. He had no particular business but wanted to make Gandhiji's acquaintance. "I have heard a lot about you from Mr. Birla. You have been to England, to Europe, and you stayed long in South Africa. But you have never been to Australia?" said Sir Bertram.

"No, thanks to you," said Gandhiji smiling.

In a perfectly sporting spirit Sir Bertram said: "You have made a very good reply, Mr. Gandhi."

"Haven't I?" said Gandhiji. "You have vast living spaces, you can absorb millions and millions of human beings. But I know what you are doing. I have followed the history of your country for over 35 years. White Australia is your policy, and as a result you are without the wonderful accession of strength that would have been yours if you had followed a policy of brothering all."

"I agree," said Sir Bertram. "But our country is only 150 years old. Prejudices die hard, but they are dying."

"You might very well have absorbed our people. Wherever they have gone they have been able to show that they are businesslike, able, and quite competent to take care of themselves. Your country with its infinite resources would have been a different country with these Indian settlers."

"Yes, Australia is half as big again as India. But it is not quite so fertile as India. But I agree with what you say. There is nothing like developing vital contacts between the peoples of different countries. During my sojourn in India I have met many people. I have found them quite capable and industrious, and the more our business people could know and come together with your business people the better for both Australia and India. And, Sir, we must not forget that the old world is already passing, old ideas are fast changing, and we are getting ready for the coming of a new world."

"I am sure," said Gandhiji.

The other visitor from Australia was a war correspondent. What can a war correspondent have to do with one who is proclaiming his faith



against all wars? But Gandhiji received him kindly. There was little talk between the two. Gandhiji simply unburdened himself for a little while as the young man walked with him during his evening stroll: "What I cannot understand is man hating brother man and thirsting for his blood. I can see no justification for the war that is going on and fast enveloping the earth. It is based on hate and vengeance and will leave a crop of hate and vengeance behind. The waste of human life and material that might be useful otherwise for the world is appalling and sickening. Why should your country and mine have to be involved in this war? You are a fine resourceful people. Rather than build up your country and make it useful to the rest of the world, why should you be asked to sacrifice your manhood? And what is more painful is that it is all to no purpose. I do not know why all this fighting is going on, for whose benefit, with what great end in view."

"I doubt if anyone knows," whispered the young man.

"There is this thing," added Gandhiji, "perhaps God wills peace to come as a lesson of this carnage."

For a few seconds they walked silently. Then the young man ventured to ask: "Could you possibly say something about what is going on at present?"

"For that," said Gandhiji, "you must go to the men in office. I can say nothing."

"But, Sir, you are with them."

"And, yet, it will surprise you when I tell you that those things do not interest me. I relinquished my membership of the Congress eight years ago. I go to the Congress, attend meetings of the Working Committee, even advise in a detached way when my advice is sought. You will be surprised to hear that I have never listened in to a radio, nor have I ever been to a cinema."

The young correspondent was really amazed. "Do you think," he asked, "these things are bad?"

"I will not say so. I may say that cinema films are often bad. About the radio I do not know. I can certainly say this that I do not care to have news from all quarters of the globe within the space of half an hour. It leaves one little time to think. And why must one have news from all quarters of the globe every half an hour or so? I should be content to react to my nearest surroundings and happenings therein."

But the youth whispered some question about the Working Committee. "I do not mind telling you," replied Gandhiji, "that there are differences between me and the Working Committee. The whole nation is not with me on the non-violence question. If the nation as a whole was absolutely peaceful, I am sure we should not be in the war, I am sure we should not have this foreign domination here. The alien rulers would not be dictating to us. We should have people here from foreign lands on terms of friendship, and we should gladly make use of their talents at our

will. But I am not worrying over the nation not being with me. When I have failed to convert my nearest associates, the members of the Working Committee, I have no business to be impatient with my people. It must be my fault. It means that there is not sufficient non-violence in me to enable me to carry everyone with me. But my faith in non-violence is undimmed and unshaken. In fact it is growing every day."

"Yours is a wonderful nation," said the Australian friend and departed.

Delhi, 5-4-42

M. D.

#### Yarn Currency in Action

The annual 'Khadi Yatra' was arranged this year at Nalwadi on 11th April. The central function was an inspiring address by Vinoba. There was too a *tunai* competition in which about forty persons took part. The special pandal was packed to overflowing. The novel feature was the opening of the Swaraj Bhandar where yarn currency will be used. Gandhiji was invited to open it. As against yarn of specified measure a customer will get from the bhandar either cash up to a point or provisions and other necessities stored in the bhandar, or chits for one pice, one anna, one rupee or five rupees. The latter will enable the holder, on presentation at the bhandar, to get what goods he or she may need. All the chits that were kept ready were taken up by the eager visitors. Many had to be disappointed as no more chits were available. In declaring the bhandar open Gandhiji said that up till now they had been using Government coinage for all business transactions. He had conceived the idea of using yarn as a measure of value. This should result in preventing the tremendous waste of yarn that goes on among the thousands of spinners who spin for the A. I. S. A. Most of his ideas, Gandhiji said, were given practical shape and scientifically carried out at Nalwadi under the inspiration and direction of Vinoba. The latter had decided that the scheme should be put into practice from that day. The bhandar was the result of his labours. The success of the scheme, however, would depend upon the cooperation of the people. At the bhandars conducted under the scheme there would be reliable articles sold at fixed rates. Even a child would be able to buy without fear of being deceived. The output and quality of yarn in the neighbourhood should show a marked increase. The bhandar was designedly called Swaraj Bhandar. The originators believed that Swaraj could not be had through negotiations with the British. It could only be had by hard labour and hard thinking. Hence the constructive programme.

Gandhiji concluded by saying that India should be a land of plenty though there might, for various reasons, be shortage of grain. But if all of them laboured, even grain could be grown for the people's requirements. If each one were to spin, there would be no dearth of cloth or even of money.

Sevagram, 12-4-42

A. K.



**EXCHANGE and HUMAN VALUES***( By J. C. Kumarappa )*

Money exchange is indispensable mainly for the extension of markets. Money in itself satisfies no want except that of a miser who delights in counting his coins. It is a temporary storage of purchasing power and a convenient standard of value. When a person wants to sell his cow and get a wireless set it may not be possible for him to find one and the same person who wants to buy a cow and sell his wireless set in exchange. Therefore money intervenes and enables the seller to dispose of his cow first to anyone who wants a cow, and store the purchasing power represented by the value of the cow in the form of money till he meets one who has wireless sets to sell, and then he exchanges that purchasing power for the radio set. This medium becomes all the more essential when great distances separate the market for the cow from the market for the radio sets. Under modern imperialism where one country is kept down to produce raw materials for another distant country which produces manufactured articles, money economy has become the life breath of commerce. Although international settlements may be in goods, customers cannot buy an American motor car against the delivery of stacks of straw.

Extension of markets in their turn call for the army, navy and the air force to control them in the interests of particular nations. Money and credit have their place in commerce and trade. Though theirs is an important role, yet they have to be reined in and bridled if their functioning is to bring the people nothing but good in their wake. A properly balanced exchange economy calculated to curb these tendencies must provide for an element of barter. Inflation of currency during war time by the use of postage stamps, matches and playing cards as money must not be mistaken for barter which alone can help to retard the evil effects of money.

Where the standard of living of a people is near the subsistence level their purchasing power is spent mostly on food and other necessities. At such a stage, if money is largely used, then it would divert that purchasing power to some extent into luxuries, which often come from distant countries, and thus lower the true wealth computed in terms of human values. When money is taken by Government from a petty farmer, to whom it may mean so many days' food, and is paid to a high-salaried official, to whom the same amount may mean the price of a cigar, money exchange is the means of obliterating human values in wealth, and causing an avoidable loss in national wealth. This is especially noticeable in governmental transactions, which under such circumstances become the means of impoverishing the people. A barter system would have helped to make it impossible for Government to perpetrate the injustice of using India's reserves to the tune of crores in the London money market while our industries were starving for funds.

On the other hand, the use of barter in collecting taxes from the poor and disbursing it in kind lessens

the chances of national waste and to a large extent acts as a check on governmental waste. Such a system of tax collection and disbursement, of course, involves a great deal of administrative and organisational difficulties but none that is insurmountable. To avoid inconveniences modern centralised Governments have thrown overboard admirable financial systems like the ones advocated by the Islamic and Jewish Codes of payment of taxes in kind by way of tithes, i. e. one-tenth of whatever is produced.

Though these systems are rare today, we see them still functioning with great efficiency in some Islamic States as in the Pathan States of Swat, Dir and Chitral on the Frontier. The State employs contractors to collect the State share of the actual produce—not estimated values in terms of money prices as in British India. The State share is generally one-tenth of all produce. In the case of sheep etc. the due is one animal for every completed 40 in the flock, with the option of payment of an equivalent in ghee or other animal produce. For cattle the owner has to give one seer of ghee per annum for keeping the herd, and grazing fees are paid by contract to the landlords.

There are Government contractors who act as bankers for these payments in kind. They receive the share of produce due to the State, store them and disburse them as directed by the State. They carry on external trade in the surplus of the produce and pay into the treasury the cash realised. They also control a great proportion of the internal trade. This readily places at the disposal of the Government an effective instrument to control prices at definite and convenient points of focus. Government employees—military and civil—below the rank of gazetted officers are paid once every six months partly in kind and partly in cash, while the higher officers draw their pay in cash from the treasury.

This system will enable us to get over many a handicap from which the farmer in British India suffers. Under the present system of collecting taxes in money the farmer is forced to sell his crops, sometimes even before harvesting, to find the wherewithal to satisfy the Revenue Department. Apart from the evils already dealt with in the earlier paragraphs, the effect on the market of such forced premature sales is to depress prices and burden the farmers with further losses.

If the periodical payments in kind to Government servants were so scheduled as to synchronise with the harvesting of wheat, rice, jowar, bajri, maize, cotton, etc., the difficulties of storage would be minimised, and such payments, though they may affect the import of manufactured goods adversely which will be unpalatable to foreign interests, would ensure an adequate distribution of food grains within the country and save the middlemen's charges to some extent.

An efficient exchange should facilitate proper distribution among the people. The modern problem is not one of production but of distribution. People are in dire need. The producers can produce large supplies, but the people are not able to make



their wants effective for lack of purchasing power. A boy stands before a sweetmeat shop with his mouth watering for the goods displayed in the window, but his pocket is empty. His demand for the sweets is ineffective. Under the money economy he should have a mint at his disposal to enable him to obtain what he wants, or he will have to beg, borrow or steal purchasing power.

The way to non-violent control of the market, to a distribution of wealth with the minimum of friction, and to a mint under the control of the people is pointed out by Gandhiji in his proposal that a warp length of a single thread of yarn be taken as the lowest measure of value by khadi lovers. If this mint comes into vogue, the boy standing in front of the sweetmeat shop need only go home, take up his takli and spin the required length of yarn to get his coveted sweetmeat. The people will have a mint at their disposal. This mint will neither debase the coin nor will it inflate the currency. It will neither need the army, navy and the air force for its control, nor will call in the police for its protection.

In our country which abounds in labour wealth and suffers from a lack of opportunities for profitable employment but has an unlimited internal market for necessities, this device is calculated to give a hallmark to things that are running waste today and bring them into the market as coveted commodities.

Metallic money is humanly speaking imperishable while most consumption goods lose their value by keeping. This disparity places the holder of money at an advantage in bargaining. He can afford to bide his time, while the vendor of fruits, for instance, has to sell out before his goods perish naturally. To some measure this is alleviated in an exchange system which combines money and barter. Thus a well-regulated system of exchange of goods must provide for a certain amount of barter in the exchange of consumption goods, as well as for the payment of taxes in kind, if we are anxious to preserve distributive justice and human value in exchange.

### TRAVANCORE

(By M. K. Gandhi)

In spite of the high percentage of education among men and women in Travancore, there is no such thing as real liberty in that unhappy land. Shri Thanu Pillai, the President of the State Congress, and Shri Ramachandran, a member of the Executive of the Travancore State Congress, have been sentenced to six months rigorous imprisonment for defying the ban on meetings of the Congress. If bans are imposed on public meetings because they are held under the auspices of certain organisations which ask for responsible government, they have to be defied. The leaders of such movements cannot stultify themselves by entirely gagging themselves. It is too great a price to pay for nominal liberty. Shri T. Pillai and Shri Ramachandran will serve the cause better through their imprisonment than they will by submitting to gagging orders. Here is Shri Ramachandran's statement before the Magistrate:

"There was first of all a communique issued by the Chief Secretary to the Government of Travancore, in which he had said that the celebration of the All India States' Peoples' Day would not be permitted. This was followed by an order of the District Magistrate, Trivandrum, served on some of us prohibiting the celebration of the States' Peoples' Day. My offence relates to this order of the District Magistrate. In that order it was made out that, if such a meeting was held and speeches made, there was the likelihood of a breach of the peace in Trivandrum. It further stated that, if the meeting was held and speeches made, there would come about an estrangement between the people and the Government. Immediately on receipt of this prohibitory order Shri Pattom Thanu Pillai and myself wrote a letter to the District Magistrate, in which we made it clear that this meeting was to be held not for the purpose of initiating an agitation but that it was just in response to an all-India observance. The meeting was to be held not in a public place but inside the Congress House premises. We made it clear also that the apprehension of a breach of the peace was absolutely unfounded. We had said that, if in spite of this clarification the meeting was prohibited, we would be violating the order. This explanatory letter did not elicit any reply from the District Magistrate. So the meeting was held. After Shri Thanu Pillai's arrest I took charge of the meeting and spoke for an hour. I must observe here that I had never seen a quieter meeting in my life. The position we took, therefore, viz. that there would be absolutely no breach of the peace, was confirmed by the meeting itself. The second point in the District Magistrate's order was that the meeting would bring about estrangement between the Government and the people. In my view this certainly was not one of the results of the meeting. It was, therefore, proved beyond any shadow of doubt that the District Magistrate's apprehensions were absolutely unfounded. Therefore, though I am technically guilty — because I certainly did violate the District Magistrate's order — the District Magistrate and not I was in the wrong. I am entitled, therefore, to an honourable acquittal. This technical guilt I had to take upon myself for the simple reason that I was not going to be persuaded not to do a thing which I considered wholly right and which my self-respect dictated that I should do."

Sevagram, 28-4-42

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# HARIJAN

Editor : MAHADEV DESAI

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[ FIVE PICE

## Notes

### States and Their People

I have suggested in these columns that the people of the States should remain calm and so far as possible not precipitate a clash, as events are shaping themselves in spite of us. But there is a limit to every such proposal. In Travancore, Mysore and Jodhpur things seem to have gone beyond endurance.

I have already referred to Travancore where two of its best workers have been cast into prison for the simple reason that they are too public-spirited to submit to autocracy.

The same thing is happening in Mysore though in a slightly different manner. The cause is identical. The Mysore State Congress must not be tolerated. I know how the members have tried to placate authority. They have refrained from raising large issues save that they must keep the goal of liberty before the Mysoreans.

And now comes serious news from Jodhpur. There, as in the other States, the local Parishad people have tried to work in cooperation with authority. They have raised no awkward questions. But the Rajputana States, like many others, have many jagirdars who are co-sharers with the Princes and derive authority from them. They may be termed States within States. These have no law governing them. The British Power has no direct control over them. The Princes are ever afraid of them. They dare not interfere with the exercise of the jagirdars' authority over the people within their jurisdiction. The result is that the people within these jagirdaris are the worst off in the Indian hierarchy. There was a clash, as far as my information goes, between the people and one of the jagirdars. This incident promises to lead to a major issue. Associations favoured by authority as in British India are, it is said, being set up against the popular Parishad. If a deliberate attempt is being made to suppress the local associations, the latter must accept the challenge and risk the worst in the full faith that liberty and truth cannot be suppressed for ever. But I would fain hope that the Princes and their advisers will, for their own sakes and for the good of India, curb the tendency in many States which cannot be described by any other adjective than lawless.

### Opium Addicts

A correspondent writes as follows:

"I do not know whether you are aware that in Rajputana (Marwar) the inhabitants are terrible opium addicts. A wedding or death or any ceremonial occasion necessitates the offering of opium to the visitors. It

may even mean the pawning of goods or mortgaging of property, but the opium has to be offered. It is quite an ordinary matter for a person to take 1½ or 2 tolas of opium per day and sometimes even more. I know of some who can swallow as much as five. When my father died I went home. A Brahman friend came to condole. The first thing was to offer him opium which is generally kept in a special box. There were three tolas in it. The Brahman said he would help himself. To my astonishment he emptied the entire contents on the palm of his hand and swallowed them. Having done so he said he was not satisfied. When I asked him how much was sufficient he replied 'four tolas'! And of course, if opium-eaters do not get their dope at the proper time, they are no better than useless lumps of flesh. This drug habit is eating as a canker into our society."

Deenbandhu Andrews and Pearson laboured on behalf of these addicts. We have not cared for them half as much as we have for the drink addicts. The effects of opium are not so patent as of drink so far as society is concerned. But both the vices have nothing between them to choose. Slaves of opium have their reason atrophied. They become living automata, having no interest in anything but their opium. How to deal with them is a tremendous question. Not until we have an unlimited band of workers, well-trained and seasoned, will it be possible to produce an effect on these helpless members of society. The medical profession can render valuable assistance by carrying on researches and discovering remedies for dealing with this social disease.

Sevagram, 4-5-42

M. K. G.

### Interesting Figures

The following figures re: the work of the Spinners' Association in the famine-stricken areas of Hissar are illuminating. They should banish all foolish doubt regarding the efficacy of spinning and weaving centres for relieving distress as also prove the selfless nature of the work done by the Association.

1. The number of centres in January, February and March were 8, 12, and 13 respectively.
2. The number of spinners in January, February and March were 2,042, 4,588 and 5,914, and the wages paid to them were Rs. 3,213, Rs. 6,913 and Rs. 12,919 respectively.
3. The number of carders were 148, 223 and 274. Their wages were Rs. 855, Rs. 1,657, and Rs. 2,593.
4. The number of weavers were 308, 360, and 563, and the wages earned by them Rs. 354, Rs. 723 and Rs. 889.

Total number of artisans 6,771.

Total amount of wages paid Rs. 29,628.

Total amount of yarn purchased Rs. 38,042 worth.



Because there are very few weavers in Hissar District the amount of khadi actually produced there is only Rs. 6,797 worth. The yarn will of course be woven elsewhere.

It is interesting to note that Rs. 1,818 only were spent on salaries of workers.

Sevagram, 3-5-42

A. K.

## TRAINING IN COTTAGE INDUSTRIES

Powerful forces are driving us to realise the importance of resuscitating the village and its economic life. In the first place, our country is a land of villages; so if we would work for the country, we must work for the villages. In the second place, young men educated in schools and colleges are more and more left unemployed. Literacy education has left them helpless in the face of the economic struggle for existence. Even in their own interests such men have to turn to village and cottage industries to earn their living. In the third place, the present uncertain conditions prevailing in towns and cities prevent young men from going back to colleges, which may not even reopen. In the fourth place, with war at our door, and with the consequent difficulty of transport, it has become essential for people wherever they are to produce all that they require for themselves. With the scanty capital available to us, the only possibility is for each family to take to some home industry or other and thus become self-dependent. And when our people have become self-dependent we shall have won real national independence.

With the object of preparing young men and women for village work and of teaching them a village industry, the All India Village Industries Association has been conducting courses in its Gram Sevak Vidyalaya at Wardha.

1. The next session for the Gram Udyog Vinit (Elementary General Course) of the Gram Sevak Vidyalaya, A. I. V. I. A. Wardha, is from the 1st July 1942 to the 30th April 1943.

2. Applicants for admission should not be under 22 years of age, should be healthy and fit for hard manual work, and should in education have reached at least the matriculation standard.

3. Students will have the option of taking one of the following two groups: 1. Oil-pressing, 2. Paper-making. Instructions in Bee-keeping and Soap-making will be given to both groups of students.

4. Expenses including fees, board, lodging and incidentals will amount to about Rs. 20 a month.

5. Students will reside in the Vidyalaya Hostel and take their meals there. The food served will be vegetarian.

6. No one should come before receiving a letter of admission from the Superintendent of the Vidyalaya.

Detailed prospectus and application forms may be had from the Superintendent, Gram Sevak Vidyalaya, Maganwadi, Wardha, C. P., to whom all applications in the prescribed form must reach before the 31st May, 1942.

## A RURAL ANTHOLOGY

I have been turning over the pages of *The Open Air*, an anthology of English country life by Adrian Bell (Faber and Faber), and I was delighted but not surprised to find that rural culture in Britain is or rather was very much the same as in India, for all mankind is one in essence.

Handicrafts played as important a part in the English countryside as in an Indian village. As Mr. Bell says in his introduction, "before the tension of competitive money-making, of the need to support a certain social standard of amenity, paralysed the individual life; before water and heat became commodities, and the machine departmentalised and insulated vocations one from another; before the grooves of specialisation became so deep that the mind was blinkered and ran in one track, the knowledge of a craft gave a man intuitively a power of judgment over all other branches of life. Because the basic arts of life were homogeneous. Broadcasting, swift communications, give an illusory appearance of unification; they mask the real dispersion of mind that is taking place, the insulation of man from man. The different social temperatures in a modern railway carriage and in a stagecoach might be compared. Even the old horse-bus driver was a conversational person, to sit beside whom was something of a privilege; the driver of the motor vehicle is necessarily insulated." (The italics are mine.)

Here is an idyllic picture of a Scottish family in the middle of the eighteenth century from the pen of William and Robert Chambers taken from their *Memoir*:

"The farm of Tedderfield, situated on the hillface above Neidpath Castle, . . . . . the property of the Earl of March, was occupied at a rent of eighteen pounds, by an honest man named David Grieve . . . . This family (of fourteen children) afforded an example of the virtuous frugal life of the rural people of Scotland previous to that extension of industry which brought wealth and many comforts into our country. The breakfast was oatmeal porridge . . . . . Strange as it may seem, a people of many fine qualities were reared in this plain style, and people of bone and muscle, mentally as well as physically. There was not a particle of luxury in that Sabine life; hardly a single article of the kinds sold in shops was used. *The food was all obtained from the farms, and the clothing was wholly of homespun.* I cannot be under any mistake about it, for I have often heard the household and its ways described by my maternal grandmother, who was David Grieve's eldest daughter. Even the education of the children was conducted at home, *the mother giving them lessons while seated at her spinning-wheel.*

Janet, the eldest girl, was wedded at eighteen by a middle-aged farmer who rented a farm called. . . . . The marriage took place in 1768. On the day preceding the event, Janet's 'providing' . . . . was despatched in a cart from Tedderfield to what was to be her new home; *the load of various articles being conspicuously surmounted by a spinning-wheel decorated with ribbons of different colours . . . . .* Although the (Newby) homestead consisted of only a cottage,



containing a kitchen and parlour, with the appendages of a barn etc., it gave shelter every night to groups of vagrant people.

My grandmother and her maids were generally up at an early hour in the morning to attend to the ewes, and their time for going to rest must have consequently been an early one. There was always however a period called 'between gloaming and supper-time', during which *another industry was practised*. Then it was that the *wheels were brought out for the spinning of the yarn* which was to constitute the clothing of the family. And I often think that it must have been a pleasing sight in that humble hall — the handsome young mistress amidst her troop of maidens, all busy with foot and finger, while the shepherds and their master would be telling stories or cracking jokes for the general entertainment, or some one with a good voice would be singing the songs of Ramsay and Hamilton." (The italics are mine.)

It is a curious but happy coincidence that the spinning-wheel, the only article that Gandhiji 'provides' for the girls whom he gives away in marriage, should also have been provided for Janet Grieve, and the handsome young mistress amidst her troop of maidens, all busy with foot and finger in the humble hall, remind us of fair Nausicaa's description of her mother Arete in the Odyssey:

"My mother, she beside a column sits  
In the hearth's blaze, twirling her fleecy threads  
Tinged with sea-purple, bright, magnificent!  
With all her maidens orderly behind."

(To be continued) V. G. D.

## MEDIUM OF INSTRUCTION

(By Shriman Narayan Agrawal)

Now that the problem of the medium of instruction has evoked fresh interest in the country, it will be useful to know the present position in the various Indian Universities. I wrote to the Registrars of the different Universities in this connection, and a gist of their replies is given below:

In the Universities of Calcutta, Bombay, Madras, Delhi, Punjab, Agra, Patna, Dacca, Mysore and Andhra, the medium of instruction after the Matriculation stage is English. No immediate change is contemplated.

In the Muslim University, Aligarh, the medium of instruction in High School classes is Urdu, and the question of introducing Urdu as the medium of instruction in the Intermediate classes is under consideration.

The Registrar of the Allahabad University writes that "the University is fully alive to the necessity of making Hindi or Urdu the medium of instruction, and it will surely take steps as occasion arises."

In the Benares Hindu University "the examinees up to the Intermediate examination are permitted to answer their optional papers in Hindi. Further there is no restriction imposed on teachers and professors to teach their classes in English only. In case they so desire, they can teach in Hindi."

The Academic Council of the Lucknow University has recommended that the medium of instruction and examination should be Hindustani. Final decision has yet to be taken by the Executive Council. The

following is the detailed recommendation regarding the language and the script:

"(a) The language used for instruction and examination should be Hindustani, which signifies the language in our everyday use, supplemented when necessary by words drawn from Sanskrit, Persian, English and other languages. In special cases the Executive Council may exempt individual teachers and paper-setters from the application of this rule.

(b) The script used for all scientific work written or printed, including question papers and answers, should be Roman, supplemented by new letters or signs whenever necessary.

(c) The language of books should be left to the discretion of the authors."

It is a pity that the Lucknow University is thinking of introducing the Roman script. It is hoped that wiser counsels will prevail and in place of the Roman script both 'Devnagri' and 'Persian' scripts will be introduced.

The Nagpur University Court has accepted the principle of my resolution regarding the gradual introduction of the mother-tongue medium. The details have yet to be worked out by the Academic and Executive Councils.

The Registrar of the Travancore University writes thus:

"This University fully appreciates the need for reform in this direction, but practical difficulties, such as the lack of suitable text-books of the right standard in the various subjects, the problem of the migration of students to and from this University etc. have stood in the way of any scheme of an extensive reform being adopted. This University has, however, organised a Department of Publications, which is engaged in the preparation of glossaries of scientific and technical terms in Malayalam, which will remove the chief obstacle in the way of the production of scientific books. It is hoped that the activities of the Department will pave the way for the production of suitable text-books and thus ultimately make University teaching possible in Malayalam. It has also to be borne in mind in this connection that, unless a well-planned and uniform policy is adopted in this matter by all the Indian Universities, reform is difficult if not impracticable. This University will always be prepared to consider and to fall in line with any well-considered scheme in this respect which may be sponsored by a competent body."

The Registrar is right in pointing out the desirability of concerted action. I expect that the Inter-University Board will tackle the problem in all seriousness at an early date.

In the Annamalai University "instruction through the medium of an Indian language has not yet been attempted. But, as decided by the authorities, arrangements are being made to get ready suitable text-books in Tamil of the Intermediate standard on the various optional subjects of study for the Intermediate course. So far text-books in Logic, Economics, Physics, Chemistry have been published and text-books in other subjects — Mathematics, Botany, Zoology, History will be published shortly. As soon as text-books are got ready, the question of teaching them in the language will be considered."



# HARIJAN

May 10

1942

## ONE THING NEEDFUL

( By M. K. Gandhi )

"To those of us who love India and Indians and have tried to serve her people faithfully, the fact that in our hour of distress the hatred against us is growing is a matter of infinite sorrow. I admit we have not played and are still not playing fair by India; but can two wrongs make a right? When even the 'enemy' is in dire distress should he not be given some quarter? In asking us to withdraw are you not inviting your own people to bend the knee to Japan, knowing full well that you have not the non-violent strength as a country to resist any foreign aggression or domination? If you had had it, we could never have kept our hold on you. Will you not forgive past sins and rely on the goodwill of the new generation of Englishmen and women who can no longer think in terms of empire? Barring you, among the Congress leaders, is there anyone who believes whole-heartedly in non-violence? Yours is the only logical position, and you alone are a real friend of Britain."

This is an epitome of a pathetic English letter. I can but repeat what I felt and said in my letter to Lord Linlithgow recording my impressions of the first interview with him after the declaration of war. I have nothing to withdraw, nothing to repent of. I remain the same friend today of the British that I was then. I have not a trace of hatred in me towards them. But I have never been blind to their limitations as I have not been to their great virtues.

I do not deny the existence of hatred among the people at large, nor its increase with the march of events. But I claim that my national prescription has kept it under subjection and even sterilised it to an extent.

I am convinced, therefore, that the time has come during the war, not after it, for the British and the Indians to be reconciled to complete separation from each other. That way and that way alone lies the safety of both and, shall I say, the world. I see with the naked eye that the estrangement is growing. Every act of the British Government is being interpreted, and I think rightly, as being in its own interest and for its own safety. There is no such thing as joint common interest. To take the extreme case, a British victory over the Japanese will not mean a victory for India. But that is not a near event. Meanwhile the introduction of foreign soldiers, the admitted inequalities of treatment of Indian and European evacuees, and the manifestly overbearing behaviour of the troops are adding to the distrust of British intentions and declarations. I feel that they cannot all of a sudden change their traditional nature. Racial superiority is treated not as a vice but a virtue. This is true not only in India; it is equally true in Africa it

is true in Burma and Ceylon. These countries could not be held otherwise than by assertion of race superiority.

This is a drastic disease requiring a drastic remedy. I have pointed the remedy—complete and immediate orderly withdrawal of the British from India at least, in reality and properly from all non-European possessions. It will be the bravest and the cleanest act of the British people. It will at once put the Allied cause on a completely moral basis and may even lead to a most honourable peace between the warring nations. And the clean end of Imperialism is likely to be the end of Fascism and Nazism. The suggested action will certainly blunt the edge of Fascism and Nazism which are an offshoot of Imperialism.

British distress cannot be relieved by nationalist India's aid in the manner suggested by the writer. It is ill-equipped for the purpose, even if it can be made enthusiastic about it. And what is there to enthuse nationalistic India? Just as a person cannot feel the glow of the sun's heat in its absence, even so India cannot feel the glow of freedom without the actual experience of it. Many of us simply cannot contemplate an utterly free India with calmness and equanimity. The first experience is likely to be a shock before the glow comes. That shock is a necessity. India is a mighty nation. No one can tell how she will act and with what effect when the shock is delivered.

I feel, therefore, that I must devote the whole of my energy to the realisation of the supreme act. The writer of the letter admits the wrong done to India by the British. I suggest to the writer that the first condition of British success is the present undoing of the wrong. It should precede, not follow, victory. The presence of the British in India is an invitation to Japan to invade India. Their withdrawal removes the bait. Assume, however, that it does not; free India will be better able to cope with the invasion. Unadulterated non-cooperation will then have full sway.

Sevagram, 4-5-42

## NEGATION OF DEMOCRACY

An American reader of *Harijan* writes:

"For many years my husband and I have been enthusiastic readers of *Harijan*. We have looked upon it as an indispensable aid to the understanding of essential Indian thought and leadership. And because it has meant so much to us personally, we have tried to encourage others to read it—especially those who come from the West.

On the front page of the recent issue of *Harijan* for March 22nd there appears another article continuing the theme of British and American Nazism. I believe firmly that in justice to truth and the ideal of human brotherhood all examples of race discrimination or disrespect for personality in any form should be ferreted out and corrected. As one looks over the face of the globe today one is sobered by the fact that no race, country or group is free from this disgraceful behaviour. This fact alone should be enough to foster deep, penitent humility on the part of all, and at the same time encourage cooperative endeavour among men and



women of all groups and nationalities who are sensitive to the needs of this problem. Thus you render America a service when you call her attention to such forms of discrimination and challenge her in her supposed stand for democracy. It is extremely helpful for an individual, class, country or civilization to see itself as others see it. And no brief can be held for America's share in class distinction, whether it be toward the Negro, her own semi-literate poor, or people of other nationalities.

But I should also like to comment on a few statements or quotations from your articles which appear misleading. Going back to an earlier issue (Feb. 15, '42) I was surprised to find the statement that Dr. Carver, the great American scientist, 'remains in America the shunned Negro that he was nearly eighty years ago.' Judging from personal experience this is a misleading statement. *The Readers' Digest* has carried a number of excellent articles on the life and spirit of Dr. Carver, as well as accounts of his unique discoveries. During my stay in U. S. A., in '38-'39, I noted innumerable occasions on which he was quoted, admired, in New York and other parts of the East which singled him out as the important speaker on many special occasions. It is also interesting to recall that at federated meetings, Columbia University lectures, the Riverside pulpit and elsewhere he was the scientist most frequently referred to either because of his scientific achievements, or because of his spiritual leadership, or both. Neither Einstein nor the Compton brothers who were so frequently before the public in the early thirties received such ovations.

In another article you bring to the attention of the reader the painfully neglected truth that 'there is no doubt that there cannot be a peace to which Indians or the Negroes can give assent unless it has for its foundation democracy broad-based on the freedom and equal citizenship rights of all — white, black, yellow, etc.' But without in the least detracting from this matter of major concern may a few brief comments be made in regard to points (1) and (5).

To one who has attended a variety of schools and universities in the U. S. A., it is difficult to see how the statement that 'Negro students are not admitted to common educational institutions nor are separate equal facilities provided for them' is not misleading. At Ohio State, Union Seminary, Columbia University, and Northfield Seminary, to name just a few, Negro students have been admitted, and have achieved high positions of leadership.

The quotation under point (5) that 'Niggers must be made to know their place, with violence and terror if necessary,' America certainly needs to face and rectify. The question which interests me here is how we can reveal national or individual shortcomings in such a way as to arouse the least amount of self-defence and the most determined action for change. Knowing the human weakness of jumping to the defensive, which besets us all to a greater or less degree, I am afraid many Americans would miss the challenge behind point (5) and say here India—and perhaps the West have themselves to thank for this—is giving general significance to an attitude which large

areas of American opinion itself condemns, and overlooking the growing endeavours that are being put forth to give the Negro his rightful inheritance.

My husband joins me in sending you our sincere greetings. India is much on our hearts, especially during these fateful days that lie just ahead."

I gladly publish the American friend's letter in full. As regards the two inaccuracies she has pointed out, I am thankful for the facts, but let me make one or two things clear. It is not that conditions have not improved or are not improving, but it is still true that even a person of the spiritual status of Dr. Carver does not enjoy the same citizen rights as a White American. That he is respected by some of the enlightened Americans is not to be disputed. To take an example of the unfortunate condition in India, Dr. Ambedkar is respected by most of the educated people in India, but even he suffers from the same disabilities as other Harijans, so far as temples, residential quarters etc. are concerned. The colour bar should be an offence in democratic America, even as untouchability should be an offence in a free and democratic India.

As regards students, segregation is not so bad in Northern States, but my remark is absolutely true in respect of most of the Southern States. "After 1938 U. S. Supreme Court Decision ordering the State of Missouri to admit Lloyd L. Gaines to the University of Missouri Law School or provide equal facilities within the State, a separate Law School for Negroes authorised by the Taylor Bill has been organised at St. Louis as an extension of the State-supported Lincoln University." (*Enc. Brit. Book of the Year 1940*) Even the Supreme Court decision could not secure to the Negroes entry into the common law-school.

Regarding the last remark, let me say that I had only summarised in two or three sentences a series of very unpleasant incidents. If the general attitude were sound and these incidents only exceptional, I should have nothing to say. *The New Republic* devotes a long article to the question, and points out that resentment had reached a white heat among Negro circles because of incidents of this character. I had deliberately refrained from mentioning another factor which is equally galling. As a rule Negroes are debarred from jobs in the defence industries. "Of 1400 boys," wrote *Time* (Nov. 41), "recently trained by the City's schools for defence work only 70 got jobs." And *The New York Times* wrote: "If the nation is engaged on the side of democracy, it must leave the doors of opportunity open to all, regardless of race." Again: "Discrimination against opportunities for the Negro to learn and practise skilled trades is not confined to the South, nor is it practised only by the employers . . . . This is a situation in which men and women are being held back not by lack of ability and trustworthiness but because of race . . . The issue is more than factional. It involves simple justice and loyalty to the democratic ideal."

It is this loyalty to the democratic ideal that is woefully lacking both in U. S. A. and the British



Empire. Apart from the numerous instances that even the conduct of the war has disclosed, the Empire itself is a negation of democracy. These instances reduce the much-vaunted 'Atlantic Charter' to a mockery.

Sevagram, 5-5-42

M. D.

### FOR "COMMON FOLK"

Two letters from readers of *Harijan* belonging to different parts of India, and describing themselves as common folk are worthy of notice for the benefit of those who come under that category — indeed, the vast mass of people do not belong to any other category. One is from an ordinary clerk in a small town in the District of 24 Parganas in Bengal. The sentiments in the letter are entirely his, the language is mine:

"I am a regular spinner. I have just finished another year of my spinning *yajna*. In spite of various difficulties and preoccupations this year, I spun 65 hanks (640 yards each) of 16 to 18 counts from cotton collected from the tree-cotton in my own yard and carded by my children. This was enough to give me 3 dhotis, and 5 yards of khadi for two shirts for my own use for a year. I am doing nothing extraordinary, but I should like to give you some details in order to show that the excuse of want of time is after all a lame one. After finishing the morning functions at 5 in the morning I start spinning which I do for a couple of hours. I believe with Shri Vinoba that 'spinning is a daily spiritual sacrifice with a view to identifying oneself with the poor and adding something to national wealth. It disciplines us and helps us to make our lives orderly.' I have to attend office from 11 a. m. to 7 p. m., and naturally I have to attend to my daily duties as householder — making purchases, domestic duties and so on. During the last year I have had to cook for myself and my children for several months. This year I have started the *yajna* with a couple of hours' spinning as I have said, and it begins with the first day of the National Week. Many of my friends, whom I ask to devote at least half an hour to spinning every day, say they have no time, when I know for a fact that they waste two or more hours every day in idle talk or worse. How I wish they could be persuaded to take a leaf from my book."

I too wish that the millions of our common folk could be persuaded to copy this humble man's example.

The other letter is of a different type. The writer is from Bangalore. He does not know English. He reads *Harijansevak*. He writes:

"I was addicted to intoxicating drugs like *bhang*, *ganja*, *charas*. I could not do without them for a single day. I knew that the thing was bad, I often disliked it myself, as indeed the members of my family did dislike me. But a bad habit is not easy to give up. I often made an attempt, but work became difficult without a puff at my *chilam*. *Harijansevak* opened my eyes. Often enough there would be something in the articles which would make me ashamed of myself and say: 'You must leave this hateful habit.' Once as I was reading your article I resolved to give up *bhang*, *ganja*, *charas*, and as an earnest of my determination I decided to inform you of

my decision and send you Rs. 1-4-0. Well, I have kept the resolve. You have raised me from the state of a brute to man's estate, and I cannot adequately thank you. I made the resolve four years ago, and thanks to your grace I have never broken the resolve. But I should have written to you when I made the resolve and sent Rs. 1-4-0. I am sending you Rs. 5 now, as a penalty for my failure to do so for four years."

This is a very plain letter from an ordinary man, but it teaches every one of us that ordinary men can take extraordinary decisions and keep them. I do hope the writer has given up tobacco also along with the other drugs, for tobacco is as deadly in its effect as the rest. Tolstoy has said that smoking is worse in its criminal effects than drink, and now America's famous heavy-weight boxing champion—Gene Tunney—has written a vivid article to prove that nicotine knocks the bottom out of our physical, moral and spiritual strength. It is an article which, for want of space, I cannot reproduce. But some sentences in it deserve to be hung up as mottoes in every public place to warn smokers against what they are in for:

"With every puff heavy smokers shorten their own lives. . . . You do get a lift when you light a cigarette. But it is exactly like the lift you get from cocaine, heroin, marijuana. Under the nicotine whip the body burns up faster; heart-action, respiration and blood pressure are kept at a ding dong pitch. . . . Dr. Alexis Carrel states that even one puff from a cigarette contracts the tiniest capillaries in your legs and feet. . . . Too many people accept their craving for tobacco as a commonplace social habit. But I maintain that heavy smoking is a disease symptom. . . . While I was training for my second fight with Jack Dempsey, I was offered 15,000 dollars to endorse a certain brand of cigarettes. I didn't want to be rude, so in declining I merely said I didn't smoke. He came again with another offer—12,000 dollars if I would let my picture be used with the statement that 'stinkies must be good because all my friends smoke them'. That compelled me to say what I thought—that cigarettes were a foul pestilence, and that advertising which promoted their use was a national menace. . . . Ty Cobb, the famous Georgia Peach of baseball says: 'Cigarette smoking stupefies the brain, saps vitality, undermines health, and weakens moral fibre. No one who hopes to be successful in any line can afford to contract so detrimental a habit.' In face of such testimony I can only ask, with Tolstoy, 'Why do men stupefy themselves with tobacco?'"

The only thing is to realise that the smoking habit is a devastating scourge, and our friend whose letter I have cited above shows that even common folk can easily get rid of it.

Sevagram, 3-5-42

M. D.

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## HARIJAN SEVAK SANGH

(By M. K. Gandhi)

The Harijan Sevak Sangh met in Wardha on 28th and 29th April. Seth G. D. Birla was considerate and took very little of my time. I have developed a dislike for making speeches, but I consented to answer some of the questions the members had brought with them to Sevagram on the 29th morning. The answers to these will be of use to all Harijan workers. Most were in Hindustani, some in English, and one in Gujarati. I suggested that in future all questions should be in Hindustani. Those who do not know either Hindi or Urdu should make it a point to learn the national language, and until such time as they are unable to write in Hindustani themselves, they must get someone to do so for them.

Q. The Harijan Sevak Sangh is looked upon as a part of the Congress. But very few Congressmen are Harijan workers. Why?

A. The Sangh is not a part of the Congress. It was the outcome of the fast I undertook in 1932 when I was in jail. The meeting of Hindus drawn from every class, which was held under the presidentship of Pandit Malaviyaji and which gave birth to the Sangh, deliberately decided to keep the organisation separate from the Congress and non-political. It was this quality of the Sangh that enabled Seth G. D. Birla to become its President and Shri Thakkar Bapa its Secretary. Nevertheless there are and ought to be many Congressmen in the Sangh, because practically all reformers are drawn into the Congress fold. But it is true that there are plenty of non-Congress persons in the Sangh. It is also true that those Congressmen who are only interested in politics do not come into it. It is, therefore, sometimes wrongly thought that Congressmen do not take an interest in the Sangh. It is the duty of every Congressman to remove untouchability, root and branch, from his life.

Q. Harijan service has really developed into mere Harijan uplift. Practically no work is done among Caste Hindus for the removal of untouchability. What is the remedy for this?

A. Experience shows that propaganda among Caste Hindus can only be successfully carried out by influential persons whose word carries weight with the general public. Such persons are hard to find. But it is within the capacity of every Harijan worker to carry on mute propaganda. Our Caste Hindu workers are often satisfied with mere uplift work among the Harijans, which is not sufficient. Many workers, while they do not observe untouchability themselves, are unable even to convert their own families. How then can they influence the outside world? Moreover it is my confirmed opinion that every Harijan worker has to make it a point to beg for even one pice for Harijans from those Caste Hindus with whom he comes in contact. If all devoted themselves, heart and soul, to this task, very good results would ensue.

Q. Should not the Sangh take upon itself the service of those Harijans who have been converted to Christianity or Islam and are yet treated as

untouchables? Are we not out to remove untouchability root and branch and therefore help all who come under its sway?

A. This question has already been answered in the columns of *Harijan* but must bear repetition so long as it is raised. The moment untouchability is utterly banished from Hindu society it will, *ipso facto*, disappear from elsewhere too. Whatever the merits or demerits of the case, it is clear that our interference with converts will be the cause of strife with Muslims and Christians. Such converts have either broken off all contacts with, or they have been in their turn boycotted by, Hindus. They have thrown in their lot with other sects whose leaders will not allow them to maintain their old contacts. Hence the H. S. S. quite rightly decided from its inception to confine its area of work to Harijans who had not left the Hindu fold. A convert, having left his original fold, is no longer guided or controlled by it.

Q. What should be the attitude of the Sangh, if Harijan boys wish to enlist in the army?

A. They should be allowed to do so. They may not be controlled by the Congress policy or ahimsa. They must be given absolute freedom of choice.

Q. Harijans are of opinion that Caste Hindus who are sympathetic to their cause should not use those temples where they are not allowed entry.

A. They are right. It is the bounden duty of Harijan workers not to go where Harijans are not allowed and likewise to dissuade Caste Hindus.

Q. Harijans are legally entitled to send their children to many educational institutions as also to draw water from public wells. But public sentiment still militates against this being put into practice. Should Harijans resort to the law courts for justice in these matters or wait patiently until the Caste Hindus are converted?

A. Where there is no danger of violence being done to them, the Harijans should exercise their legal right and where necessary resort to law courts. Harijan workers must continue agitation among Caste Hindus and not rest content with mere legal rights.

Q. Is it not essential to reform the insanitary methods employed by sweepers for cleaning latrines and scavenging?

A. It is most necessary. What is more, until this is done the condition of sweepers will remain pitiable. To this end it is the duty of Harijan workers and Caste Hindus to do sweepers' work themselves. No Caste Hindu will employ the methods used by sweepers. He will do the work scientifically. For example, he will never remove excreta in a basket or carry it on his head; he will cover excreta with dry earth and remove it in a metal vessel. He will avoid touching dirt with his hands as far as possible; he will clean the vessels with water and a rod; he will bathe immediately after doing the work; he will wear special clothes when scavenging. These reforms do not cost much. They require intelligence, hard work, and love of an ideal. We may not relegate sweepers' work to one particular class. Therefore all should learn it in the



same way as cooking. Each person should be his own sweeper. If this ideal were to be put into practice in society, the miserable condition of sweepers would at once be rectified.

Sevagram, 3-5-42

## QUESTION BOX

(By M. K. Gandhi)

### Barren Cows

Q. Why may not work such as ploughing or grinding corn be taken from barren cows? Would that not be one way of preventing their going to the slaughter house?

A. This question used to be much discussed at one time owing to the enthusiasm of a Punjabi who used to advocate the use even of milch cows for draft purposes. He used to claim that they would yield more and richer milk for the exercise given to them. Anyway my devotion to the cow does not preclude me from taking such labour as she can perform without the slightest detriment to her body. The fact is that our treatment of draft animals leaves much to be desired. I would welcome the use of barren cows for gentle labour, if only it would make people more considerate than they are towards the other animals.

From the Frying Pan?

Q. You advise evacuation of cities likely to be bombed and migration into the villages. Do you imagine the villages to be safe? As a matter of fact the villagers are more panic-stricken than the city-dwellers. There is inadequate police protection, and villagers live in hourly terror of dacoits and robbers. Is it not a matter of jumping from the frying pan into the fire?

A. I have not suggested migration to the villages for the soft life they will provide. Fright was no ingredient of my plan. It was and still is good even from a military point of view as has now been made abundantly clear. All the danger you present is undoubtedly bound up with the migration to the villages. But that to my mind is an additional reason for it. Who will put heart into the villagers and dispel panic, if it is not the right type of experienced city people? They will cover not only the aged and the infirm who may migrate to the villages, but they will also help and serve the villagers in the many ways I have pointed out in these columns. Courage is indispensable in these times for every true act.

### Rotatory Government

Q. In order to solve the communal tangle, why not divide India into two sections as far as population goes, e. g. Mussalmans, Christians and Parsis in one, and Hindus, Sikhs and Depressed Classes in the other. Let the first section rule for a period of five years by means of elected representatives and the second section come in similarly later. Would this not allay the present mistrust? As for Princes' India, could a Committee of elected Princes be entrusted with the work of governing all the States?

A. Your question reads well on paper; but your suggestion, if acted upon, must break down in practice. The act of government is not the simple thing you seem to imagine. What you suggest may work as a toy when the strings are pulled by armed authority. It won't be our Government. The puller of the strings will govern. That is the old way. I have presented the better way—the non-violent method. In either case the first condition is that every trace of foreign authority should be removed from the land. Then and then only shall we know our real selves—our strength as well as our weaknesses. When we are untrammelled by foreign or other authority and free, we shall know how to deal with the day-to-day problems. We won't then be governed in the neat way mentioned by you. The arbiter then will be either the sword or reason.

Sevagram, 4-5-42

### Deceitful Nomenclature

Morley has somewhere protested against the misuse of words, as being one of the causes of loose thinking. The phrase 'National Government' is an illustration of loose thinking. Admittedly none of the political parties—including the Congress—expects that any 'National Government' that may be formed at present will have the right to put an end to the war irrespective of the wishes of Great Britain. It can only be the Indian branch of the British Government. It is self-deception to call such office-taking 'National Government'. The name has already entrapped some of our legislators, and many more of them are yet willing to be entrapped. If we think closely instead of loosely, we will find that we cannot form a 'National Government' in the existing state of things.

Sevagram, 3-5-42

K. G. M.

### A Correction

In *Harijan*, p. 124, col. 2, line 23, line 26, line 32, for 'mother-tongue', read 'script of the mother-tongue'.

Reprints of the original article "Planned Economy: a Gandhian Approach" may be had from the A. I. V. I. A., Maganwadi, Wardha. Price 2 As. Postage 9 Ps.

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# HARIJAN

Editor: MAHADEV DESAI

VOL. IX, No. 18]

AHMEDABAD — SUNDAY, MAY 17, 1942

[ FIVE PICE

## LIFE OR DEATH?

A correspondent writes:

"Gandhiji's article on Foreign Soldiers has been interpreted by various people in various ways. For instance, the sentence, 'The Nazi power had risen as a nemesis to punish Britain for her sins of exploitation and enslavement of the Asiatic and African races', is innocuous enough. But some of my friends here say: 'This is nothing short of a curse pronounced by Mahatmaji. He thinks what is happening is just punishment for Britain's sins, and if she is defeated she will have deserved it.' Some say: 'Mahatmaji wants Britain to be defeated and sees nothing but good for India in Britain's defeat. He would seem to favour a Japanese invasion.' On the contrary you have often said that we cannot wish for Britain's defeat, and Pandit Jawaharlal has said that the victory of Nazism and Fascism would mean impenetrable darkness on earth.

Now this theory of a just nemesis cuts both ways. We have been slaves all these years. Must Britain's coming in India be taken to be a just punishment for our sins? The well-to-do orthodox say that the untouchables are being punished for their sins. Even so the British may say we are being punished for our sins. The theory of a just nemesis can thus be easily used against us."

There is a lot of confusion in this letter. As the correspondent himself has admitted the sentence quoted is innocuous, though in the last paragraph of his letter he contradicts himself. The sentence quoted summarises in a nutshell the facts of history. Look at any history of the British Empire, and you will find that what Gandhiji has said is but a mild indictment. I need not make more than a passing reference here to the dark record of the East India Company, the horrors of the "Sepoy Mutiny" and the annexations that followed. Need I narrate the story of the West Indies where "the Negroes brought from Africa were exposed for sale under the British flag and sent to serve European masters all over the new world"? Nor need I narrate the story of the series of Kaffir Wars with Basutos, Zulus, Matabele. "The Kaffirs were defeated, but they proved much too virile a people to go under as the blacks of Australia or the redskins of North America did;" the blacks in Australia were exterminated, but the "primary problem of policy is now the desire to keep the yellow man out of the vast open spaces of Australia"; not until a whole series of wars did the Maoris of New Zealand, "these contumacious people learn their place in the British scheme of things"; and consolidation in the Pacific naturally led to the annexation of the Fiji Islands; the scramble for

grubbing South Africa reached its height in 1885 when it was solemnly legalised by a conference of the European Powers which met at Berlin, where all bound themselves to go ahead with the partition of Africa in order "to further the moral and material well-being of the native population"; then come the "treaties" with the native chiefs and the story of Kenya and Rhodesia where "the natives were herded into 'reserves' and the fertile land handed over to white settlers." "In China it was for the moral benefit of the Chinese that Britain used armed force to compel China to buy opium and to open China to outside world trade. Some 300,000 square miles were added to the British Empire in the nineteenth century, and "much of this expansion had unfortunately to be achieved by the use of force against the original inhabitants — black, brown, or yellow — of the square miles in question." This led to rivalry and bickerings ultimately leading to the world war, in which Britain was victorious and Britain's share of the spoils was tremendous. There was unrest everywhere — among the vanquished; in India; in Egypt; in Ireland; in China; among the natives of various parts of Africa. "It was clear," sums up Horrabin, "that there would have to be more and more repression, more deals with the capitalist classes of the Dominions, more Pacts with allies, bigger and bigger armaments."

The building up of the Empire was the beginning of the end. The war of 1914-1918 was won, but peace was lost. Instead of humbling the victors it intoxicated them.

"Not the faintest attempt was made to be merciful or fair or even decently polite to the vanquished foe... Even so unexceptionable an English economist as Mr. Maynard Keynes pointed out the insanity of demands that might have put any businesslike robber to the blush... In intention and appearance the peace registered the defeat and downfall of the German Empire. But perhaps some historian of the future viewing these things in surer perspective may decide that in the context of civilisations, the defeat was not German, but British or Anglo-American... If ever it could have been said of a whole nation that it was not itself, that description would have applied to Britain in the time immediately following the Armistice... The wildest extravagances of sentiment and conduct were in vogue. In this shell-shocked atmosphere things were perpetrated which almost suggested that Britain herself had gone Prussian. Frightfulness in India, frightfulness in Ireland."

This is what a Liberal historian Esme Wingfield-Stratford has written. He is not an enemy of the Empire, he has even defended the benevolent intentions of Britain, but British behaviour after the war



sickened even him, and in one sentence he has summed up his worst fears: "The dragon's teeth that had been sown did not sprout all in a moment." He refrains from discussing the complications and cross-currents of the daily changing situation, but grandiloquently sums up in the self-satisfied way of the benevolent British Imperialist: "Mankind has to choose between two ways, one of Empire, which is now that of the Totalitarian Powers, the other of Freedom, which is our British way, so long as Britain preserves that truth to herself which is the soul of her civilisation. The choice is in the deepest sense between life and death." (*The Foundations of British Patriotism*) One word of comment on this. It is absolute truth that the Empire way is the way of death, the Freedom way is the way of life. Britain is still going right ahead along the Empire way, and in asking Britain to withdraw from India and to disgorge her ill-gotten gains Gandhiji is asking her to choose even at this late hour Freedom's way or the way of Life.

The sentence that Gandhiji has written has almost a literal echo in another British writer, Middleton Murry, a fellow-pacifist:

"The moral debacle of the blockade and of Versailles plunged me into a condition of despair concerning human destiny out of which I struggled only after five long years, and then only by way of a mystical illumination. My faith such as it is is not primarily a faith in this world. Nevertheless the most transcendent faith must return to earth. It is here on the sweet and violated earth that we must struggle that the good may prevail. If the war of 1914-18 and the shameful peace which ended it appeared to me 20 years ago so nakedly evil, so beyond all possibility of justification, that it weighed like lead upon my soul for five long years, is it possible that the consequences of this crime against man, this sin against God, shall be expiated without a terrible humiliation for my country? I do not pretend to answer. But I ask myself the question again and again. There is repentance; and there is humiliation. I believe that the salvation of democracy lies in repentance." (*Defence of Democracy*)

I suppose that makes Gandhiji's meaning clear beyond the shadow of a doubt. Gandhiji does not wish for a Nazi or Japanese victory any more than do Esme Wingfield-Stratford and Middleton Murry. But he shares their wholesome fear, and he has, if I may say so, an intuition that, if Britain does not repent in the way he has suggested, she will be humiliated.

Remains the last question. Is the statement about a just nemesis double-edged? Is there any justice in the criticism that the statement sounds like that of the orthodox Hindus that the untouchables are suffering for their sins, or of Britain that India is suffering for her sins? The statement about a just nemesis lies ill in the mouth of those whom God uses as instruments of punishment. Nemesis would herself mock viciously at Hitler, if he said that he was being used by God to punish iniquitous Britain. The untouchables may have sinned; but we have been vastly deeper sinners and, if we do not atone for our sin, it is Dr

Ambedkar whom God will ultimately use to destroy Hinduism. When Gandhiji said that if untouchability remains Hinduism perishes, he did not pronounce a curse on Hinduism, any more than he has now done on Britain. Hinduism can still save itself from extinction by purging itself of untouchability, as Britain still can by wiping out the sin of Empire and retiring in an honourable and repentant manner from India and other territories. The dragon's teeth that had been sown are now sprouting, and the frightful crop may have to be reaped in a manner never reaped before. The atonement cannot be done *after* the war. It has to be done *today*. The way of Empire is death, the way of Freedom is Life. Which shall she choose?

On the way to Bombay, 10-5-42

M. D.

### MAGANWADI CONVOCATION

The A. I. V. I. A. held its convocation at Maganwadi, Wardha, on 29-4-42. Shri Vinoba Bhawe presided. The Secretary's report showed that

"Training given in Maganwadi is divided into two main groups: oil-pressing and paper-making. The A. I. V. I. A. has a three year plan for expanding the *ghani* industry in the country with a capital investment of about Rs. 20,000 to begin with. The centres are to undertake manufacturing and supply of *ghanis*, training of carpenters, and doing general propaganda work. The Board of Management of the Association has also allowed some latitude with regard to the process of making pulp for paper-making by the use of mechanical power under certain restrictions. The idea behind it is to make paper cheap, improve the quality, and make it available in large quantities.

In the session under report 32 students were admitted. Of these 26 were for Vinit courses and 6 for special courses in paper industry. Of the former 8 were deputed by the C. P. Government, 3 by the Bombay Government, 3 by the Sind Government, 8 by the Gwalior State, 2 (1 from Tamilnad and 1 from Bihar) were awarded A. I. V. I. A. scholarships, and 2 (one from the Punjab and one from Phaltan State) bore their own expenses. Of these 11 took oil-pressing and 15 took paper-making.

Subsequently one student from the Gwalior Government changed over from the regular to the special course, and two students in paper-making from the same Government went on leave and did not return. 21 students remained till the end of the session.

The result of the final examination was as given below: 1 was awarded a merit certificate, 4 obtained pass certificates, 1 failed, 14 qualified for industry certificates.

Two more students were admitted for the short courses in paper-making during the session. Besides training in the major industries of the group for which they were admitted, 14 students were trained in bee-keeping and soap-making out of sujji, and 7 were trained in soap-making and date palm *gud* making."

Shri Vinoba in addressing the students said that the certificates he had distributed were an indication of the preparation and training imparted for the life they had chosen to adopt. These were perilous times in which each one was going to be severely tested. We may not be fully prepared, but there were ample opportunities for service. When they



went to the villages they would find standards of life very low, but the villagers' standards of service were high. So far only saints had served them. Otherwise everyone had exploited them. The villagers were shrewd and closely examined those who went and lived with them. It was not an easy thing to obtain their certificate. They must not be looked down on by us, their servants, as illiterate or ignorant in comparison with ourselves. They have their own methods of work in agriculture as in all matters pertaining to their requirements. Very often it has been found that those who try to impart book knowledge to them fail miserably when put to practical tests. They are hard-working, as a rule. No worker, therefore, with half-baked knowledge or one who is lazy will make good in a village. Above all he has to become one with the villagers in every respect. There can be no entrance for a worker into the hearts of the people unless he learns to be attracted by their qualities and disregards their shortcomings. "I always look upon the merits of a person as the window through which one can enter his heart and the weaknesses as the walls. It is no good battering one's head against a wall when an entrance is there for us. And if we are unable to see the good in others, there is something gravely lacking in us."

The next thought Shri Vinoba conveyed to the students was that they should be above all party strife in villages. Their only 'ism' in these days of 'isms' was service. And in that whole-hearted service there must be neither desire for reward nor looking for results.

Lastly he impressed on them that they would have to serve in various ways but they must never neglect the industrial side of their work. At least half the day should be devoted to whatever craft they had taken up. They had to continue to improve their knowledge and become experts. Their minds must be fresh and alert; quick to respond to local conditions. In Maganwadi they had been provided with every facility. In villages they would have to depend on their own ingenuity. It was the little things in everyday life which would be the big things for them. Therefore their practical knowledge of the crafts must penetrate down to the minutest detail. A man who can weave beautiful patterns is no good, if he cannot set up a loom and put it right if it gets out of order.

Village soil was not easy to cultivate. The career they had chosen for themselves would need infinite patience, keen intelligence and abounding love. Shri Vinoba hoped that those who had received certificates at Maganwadi would in due course obtain what he would call the real certificates of merit from the world in whose service they had decided to live.

A portrait of Seth Jamnalal Bajaj having been unveiled, the ceremony came to an end.

Sevagram, 3-5-42

A. K.

### The Indian States' Problem

By Gandhiji

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### PURPOSEFUL POLITICS

The atmosphere today is surcharged with politics, but few stop to think what it is all about and to what end. Some are scared by the Japanese bombs and would fain hide themselves behind the skirts of Britannia and offer cooperation on any terms in her imperialistic war. Others there be who disdain Britain's offer but roll up their sleeves gallantly to rescue China, forgetting the clay feet on which we are standing. Being slaves ourselves we cannot help others before attaining our own freedom. Is the end of politics war? Or is it capturing a number of seats in the legislatures to let out hot air? Or is it to secure a few good posts and titles for our friends and members of our community and thus incidentally glorify ourselves?

#### Freedom

Some will rightly answer that our politics are calculated to secure independence and freedom. Yes, but freedom for what and from what? True freedom should be conducive to the growth of the people. As Tagore puts it freedom is

"Where the mind is without fear

and the head is held high,

Where knowledge is free;

Where the world has not been broken up into fragments

by narrow domestic walls;

Where words come from the depth of truth,

Where tireless striving stretches its arms towards

Perfection!

(To be concluded)

J. C. K.

#### Mysore

Reference has already been made in these columns about the Mysore Government's repressive measures against the State Congress. Now comes the news of a worse tragedy in the shape of a police charge at Bhadravati resulting in three deaths, including a child three years old, from firing by the police on an unarmed crowd. I do not wish to enter into the details. According to the Congress version the whole tragedy arose out of a peaceful labour demonstration. There is a suggestion on the Government side that the firing had to be resorted to because the crowd had attacked the police station in Bhadravati. The President of the Congress denies the charge and demands an inquiry. It will be worthless unless it is admittedly impartial. If the crowd had attacked the police station, what was the cause? If the crowd was non-violent, was the firing a mere wanton awe-inspiring process? In either case the people must learn the art of being killed, and if they are non-violent, without any reason therefor save for their love of liberty. It is a duty then to face death as cheerfully as we face imprisonment. Indeed, I do not know that such a swift ending is not more welcome than the prolonged agony that jail life sometimes becomes. As the struggle becomes wider and more earnest and more real, imprisonment is bound to be, as past experience teaches, increasingly hard to bear. Death for a brave and strong-willed man will then be a welcome relief.

On the way to Bombay, 10-5-42

M. K. G.



# HARIJAN

May 17

1942

## TO EVERY BRITON

(By M. K. Gandhi)

When I had just begun my public career in South Africa I wrote "An Open Letter to Every Briton in South Africa". It had its effect. I feel that I should repeat the example at this critical juncture in the history of the world. This time my appeal must be to every Briton in the world. He may be nobody in the counsels of his nation. But in the empire of non-violence every true thought counts, every true voice has its full value. *Vox populi vox dei* is not a copy-book maxim. It is an expression of the solid experience of mankind. But it has one qualification. Its truth is confined to the field of non-violence. Violence can for the moment completely frustrate a people's voice. But since I work on the field of non-violence only, every true thought expressed or unexpressed counts for me.

I ask every Briton to support me in my appeal to the British at this very hour to retire from every Asiatic and African possession and at least from India. That step is essential for the safety of the world and for the destruction of Nazism and Fascism. In this I include Japan's 'ism' also. It is a good copy of the two. Acceptance of my appeal will confound all the military plans of all the Axis Powers and even of the military advisers of Great Britain.

If my appeal goes home, I am sure the cost of British interests in India and Africa would be nothing compared to the present ever-growing cost of the war to Britain. And when one puts morals in the scales, there is nothing but gain to Britain, India and the world.

Though I ask for their withdrawal from Asia and Africa, let me confine myself for the moment to India. British statesmen talk glibly of India's participation in the war. Now India was never even formally consulted on the declaration of war. Why should it be? India does not belong to Indians. It belongs to the British. It has been even called a British possession. The British practically do with it as they like. They make me — an all-war resister — pay a war tax in a variety of ways. Thus I pay two pice as war tax on every letter I post, one pice on every postcard, and two annas on every wire I send. This is the lightest side of the dismal picture. But it shows British ingenuity. If I was a student of economics, I could produce startling figures as to what India has been made to pay towards the war apart from what are mis-called voluntary contributions. No contribution made to a conqueror can be truly described as voluntary. What a conqueror the Briton makes! He is well saddled in his seat. I do not exaggerate

when I say that a whisper of his wish is promptly answered in India. Britain may, therefore, be said to be at perpetual war with India which she holds by right of conquest and through an army of occupation. How does India profit by this enforced participation in Britain's war? The bravery of Indian soldiers profits India nothing.

Before the Japanese menace overtakes India, India's homesteads are being occupied by British troops — Indian and non-Indian. The dwellers are summarily ejected and expected to shift for themselves. They are paid a paltry vacating expense which carries them nowhere. Their occupation is gone. They have to build their cottages and search for their livelihood. These people do not vacate out of a spirit of patriotism. When this incident was referred to me a few days ago, I wrote in these columns that the dispossessed people should be asked to bear their lot with resignation. But my co-workers protested and invited me to go to the evacuees and console them myself or send someone to perform the impossible task. They were right. These poor people should never have been treated as they were. They should have been lodged suitably at the same time that they were asked to vacate.

People in East Bengal may almost be regarded as amphibious. They live partly on land and partly on the waters of the rivers. They have light canoes which enable them to go from place to place. For fear of the Japanese using the canoes the people have been called upon to surrender them. For a Bengali to part with his canoe, is almost like parting with his life. So those who take away his canoe he regards as his enemy.

Great Britain has to win the war. Need she do so at India's expense? Should she do so?

But I have something more to add to this sad chapter. The falsity that envelopes Indian life is suffocating. Almost every Indian you meet is discontented. But he will not own it publicly. The Government employees high and low are no exception. I am not giving hearsay evidence. Many British officials know this. But they have evolved the art of taking work from such elements. This all-pervading distrust and falsity make life worthless unless one resists it with one's whole soul.

You may refuse to believe all I say. Of course I shall be contradicted. I shall survive the contradictions.

I have stated what I believe to be the truth, the whole truth and nothing but the truth.

My people may or may not approve of this loud thinking. I have consulted nobody. This appeal is being written during my silence day. I am just now concerned with Britain's action. When slavery was abolished in America many slaves protested, some even wept. But protests and tears notwithstanding, slavery was abolished in law. But the abolition was the result of a bloody war between the South and the North; and so though the Negro's lot is considerably better than before, he still remains the outcaste of high society. I am



asking for something much higher. I ask for a bloodless end of an unnatural domination and for a new era, even though there may be protests and wailings from some of us.

Bombay, 11-5-42

### AN APPEAL

Gandhiji is visiting Bombay under somewhat unusual circumstances. The public are well aware of his preoccupations, especially during these days of stress and strain. Besides, he is none too strong these days. And it is well-known that he is loath to leave Sevagram. When Seth Ghanshyamdas Birla and Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel were in Wardha some days ago, they discussed with him his appeal for the Deenbandhu Memorial Fund. They said that, if he could spare a few days and come to Bombay, they might be able to help in collecting the amount. They could not bear the thought of Gandhiji making a tour for collecting Rs. 5 lakhs for Santiniketan. His time and energy were, they knew, premortgaged for other purposes, and it would be a tragedy if he had to make a tour for the mere purpose of this collection.

This reminds me of a similar occasion when Gandhiji decided that Gurudev should not be permitted to tour the country giving performances of his plays for the sake of his institutions, when he had already passed 70. It was in the month of March 1936 when we happened to be in Delhi, and Gurudev too was there with the inmates of his Ashram to give a performance of his famous musical play *Chandalika*. He looked aged and worn, and his appearing on the stage in order to beg for his institutions was unbearable to Gandhiji. He spoke to Ghanshyamdasji who agreed that the Poet should be relieved of the burden. The following letter with a cheque was immediately addressed to the Poet:

Delhi, Harijan Colony,  
27th March, 1936

Respected Sir,

Please find the enclosed draft for Rs. 60,000 which we believe is the deficit on the expenses on Santiniketan, to cover which you have been exhibiting your art from place to place. When we heard this, we felt humiliated. We believe that at your advanced age and in your weak state of health you ought not to have to undertake these arduous tours. We must confess that we know very little of the institution — except the name. But we have not been unaware of your great fame as the Poet of the age. You are not only the greatest Poet of India, you are the Poet of humanity. Your poems remind one of the hymns of the ancient rishis. You have by your unrivalled gifts raised the status of our country. And we feel that those whom God has blessed with means should relieve you of the burden of finding the funds required for the conduct of the institution. Our contribution is a humble effort in that direction. For reasons, which need not be stated, we prefer to remain anonymous. We hope that you will now cancel all the engagements taken for raising the sum above mentioned.

Praying for your long life to continue the service you are rendering to our country,

We remain,

Your humble countrymen

The Poet, to whom I took the letter, was immensely happy. He cancelled his tour and wrote to Gandhiji a letter of which the single sentence still reverberates in my memory: "Words fail me to express my gratefulness for your having come to my help and reminded me of my Swadharma from which I had fallen."

Well, now that Gurudev is no more and C. F. Andrews too is no more, our debt to both of them is all the greater and more imperative. The very fact that Gandhiji should have put aside his preoccupations for the purpose should indicate the importance and peremptory nature of his mission. I appeal to the generous-minded public of Bombay to fill Gandhiji's begging bowl within the next week that he has set apart for the purpose. These are days when nothing seems to be secure — certainly not money and property — but duty done and money given to a noble purpose were never insecure, and I appeal to everyone to respond to this call of duty.

M. D.

### QUESTION BOX

(By M. K. Gandhi)

If 'Harijan' Is Prohibited

Q. You are going strong. You should know that, if the people follow you, it must hinder the present war effort. The Government cannot allow it. If they do, you will admit that only the British Government can show such generosity. And what will you do if they suppress it?

A. No Government can afford to be generous. A man is generous when he does something at his own expense. Governments can do nothing at their own expense. But they always succeed in making people believe that they are generous even when they are barely or less than just. Justice is like a debt which has to be discharged. Therefore, if the Government permit *Harijan* to continue its even course, they will do so because it is proper from their point of view. They will not hesitate to suppress it when they think it is improper not to do so. I stated at the time of the resumption of publication that it was no part of my plan to persist in publication in spite of prohibition. I will, therefore, again suspend publication when the Government desire it. If they do, it will be a loss to the public. For, apart from the three weeklies, its articles appear by special permission in *Urdu Hindustan* — Lucknow, *Urdu Harijan* — Lahore, *Marathi Harijan* — Wardha. It is also published in Telugu and Ooria. Articles are sent to them in advance. Numerous other newspapers copy or translate articles from it week by week. There is no generosity in tolerating the publication of such a popular weekly. And my writings will not hinder war effort, if it is voluntary. If they influence the people, surely there is something wrong somewhere. It is not *Harijan* that should be stopped, but the wrong it exposes should be undone. I look upon



my writings as a solid contribution to war effort, for he serves a cause best who exposes its weaknesses or those of its representatives.

You ask what I would do if they suppress *Harijan*. I must frankly confess, I do not know. I have cultivated the habit of not anticipating evil. I am able to know the remedy instinctively when I am face to face with an evil. That is how a God-fearing man acts. The fear of God disposes of every other fear. But I can give you this assurance that suppression of *Harijan* can never mean suppression of me.

Bombay, 11-5-42

#### Intellectual Conviction

Q. Intellectually I am convinced that non-violence is the only solution of quarrels between man and man. But by nature I cannot but react violently to acts of hostility to my country or myself. So I am unable to be content with non-violent resistance only against the Japanese. I feel that, in addition to whatever I may be able to do by way of non-violent resistance, I should also do my utmost to help the war effort against them. They have no right to invade my country even though it is in British hands and not ours. But when I think of helping the war effort, my intellectual conviction of non-violence does not allow me to do so with peace of mind.

A. Your difficulty is a common difficulty. But if you have real intellectual conviction, it will overcome your nature which is nothing but habit. Your conviction should tell you that non-violence is a force infinitely superior to violence. Hence you do not need to rely upon violent assistance. Moreover you are labouring under a fallacy. Why do you say that the Japanese have no right to invade your country although it is in foreigners' hands? In the first place, the country is not yours while it is in others' hands. You cannot do what you like with it. The foreigners can and do. Secondly, if the Japanese have enmity against your master, they have every right to attack what your master possesses. We are not examining here the correctness of Japan's conduct in going to war against Great Britain. I am simply pointing out what seems to me to be your mental confusion. The proper course for you is to ask the wrongful possessor to vacate your country. When he has done it you will have the choice between violence and non-violence against the Japanese attack, if it comes. But the thing is not so simple as I have put it. Your difficulty is real. You feel that you cannot defend your country. You have lost it. The English can, if you help them. If the English vacate the country, the Japanese are much more likely to attack undefended India if only for strategic purposes, and you will be utterly helpless against the invading host. Therefore, seeing that the English are in India and they can defend, why not make common cause with them and answer the impending attack? After victory, have they not said, they would go away if they are not wanted? This, I expect, is your argument. In my opinion it is only plausible. The British do not want your help on your terms, as

witness the failure of the Cripps mission. They want it on their terms. If, therefore, victory is achieved, the British hold will be ever so much stronger than before. If they will not trust you now, there is no warrant for supposing that they will after victory. They will then ask you with greater force than now to produce the unity which cannot be produced whilst they are here. You get out of all this tangle, if you adopt my method. If you have intellectual conviction, you can approach the problem with the utmost confidence. You are friend to all. You say to the British with the greatest goodwill that, if they leave India, she will take care of herself and will probably escape Japanese attention, and if she cannot, she will answer it with non-violence. Then by that simple act of justice they gain your eternal friendship. It may stand them in good stead even during the present war. For India will then of her own free will help China, Russia and others. If India sets her own house in order, as I have no doubt it will, India can work wonders.

Bombay, 10-5-42

#### Congress and League

Q. Maulana Saheb has made what I consider a very wise and patriotic suggestion that the Congress Working Committee will nominate five representatives to meet the representatives of the Muslim League when the latter so desire to do. I trust it will commend itself to you. If it does, I should like you publicly to support it. It will go a long way to bring the Hindus and the Muslims together.

A. I have no hesitation in endorsing Maulana Saheb's suggestion. No one would be more glad than I if, with or without my endorsement, the two can come together. I have always felt that there is something radically wrong with both that the most obvious thing, viz. the coming together of the wise men of both with a will to find a solution of the deadlock, has not happened.

#### Ingenious Method

Q. Your advocacy of the learning of Urdu as part of the national language which you have called Hindustani is all very well. What do you say to the propaganda that is being carried on in the Nizam's Dominions on behalf of Urdu? Here is the first question in a Telugu examination paper:

"If for the purposes of Federation a common language for India is indispensable and the case of Hindustani is strong enough, then it seems to me that as far as this University is concerned it should immediately make Urdu its medium of instruction especially when it happens to be the mother-tongue of this province. Those who would wait till it grows richer are sadly mistaken and argue in a circle. It will remain poor as long as the Universities make no use of it in teaching all branches of knowledge."

Remember that Telugu and not Urdu is the mother-tongue of the majority of the people in this part of the country. What do you say to the ingenious method adopted of carrying on pro-Urdu propaganda through examination papers?

A. I admit that the method adopted is both ingenious and strange. An examination paper is hardly a vehicle for propaganda on a question on



which sharp division of opinion prevails. I agree that Urdu is not the mother-tongue of the people of H. E. H. the Nizam's Dominions. What proportion of the population knows Telugu I do not know. My notion of an all-India speech does not involve the displacement of the great provincial languages, but its knowledge is meant to be an addition to that of the provincial speech. Nor do I expect that the millions will ever learn the all-India speech. It will be learnt by the politically-minded and those who have interprovincial connections. Indeed a correspondent suggests that in the place of an all-India speech I should advocate the learning of the languages of neighbouring provinces. Thus he says: "It is far more useful for the Assamese to know Bengali than Hindi or Urdu and now according to you Hindi and Urdu." If we had not the intolerable burden of learning English not merely as a second language but as a language through which all higher instruction is imparted to us, we should find it child's play to learn our neighbours' speech and certainly learn the all-India speech for all-India contacts. In my opinion a boy or girl lacks culture and accomplishment, if he or she does not know half a dozen languages of India. It is a sure sign of brain fag on the part of English-knowing Indians when they tremble at the very thought of learning a language other than English, not excluding even their mother's speech. For the majority of objectors are English-knowing Indians. I have found no difficulty about the Ashram inmates learning Urdu in addition to Hindi. And I know that in South Africa the Tamil labourers could speak Telugu and *vice versa*, and they had a working knowledge of Hindi. No one had told them that they should learn Hindi. Somehow or other they knew intuitively that they should know Hindi. Of course they were no scholars, but for mutual intercourse they picked up what was necessary. They picked up also the speech of their neighbours, the Zulus. They could not carry on their business, if they did not. Thus most Indians knew besides their mother-tongues two more Indian languages, Zulu, and a smattering of even English. Needless to say many of them wrote no language, and most could write only ungrammatically their own mother-tongues. The moral of this is obvious.

If you dispense with the script, you pick up your neighbour's language without effort and without difficulty, and if you are fresh and the brain is not wearied, you can learn as many scripts as you wish without any difficulty. The study is any day interesting and stimulating. The study of languages is an art and valuable at that.

On the way to Bombay, 10-5-42

By R. B. Gregg

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## IN RESURGENT CHINA

In the constructive effort of Nationalist China there are several features which should be of special interest to us. One of the most important items in that programme has been the rehabilitation of village life. In the retreat before the advancing Japanese hordes the Chinese had to abandon cities and fall back on villages. People had to depend on rural products and adapt themselves to rural surroundings. Madame Chiang Kai-shek wrote:

"Continuance of national resistance against aggression entails greater need for economy and self-sacrifice on the part of the whole country. Even before the hostilities began New Life laid emphasis upon rational living. Since the war began, this principle has become not only desirable but necessary. The need of it inspired New Life to celebrate its fifth anniversary last year (i. e. in 1939) by sponsoring exhibitions in all the main cities to show the people the most practical ways of utilising local products. Houses furnished with only native goods were exhibited. Bamboos were used as water pipes, and bed mattresses were made of palm bark—far cooler and almost as resilient as the foreign 'Beauty Rest' mattresses, and costing a fraction of the price of the latter. In every phase of life people were encouraged to take advantage of the material at hand." (*China Shall Rise Again*)

A "Grow More Food, Save More Food" movement was set afoot. It caught the farmers' imagination. The cultivation of potato, soya beans and Indian corn was recommended because they yield most food per unit. Non-food crops were to be reduced. People were asked to wear their old cotton clothes longer than they would in times of peace. New lands in the interior were put under cultivation and refugees were put on the work. The programme provided work to two farm hands where only one was employed before. The practice of growing wheat in rice fields in winter, when they used to be allowed to lie fallow, was adopted and increased. Agriculturists were encouraged to adopt better methods of cultivation, to strengthen the dykes against rivers, and to dig more irrigation ditches as a safeguard against draught. Irrigation and drainage projects were pushed forward, and forest lands began to be cleared.

In order to economise in the consumption of food, "people were asked to eat unpolished rice and coarse flour, as well as sweet potatoes, beans, squash, and other vegetables. Another way of conserving food is to abstain from drinking wine. Chinese wine is made of rice which today is more urgently needed as food." (Chen Ta-jen) The Government issued an order prohibiting the milling and sale of high-grade polished rice, and organised a campaign for promoting and popularising the use of miscellaneous food crops as substitutes for rice.

With a view to providing people "driven away from or bombed out of their homes" with nourishing food, the New Life movement started a network of cafeterias where cheap, clean and nutritive food could be had and where the customers served themselves. A new article of food, nourishing



though cheap — 'vitacake' — has been invented. "It provides something portable and nutritive to eat during the long hours in dugouts. It is made of half wheat, and half soya-bean milk residue. Formerly the latter was used only for the feeding of chickens."

The revival of hand-spinning and hand-weaving is another important item. Though the Chinese performed the amazing feat of bodily removing the machinery of about 150 large factories (weighing over 15,000 tons) by small boats to Chungking and up the 300 steps of the city by coolies, the products of the textile mills could not suffice for the needs of the army and the people, and cloth became scarce. As Edgar Mowrer says in his book on China, "Shantung, the great silk-producing province, practically all of the cotton-growing and textile-manufacturing regions, were overrun by the enemy. Therefore, Madame Chaing Kai-shek obtained 70,000 hand looms for refugee women on which to weave cotton stuffs of the simplest kind . . . She summoned a great meeting of important women from all over China at Kuling, and extended their activity to the organisation of weaving and the stimulation of home industries." Describing the training given to students in hand-weaving and hand-spinning, she says:

"A three months' course of training in spinning and weaving is the order of the day. During the first month the pupils get their board and lodging free. During the second month they are able to bear half of the expenses. At the end of the third month they can support other members of their families. When they are graduated they return home, and six months later they generally have made enough money not only to support themselves and their families, but to pay for the wheel, or the looms, bought on the cooperative plan."

Experimental centres have been started in various places, and in one district which formerly did not grow cotton, over 1,500 cooperative members are engaged in producing cotton. The result is that in a place where people before were clothed in tatters for want of cloth, "now, two years later, the place presents an entirely different atmosphere and appearance. The people are all cleanly and well dressed; the old stores reopened; new stores, carrying a line of goods bordering on luxuries, have opened, and their stocks alone show how the standard of living has gone up."

Nor have other industries been neglected. The Madame goes on to say:

"The Production Department has also trained several hundred women as staff workers in hand-made embroidery. These women are now being sent out to various districts to train the local women to produce embroidered articles mostly from ramie (sometimes called grass linen, or China grass) which finds a steady market both at home and abroad . . . . . Wherever there are teams of our workers we have some form of production going on. In each district the type of work is decided by the raw materials produced. In one district where

the clay makes good porcelain, we are specializing in the making of artistic dishes and bowls at low cost."

While Japan could destroy and has destroyed large mills and factories by bombing, no amount of bombing could possibly wipe out village industries, and even if destroyed, they could be started again without much difficulty.

Emphasising the paramount necessity of starting village industries and of restricting the development of large scale industries to the minimum unavoidable she said, as far back as in 1938:

"I should like to see village industry carefully developed wherever it is possible for raw materials to be produced and worked up to supply the daily needs of the people. There will have to be mechanical aid in cases; but I hope that machinery never will be brought to China to save labour as its first principle and requirement. Machinery should be used to make necessities which hands cannot make, but there it should stop. Nor should cut-throat competition in manufacture be permitted. In that the workmen suffer. . . . If we emerge safely from the calamities of this war, there is one brake that will be put upon us that should have a restraining influence upon development of too many large industries. That is the brake of exhausted finance. It will not be easy to plunge into great schemes of factory development, and that, to my mind, is a good thing. There is so much to be done by hand, so many hands to do it, that wisdom dictates energetic arrangement of opportunities and possibilities for manual work just as quickly as circumstances will allow." (*China in Peace and War*)

If China could put forth this tremendous mass effort at nation-building in spite of her preoccupation with a devastating war, it should be no less possible for us, provided we can summon up enough of will and resourcefulness. The constructive programme has long been before us. And now that adversity has thrown city-bred classes and village-bred masses together, it is up to the former to utilise the opportunity for rekindling the life of the villages which, though long neglected and derided, are proving our only resort of safety and refuge.

C. S.

#### Constructive Programme

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#### Constructive Programme

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# HARIJAN

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[ FIVE PICE

## Notes

### Deenabandhu Memorial

I am glad to be able to inform the readers of *Harijan* that the efforts of Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel and Sheth Ghanashyamdas Birla, who had asked me to go to Bombay for eight days for the purpose of finishing the Deenabandhu Memorial collections, have been crowned with full success. Only over Rs. 60,000 were collected in response to the appeal through the papers. The whole of the balance of five lacs was collected during the eight days' strenuous labour. Bombay has never disappointed me whenever I have gone there for collections. I am most grateful to the donors for their generosity. They have taken a great load off my mind. I am quite clear that they have never given to a better cause. The Memorial to Deenabandhu started by and at the wish of Gurudev became on his death Memorial to Gurudev, in which the former merged. The object of both could only be identical. Subscriptions were required partly for the discharge of monies due by Shantiniketan and largely for the building etc. mentioned in the original appeal. I may mention that while the donations received included large sums from wealthy men they included also small sums from unknown persons from all over India. They were received from all communities, Parsis, Christians, Jews, Muslims and Hindus. I repeat the thanks on behalf of the fellow signatories and myself to the donors for their generous donations as also to the friends who organised the collection and laboured to make a success.

### Harijan Collections

If the collections I make at railway stations and at evening prayer when I am out of Sevagram are any index to the progress of the removal of untouchability it must be very substantial, for I notice that the response is more liberal than before. Hardly a bystander at stations or a visitor to the prayer meeting refrains from giving his mite. Much need not be made of the response. But there can be no doubt that if the cause did not make any appeal, the response would be meagre, if any. Whereas it was hearty and willing. It gave me great joy as I studied the smiling faces of those who gave. The Bombay collection for the seven meetings was Rs. 4000. Each day's collection showed a substantial rise on the previous day. Thus the first day's collection was Rs. 205-5-6 and the last Rs. 1342-10-9.

On the way to Wardha, 18-5-42

### Confusion

There is evidently confusion in some minds about my invitation to the British to withdraw. For a Britisher writes to say that he likes India and her people and would not like willingly to leave India. He likes too my method of non-violence. Evidently the writer has confused the individual as such with the individual as the holder of power. India has no quarrel with the British people. I have hundreds of British friends. Andrews' friendship was enough to tie me to the British people. But both he and I were fixed in our determination that British rule in India in any shape or form must end. Hitherto the rulers have said, "We would gladly retire if we know to whom we should hand over the reins." My answer now is, "Leave India to God. If that is too much, then leave her to anarchy." I invite every Britisher who loves Britain, India and the world to join me in the appeal to the British Power and, if it is rejected, to adopt such non-violent measures as would compel the Power to comply with the appeal.

### What Could Have Been Done?

Some Pressmen asked me in Bombay what could Sir Stafford have done in the absence of an agreement between the Congress and the League. I gave the answer. I do not know whether it has appeared anywhere. Any way it is better for the public to know what answer I gave to the question. Sir Stafford could have asked either the Congress or the League to form the cabinet. If he had done so, probably the party they entrusted with responsibility would have succeeded in having the cooperation of the other party. In any event the Government would then have dealt with the real representatives of their party rather than having their own nominees. I do not know that they made any such offer either to the Congress or the League. So far as the public know the negotiations did not break over the want of agreement between the two organisations but over differences with Sir Stafford as to what powers the British Government wanted to part with during the war.

Sevagram, 18-5-42

M. K. G.

### Note

In a note in the last issue Gandhiji mentioned the editions of *Harijan* being published in various Indian languages. The Kanarese edition of *Harijan* was inadvertently omitted. It is being published by Shri Divakar from Hubli.

M. D.



## BOMBAY RESPONDS GENEROUSLY

Bombay has enabled Gandhiji to fulfil a debt that had weighed on him for over a year. Deenabandhu Andrews died on the 5th of April, 1940, and an appeal for a memorial to him was issued by among others the Gurudeva and Gandhiji. Before even a lakh of rupees could be collected, the Poet was removed from our midst, and ever since his death Gandhiji had been worrying over the poor response to the appeal. The circumstances in which he decided to visit Bombay are now well-known.

The response was naturally expected, when Gandhiji himself decided to devote a week to the purpose, but there is no gainsaying the fact that with most of the donors regard for Gandhiji was a greater consideration than the purpose. A friend who was talking with Gandhiji the other day frankly said to him: "Gandhiji, you are backing the wrong horse." It was in order to correct this wrong impression that Gandhiji explained to more than one donor that the cause was worthy of their generous support.

"I am not exaggerating," he said, "when I say that Shantiniketan is worthy of a greater support than the Bangalore Research Institute for which Tata gave Rs. 30 lakhs. I wonder if the Research Institute is known anywhere outside India. But the Shantiniketan is known wherever the Poet's name is known, and known as an institution that inspired the Poet's great poetry. The Poet used to call it his toy or plaything, but his poesy would have been barren without the plaything. The Shantiniketan whose school of art and culture attracts students from far and near has produced painters and poets and scholars. There are among those who humbly serve it—a scholar like Kshitibabu and an artist like Nandababu, who are both unrivalled in their respective domains. And no institution of this type in India is managed with so little finance."

"Our devotion to the Poet will remain as long as we live. But how can we have the same devotion for Shantiniketan? How long will it last?"

"The institution which inspired the Poet received in its turn inspiration from the Poet, and you may be sure that there are people there who will devote their lifetime to its service. Shantiniketan is a romance. It grew out of the Poet's father's idea to found a home of peace and culture. It is a tragedy that monied men, who have gained so much from Shantiniketan, do not appreciate its full worth. The Poet is an asset for India and for the world for all time, and it is the duty of monied men to put his institution on a sound basis."

If Gandhiji appreciates Shantiniketan so much as a home of art, why does he himself have *ashrams* of a different character? For the simple reason that art is the need of quite a fair number of our people and it must be fulfilled in a clean, wholesome and inexpensive way. Shantiniketan, with its branch at Shriniketan, does it. That was

what attracted Deenabandhu Andrews to it, and he identified himself with it, and he became its champion collector.

"You can never give too much to Shantiniketan," said Gandhiji summing up his impassioned appeal.

"But," some one said, "we are in the midst of turmoil. These are not times for money collection. Can't we wait until we have won our freedom?"

"Rabindranath could not wait to come to the world until freedom was won," said Gandhiji in a neat retort.

Bombay, 18-5-42

M. D.

## QUESTION BOX

(By M. K. Gandhi)

### The Difference

Q. You have repeated in your interview to the Press in Bombay what you have said often that nothing can prevent the Muslims from having what they want unless the objectors would fight over the issue. What is the difference between you and Shri Rajgopalachari's attitude?

A. Though he has quoted me in his support I see the same difference between him and me that there is between chalk and cheese. He yields the right of secession now to buy unity in the hope of keeping away the Japanese. I consider the vivisection of India to be a sin. My statement amounts to the enunciation of the proposition that I cannot prevent my neighbour from committing a sin. Shri Rajgopalachari would be party in the sin, if the neighbour chooses to commit it. I cannot be party. What is more, I am firmly of opinion that there is no unity whilst the third party is there to prevent it. It created the artificial division and it keeps it up. In its presence both Hindus and Muslims and for that matter all seemingly conflicting or disgruntled interests and elements will look to it for support and will get it. Their interest is greater than the independence of their country. No one need throw my other statement in my face, viz., that there is no independence without unity. I do not withdraw a word of it. It is an obvious truth. From its contemplation I have discovered the formula of inviting the British power to withdraw. Their withdrawal does not by itself bring independence. It may induce unity or it may lead to chaos. There is also the risk of another power filling in the vacancy if it is there. If, however, the withdrawal is orderly and voluntary the British not only gain a moral height but secure the ungrudging friendship of a great nation. I wish all conflicting elements and interests will make a combined effort to rid India of foreign domination. If they do not, any understanding with them will be like a house built on sand. Fear of the Japanese occupation of India has blinded C. R. to the obvious truth. Independence sheds all fear—fear of the Japanese, of anarchy, and of the wrath of the British lion.

Sevagram, 18-5-42



## NEED OF SCIENTIFIC KNOWLEDGE

[The following is a free rendering of Shri Vinoba's address to a national school at Tumsar:]

The greatest need in our education today is science. India may be said to be primarily an agricultural country, but she cannot maintain herself wholly on farming. European countries are mainly industrial, and yet France can show  $3\frac{1}{2}$  acres of land per head; whereas we in India own land to the extent of only an acre and a quarter per head. In America, the wealthiest country in the world, both agriculture and industry go hand in hand on a large scale. She is spending 55 crores daily on the war. According to our standard of living it would cost 5 crores daily to feed our population of 40,00,00,000. America could, therefore, feed us for 11 days with what she is spending daily on destruction! Our income from land per capita is Rs. 50 to 60 per annum and from industry Rs. 12. There is no difference between our land income and that of England, but the average income from industry in England is Rs. 512 as against our Rs. 12 per head!

In order to change this piteous state of affairs all our teachers, students and the general mass of people must take to handicrafts and become experts therein. And one cannot become an expert without scientific knowledge in the subject concerned.

Our kitchens should, for example, be experimental laboratories. Those who work in them should have a knowledge of dietetics, and thereby know what type and what amount of food is required by different persons.

Everyone has to use a latrine, but few have proper knowledge of sanitation and hygiene which is essential for the health of society. What is now wasted could be turned into wealth, if only we had the requisite knowledge.

Why disease attacks one is a matter of research; likewise how it should be treated and what should be done in order to prevent recurrence. No adequate answers can be found without scientific knowledge.

We may spin and weave, and yet if we are unacquainted with all the processes of khadi production, we are not far removed from the factory automaton.

Shri Vinoba said he had been told that boys in the Tumsar School were not one whit behind those of other institutions in passing examinations in English, but he wondered what special pride could be taken in this. It would be far better if they had a good knowledge of hygiene, sanitation, physics and chemistry than English. And this knowledge could easily be assimilated in craft-work.

But while the greatest stress must be laid on scientific knowledge in regard to our daily lives and work, the spiritual side was on no account to be neglected. Language is the medium for instruction in both spheres, but it is a mere messenger in either case. For example, we will not sit down and cry if our spinning wheel goes out of order or a scorpion stings us. We will apply our scientific knowledge to remedy the wheel or decrease the pain. In the same way we ought to

cultivate the realisation of the detachment of the soul (*atma*) from matter. This detachment must grow and become a habit with us.

A true school is that where work is scientifically done and the student understands the whys and wherefores of each action. Otherwise the institution is a mere factory. An ideal school may cost a little more to run, but the effort will be amply repaid in the mental and moral growth of the students and in the quality of their output. The minutest details will be attended to in every department of life. Nothing will be forgotten, there will be no cramming, and craft-work will be fascinating. If the teachers are able to make the students take a live interest in their work, nothing will be humdrum, nothing will be a burden. The teacher must be able to impart knowledge from the seemingly little things of everyday life. National schools should be made attractive, and it is the duty of parents to send their children there.

Children are a nation's wealth, but today they are underfed. The minimum requirements in diet should be made available to them in our national schools, or else how can we expect them to work?  
(From *Khadi Jagat*)

A. K.

## PURPOSEFUL POLITICS

(Continued from last issue)

Government

Even granting that we obtain this freedom what shall we do with it? Government is the delegated permanent part of the people's self. Therefore a free people will strive to control the activities of this their better half. Politics is the lever with which this great instrument is switched off or on. This switch board must be operated under the will of the people. A Government properly conceived should be the largest partner in the business of the people, the senator of the people's education, the arbitrator to settle their disputes, the communities' social panchayat—in short, the head, arms, legs and heart of the nation. For any Government to so function it will have to be imbued with the spirit and culture of the people. The Britishers have consciously kept themselves apart from the people. Hence it is impossible for them to play this role. Only a free people can thus be at the helm of their own ship of State and direct her course towards national prosperity.

It is against human nature to expect Great Britain to govern India for India's good. Hence it is not fair even to Britain to let her continue in this impossible position. The purpose of our politics is to get control of these key positions in the country so as to serve the needs of the masses better and help them to develop themselves to the utmost capacity they have been endowed with.

(Concluded)

J. C. K.

By R. B. Gregg

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# HARIJAN

May 24

1942

## LAWLESSNESS IN SINDH

(By M. K. Gandhi)

Prof. Ghanashyam assisted by Shri Assandas, a worker in Thar Parkar, has recently visited the area affected by the Hurs' rebellion. He has prepared an elaborate report of which he has sent me a copy. The following is a condensed summary of the report in the Professor's own language:

"Not many people in Sindh realise the grave situation that has arisen owing to the activities of the Hurs. Hurs are followers of the Pir of Pagaro who has been arrested by Government and is said to be under detention in Nagpur. All his followers are not Hurs. His following is said to run in lacs. The Hurs are mostly concentrated in Sanghar, Sinjhor and Shahdadpur Talukas. They are considered to be a criminal tribe and several of them were kept in criminal settlements. These were abolished some years ago. But they were still under orders to report themselves regularly to the police. The Hurs believe that their Pir has been arrested on the false reports of the police against him. They nurse the grievance that none of them is allowed to interview him. They are said to complain of police oppression in having to report themselves daily at police stations.

"After the arrest of the Pir of Pagaro, search of his house near Sanghar and destruction by fire of the huts attached to the bungalow where the Pir's followers used to gather, have so enraged the Hurs that they have started on a fierce campaign, as a challenge to Government, of murders, dacoities, attacks on railway stations, destruction of property in P. W. D. bungalows, cutting of telephone and telegraph wires, making breaches in canals etc. There is not a day when reports of these criminal activities are not received. They were in the beginning mostly confined to Sanghar, Sinjhor and Shahdadpur Talukas, but have now spread to other parts of Sindh also, specially the Khipro Taluka which adjoins Sanghar Taluka. The Hurs may be said to have risen in rebellion against the Government with a view to get the Pir of Pagaro released. They have such an intense faith in him that they are prepared to sacrifice their all and even their lives for his sake. It is now more than six months since the Pir of Pagaro was arrested. In the beginning of this period the frequency of the criminal activities of the Hurs was not as great as now. With the passage of time their activities have assumed not only greater frequency but have extended to other talukas than the original three. The Hurs have started their own Government. Not only have they appointed a leader whom they call their King but have appointed commanders, captains etc. They are said to have divided themselves into groups, and assigned separate jurisdiction

to each group. Their activities were in the beginning directed against Government and those whom they considered as enemies of the Pir of Pagaro or who in any way aided Government against them. But it appears they have changed their tactics and are now attacking all and sundry. No one seems to be free from their attacks, whether he be a zamindar or a *sethia*, Hindu or Muslim, a high paid official or a petty *kotar* or *beldar*, rich or poor, innocent or guilty. Even women are not spared. There is a tradition that Hurs do not attack women or innocent persons. But it is said latterly young and mischievous elements among them have thrown the old traditions to the winds and spare no one. With a view to make their activities more effective, they have started a deliberate move for collecting rifles, guns, ammunitions, clothes and money. Latterly their attacks in many cases have been directed against those who are in possession of these things. In this way they are said to have collected many guns and a large amount of money-cash or ornaments. They organise their attacks in military fashion and are on occasions dressed in Khaki shirts and shorts. When the Khipro-Sanghar bus was attacked on the 16th April, the Commander of the groups was not only dressed in Khaki but wore a hat also. Those who attacked ex-military zamindar Beantsing near Shahpur Chakar were also clad in military dress. This put Khalsa Beantsing off guard. He approached to greet them thinking they were some military soldiers. They attack and shoot under orders. They are also said to be levying taxes from zamindars and merchants. Threats are given to them that their 'Kharas' of wheat would be burnt or they would be dealt with in some other way if they did not pay taxes to them, as they declare themselves to be the Government in those areas. It is said that many people do yield to their threats as otherwise not only their property but even their lives are at stake. There is a general belief in the affected areas that Government are powerless to protect those who render aid to the authorities or who refuse to submit to the dictates of the Hurs. Several persons who have acted thus have been murdered or been targets of other attacks. People are in a state of sheer helplessness. It must not be supposed that Hurs are responsible for all the crimes that are now being committed in Sindh or even in the above talukas. Taking advantage of the situation created by the Hurs several unsocial and criminal elements, of which there is an abundance in Sindh, have let themselves loose, thinking either that the suspicion of their crimes would fall on the Hurs or the police would not take effective steps against them being pre-occupied with the Hur menace. The two main streams of criminal activities: one of the Hurs and the other of non-Hur criminals, have combined into a mighty current which has now flooded the whole of Sindh in general and the above talukas in particular. The enormity of the situation can be realised from the fact that normal functioning of the Government machinery in this area has ceased. In the Sanghar Taluka all the police posts are said to have been



abolished and only one police station has been retained in the Taluka Headquarter, for fear of their being attacked and overpowered by the Hurs and their rifles being taken away. The police parties that go out for investigation of crimes return to the headquarter before sunset. Being afraid of attack at night, they do not venture to do their normal work after sunset. The withdrawals of police posts and the return of police parties to Taluka Headquarter before sunset have so emboldened the Hurs and other elements that they think the British Government has ceased to exist for them. Like the police, the normal functioning of the Revenue Department has also to some extent ceased. The *tapadars*, I was informed, find it very hazardous to move out in 'Tapas' and so they are working in Taluka Headquarters. All revenue collection is done at the Taluka Headquarters and not at the *tapadar's deras*, as is normally done. One *tapadar* was robbed of his revenue collection; two *kotars* were killed. It was said that one mukhtiarkar had to go under police escort for remission work and had to change his dress for that of an ordinary rustic to escape detection as an official. Officials and subordinates are so terror-stricken that they do not function as they would normally do. Even the District Magistrate has to guard himself very strongly during his movements. It was said that trees have been cut off from near his bungalow lest dacoits under cover of these make an attack on him. Even when he goes to play tennis in the club near his bungalow, he has to go heavily protected. Armed police men are stationed near the tennis court and round about the club. Camel-men who carried the kit of Deputy Collector were threatened with dire consequences. They reported the matter and were given strong armed escort. Similar is the fate of the Public Works Department in the affected area. P. W. D. bungalows have been attacked. There is no safety even for zamindars who keep themselves protected with arms as they are being now selected for attacks with a view to rob them of their guns and ammunition.

"The Government have taken some measures to bring the situation under control. Special police has been stationed in hundreds in the affected areas. A special District Magistrate and a special District Superintendent of Police have been put on the duty to suppress the Hur menace, with jurisdiction over both the Thar Parkar and Nawabshah Districts, as the area affected forms part of both these districts. Military has been sent to aid the police. The Sindh Assembly passed a special Hur Menace Act in secret session to meet the situation, setting aside ordinary procedure of criminal law in the matter of security proceedings and trials for scheduled offences against Hurs and those who aid them. All these measures have so far proved ineffective in bringing the situation under control. The things are going from bad to worse. The police is concentrated in Taluka Headquarters and a large portion of it is used in guarding Government offices and officers. It was complained that it was not sufficient for the task before it. The offences are so

many that it is not possible for it to trace each one. The military simply gives patrol rounds at times. These have ceased to create any awe among the Hurs and so have become ineffective in suppressing their rising. The public will be surprised to learn that up to this time, most of the arrests in connection with specific offences in the affected area are those of 'non-murids', that is those who do not follow the Pir of Pagaro. I have stated above that some unsocial and criminal elements other than Hurs have, taking advantage of the situation, started indulging in crime. Some of these elements have been arrested, but so far as the Hurs are concerned, who are directly connected with any specific offence, there has been almost no arrest, compared to the long list of the offences committed. It is true a large number of Hurs, which is estimated to be over fifteen hundred, have been roped in, but they have been arrested not as a result of pursuit in specific offences, but were rounded up with a set plan of which they were not aware, on the occasion of their reporting their presence to police as most of them are required to do.

"None, or almost none, of those who are absconding and who are said to be responsible for murders, dacoities, robberies etc. have been arrested."

The Government machinery has evidently broken down. The real remedy is for Congress members to withdraw from the Assembly and Khan Bahadur Allabux and his fellow-ministers to resign. These should form a peace-brigade and fearlessly settle down among the Hurs and risk their lives in persuading these erring countrymen to desist from the crimes. A deputation known to Pir Pagaro should visit him and induce him to issue unequivocal instructions to his followers to stop their murderous activities. This should not be on condition of release. If he is aggrieved he is entitled to an inquiry. The Government should take the public into their confidence. All this can be done without the resignation of Congressmen and the ministers, it may be urged. My answer would be that the resignations are necessary as proof of the earnestness of the members and the Khan Bahadur and his co-ministers. If they remain in the Assembly they cannot give undivided attention to their task. The decisive reason, however, for my recommendation is that there should be an admission of their helplessness to do anything effective through the Assembly to put a stop to these rebellious activities. That should be an earnest of their desire to make room for those who think they can deal with the grave situation with better effect. The resignations must produce a healthy effect among the people. The selflessness and courage of resigners is likely to prove infectious and induce others to join them. The murder of Seth Sitaldas, a member of the Assembly, regrettable though it is in every respect, pales into insignificance in face of Prof. Ghanashyam's gruesome report. Let the murder serve as a spur to the other members to go among the Hurs and court murder in the act of weaning them from their unlawful and inhuman activities.

On the way to Wardha, 18-5-42



[ P. S.

Since writing the above, I have heard about the terrible railway accident resulting in several deaths including that of Sir Gulam Hussain Hidayatulla's son. The shooting by the Hurs thereafter shows the state of desperation they have reached. This emphasises the recommendation I have made. Nothing short of such heroic action will bring the Hurs to their senses. Frightfulness will only make matters worse. I hope that all parties will join in the attempt to rid Sindh of the spreading rebellion.

Sevagram, 19-5-42

M. K. G.]

### IMPLICATIONS OF WITHDRAWAL

The following are the questions put by a representative of *The News Chronicle* (London) to Gandhiji, [Bombay, 14-5-42] and the latter's replies to them:

1. Q. You have recently asked the British to withdraw from India. Do you think it possible in the present circumstances for them to withdraw all at once? To whom are they to entrust the administration?

A. It has cost me much to come to the conclusion that the British should withdraw from India, and it is costing me still more to work out that conclusion. It is like asking loved ones to part, but it has become a paramount duty. And the beauty and the necessity for withdrawal lie in its being immediate. They and we are both in the midst of fire. If they go, there is a likelihood of both of us being safe. If they do not, Heaven only knows what will happen. I have said in the plainest terms that in my proposal there is no question of entrusting the administration to any person or party. That would be a necessary consideration, if the withdrawal was part of a settlement. Under my proposal, they have to leave India in God's hands—but in modern parlance to anarchy, and that anarchy may lead to internecine warfare for a time or to unrestrained dacoities. From these a true India will rise in the place of the false one we see.

2. Q. How is your policy of non-embarrassment reconcilable with this advice?

A. My policy of non-embarrassment remains intact in terms in which I have described it. If the British withdraw, surely there is no embarrassment; not only so, they become eased of a tremendous burden, if they would calmly consider the meaning of the enslavement of a whole people. But if they persist, well knowing that they are surrounded by hatred, they invite embarrassment. I do not produce it by stating the truth, however unpalatable it may appear for the moment.

3. Q. Already there are signs of civil insecurity; and would not life be even more insecure, were the present administration suddenly to withdraw?

A. Of course, there is civil insecurity, and I have already confessed that insecurity is likely to increase very much only to give place to real security. The present insecurity is chronic and therefore not so much felt. But a disease that is not felt is worse than one that is felt.

4. Q. Were the Japanese to invade India, what would your advice be to the Indian people?

A. I have already said in my articles that it is just likely that the Japanese will not want to invade India, their prey having gone. But it is equally likely that they will want to invade India in order to use her ports for strategic purposes. Then, I would advise the people to do the same thing that I have advised them to do now, viz. offer stubborn non-violent non-cooperation, and I make bold to say that, if the British withdraw and people here follow my advice, then non-cooperation will be infinitely more effective than it can be today, when it cannot be appreciated for the violent British action going on side by side.

### THE BOMBAY INTERVIEW

After a lapse of nearly three years, Gandhiji gave the newspaper representatives in Bombay a political interview. He is so much possessed by his latest idea—the suggestion to the British to withdraw from India—that he readily agreed to meet the press, if only to be able to explain the implications of the suggestion. The whole of the Bombay press was represented, and it is gratifying to note that they confined themselves to strictly relevant and important questions. I must give for the readers of *Harijan* an authentic report.

#### Arbitration

"Would you review the situation created by the Allahabad A. I. C. C. meeting? What would you say regarding Rajaji's quoting your words regarding Pakistan in support of his latest move?"

"I would leave the Allahabad resolutions to themselves. C. R. has quoted me correctly, and I repeat that, if Muslims want anything—no matter what it is—no power on earth can prevent them from having it. For the condition of refusal will be to fight. Supposing Muslims ask for something which non-Muslims do not want to give or could not give, it means a fight. This applies to both the communities. If the Hindus want a thing and if they are all united in the demand, no non-Hindus can resist them, unless they want to fight. But my hope is that some day or other all parties will come to their senses and not insist on their demands being accepted, and consent to go to arbitration. It is an age-long method and a civilised method, and I hope it will be accepted.

"But it is from the frustration of every effort made to bring about unity by me among many others, that has arisen the, for me, logical step that not until British power is wholly withdrawn from India can there be any real unity, because all parties will be looking to the foreign power. For the time being it is British, but it may be French, Russian, Chinese, even then it would be the same thing. I have, therefore, come to the conclusion that real heart-unity, genuine unity, is almost an impossibility unless and until British power is withdrawn and no other power takes its place, that is to say, when India not only feels but is actually independent without a master in any shape or form. Nevertheless I shall try and welcome every effort for peace, well knowing that it is likely to be fruitless."



## Non-violent Non-cooperation

Q. "There is a report about some new scheme that you want to propound in one of your *Harijan* articles about non-violent non-cooperation if any invader came to India. Could you give us an idea?" was the next question.

A. "It is wrong. I have no plan in mind. If I had, I should give it to you. But I think nothing more need be added when I have said that there should be unadulterated non-violent non-cooperation, and if the whole of India responded and unanimously offered it, I should show that without shedding a single drop of blood Japanese arms—or any combination of arms—can be sterilised. That involves the determination of India not to give quarter on any point whatsoever and to be ready to risk loss of several million lives. But I would consider that cost very cheap and victory won at that cost glorious. That India may not be ready to pay that price may be true. I hope it is not true, but some such price must be paid by any country that wants to retain its independence. After all, the sacrifice made by the Russians and the Chinese is enormous, and they are ready to risk all. The same could be said of the other countries also, whether aggressors or defenders. The cost is enormous. Therefore, in the non-violent technique I am asking India to risk no more than other countries are risking and which India would have to risk even if she offered armed resistance."

"But," promptly came the question, "unadulterated non-violent non-cooperation has not been successful against Great Britain. How will it succeed against a new aggressor?"

"I combat the statement altogether. Nobody has yet told me that non-violent non-cooperation, unadulterated, has not succeeded. It has not been offered, it is true. Therefore, you can say that what has not been offered hitherto is not likely to be offered suddenly when India faces the Japanese arms. I can only hope that, in the face of danger, India would be readier to offer non-violent non-cooperation. Perhaps India is accustomed to British rule for so many years that the Indian mind or India's masses do not feel the pinch so much as the advent of a new power would be felt. But your question is well put. It is possible that India may not be able to offer non-violent non-cooperation. But a similar question may be put regarding armed resistance. Several attempts have been made and they have not succeeded. Therefore, it will not succeed against the Japanese. That leads us to the absurd conclusion; that India will never be ready for gaining independence, and seeing that I cannot subscribe to any such proposition, I must try again and again till India is ready to respond to the call of non-violent non-cooperation. But if India does not respond to that call, then India must respond to the call of some leader or some organisation, wedded to violence. For instance, the Hindu Mahasabha is trying to rouse the Hindu mind for an armed conflict. It remains to be seen whether that attempt succeeds. I for one do not believe it will succeed."

## Scorched Earth Policy

Q. "Would you advise non-violent non-cooperation against scorched earth policy? Would you resist the attempt to destroy sources of food and water?"

A. "Yes. A time may come when I would certainly advise it, for I think it is ruinous, suicidal, and unnecessary—whether India believes in non-violent non-cooperation or in violence. And the Russian and Chinese examples make no appeal to me. If some other country resorts to methods which I consider to be inhuman, I may not follow them. If the enemy comes and helps himself to crops, I may be obliged to leave, because I cannot or care not to defend them. I must resign myself to it. And there is a good example for us. A passage was quoted to me from the Islamic literature. The Khaliphs issued definite instructions to the armies of Islam that they should not destroy the utility services, they should not harass the aged and women and children; and I do not know that the arms of Islam suffered any disaster because the armies obeyed those instructions."

Q. "But what about factories—especially factories for the manufacture of munitions?"

A. "Suppose there are factories for grinding wheat or pressing oilseeds. I should not destroy them. But munitions factories, yes; for I would not tolerate munitions factories in a free India if I had my way. Textile factories I would not destroy and I would resist all such destruction. However, it is a question of prudence." Gandhiji continued: "I have not suggested immediate enforcement of the whole programme in pursuance of the demand for British withdrawal. It is there of course. But I am trying, if I am allowed to continue to cultivate and educate public opinion, to show that behind this demand of mine there is no ill-will, no malice. It is the most logical thing that I have suggested. It is in the interests of all, and since it is an entirely friendly act, I am moving cautiously, watching myself at every step. I will do nothing in haste, but there is the fixed determination behind every act of mine that the British must withdraw."

"I have mentioned anarchy. I am convinced that we are living today in a state of ordered anarchy. It is a misnomer to call such rule as is established in India a rule which promotes the welfare of India. Therefore, this ordered disciplined anarchy should go, and if there is complete lawlessness in India, as a result, I would risk it, though I believe, and should like to believe, that 22 years of continuous effort at educating India along the lines of non-violence will not have gone in vain, and people will evolve real popular order out of chaos. Therefore, if I find that all the best effort fails, I would certainly invite people to resist destruction of their property."

## No Moral Support to Britain or America

Q. "Can India give her moral sympathy or support to either of the parties to the war?" was the next question.



A. "My own personal view is well-known. And if I can convert India to my view, there would be no aid to either side; but my sympathies are undoubtedly in favour of China and Russia."

Q. "But what about Britain?"

With quiet determination Gandhiji said: "I used to say that my moral support was entirely with Britain. I am very sorry to have to confess that today my mind refuses to give that moral support. British behaviour towards India has filled me with great pain. I was not quite prepared for Mr. Amery's performances or Sir Stafford Cripps's Mission. These have, in my estimation, put Britain morally in the wrong. And, therefore, though I do not wish any humiliation to Britain—and therefore no defeat—my mind refuses to give her any moral support."

Q. "What about America?"

A. "I expressed my opinion some time ago that it was a wrong thing for America and unfortunate for the world peace that America, instead of working—as she could have worked—for world peace, identified herself with war."

Q. "But was there any alternative for her?"

A. "I am sure she would have, if she had intended, brought about peace. But it is my firm opinion that she did not use her opportunity. I know that I have no right to criticise such a big nation. I do not know all the facts that determined America to throw herself into the cauldron. But somehow or other, opinion has forced itself upon me that America could have remained out, and even now it can do so if she divests herself of the intoxication that her immense wealth has produced. And I would like to repeat what I have said about the withdrawal of British power from India. Both America and Britain lack the moral basis for engaging in this war, unless they put their own houses in order, while making a fixed determination to withdraw their influence and power both from Africa and Asia, and remove the colour-bar. They have no right to talk about protecting democracies and protecting civilisation and human freedom until the canker of white superiority is destroyed in its entirety."

#### Arbitration on Indo-British Question

An English correspondent, keen on finding a solution or a way out, put a most pertinent question at the end: "Would you advocate arbitration for the Indo-British problem? And if so, of what sort?"

A. "Any day. I suggested long ago that this question could be decided by arbitration. How to bring that arbitration about, I do not know. But if the British rulers will accept the principle, it should not be impossible to find impartial arbitrators, though I admit it is a tremendously difficult problem to find impartial arbitrators in this case."

Q. "But you may say the same thing about finding arbitrators on the domestic question too?"

A. "No. It is a comparatively simpler thing. Where British power is concerned it has such great

influence and power—and rightly so—it would be difficult to get hold of arbitrators who would not be biased in favour of Great Britain, and deliver a fearless and just award."

Q. "Cannot there be any arbitration on the question of Independence?"

A. "No, not on the question of Independence. It is possible only on questions on which sides may be taken. The outstanding question of Independence should be treated as common cause. It is only then that I can conceive possibility of arbitration on the Indo-British question. But, as I have said, it is a most difficult question. If ever there is a real adjustment, it will come only when Britain feels that it is wrong to rule over another nation. But when that conviction goes home, they won't need arbitration—we in India won't. But if there is to be any arbitration—and I cannot logically say there should not, for if I did, it would be an arrogation of complete justice on my side—it can be done only if India's Independence is recognised."

Q. "Why did you not go to America in 1931, even though you were pressingly invited by Bishop Fisher?"

A. "Because I had no faith in myself. The invitation was very pressing indeed, and the offer was sincere, and I could easily have spared a fortnight, but I had no faith that I would be able to do any good to India. It would have been a nine days' wonder. I would be lionised and torn to pieces. The American people would listen to you, lionise you, but would go their own way. Gurudeva had been there, Vivekanand had been there, and his followers are still there. But the soul of America is untouched because of her worship of 'the golden calf'. As a people, they are, after all is said and done, worshippers of Mammon."

"Does not America send her troops to India for a personal and selfish motive?" was the last question which revealed the sentiment of the common man in the street.

Gandhiji, correcting the questioner, said: "I suggest a better way of putting the question: 'Is it not disastrous for foreign armies to come to India when India has sufficient man-power?' If you put the question like that, my answer is: 'Decidedly so.'"

Bombay, 18-5-42

M. D.

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# HARIJAN

Editor: MAHADEV DESAI

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[ FIVE PICE

## Notes

### Terrible If True

A terrible tale of ordered anarchy comes from Khurja. A correspondent writes to say that, for no cause he can understand, practically all normal activities have been stopped. Even the sale of bamboos and mats for biers was prohibited. Even building activities have been stopped causing the greatest inconvenience and damage. Money is taken from the people on the slightest pretext and a reign of terror prevails. I have given here the barest outline of the doings in Khurja in the hope that there will be full investigation and if the facts are true further damage will be prevented.

Sevagram, 25-5-42

### Why The Difference ?

A Professor writes :

"You have advised the British to withdraw. About the Princes you say, 'But I would fain hope that the Princes and their advisers will, for their own sakes and for the good of India, curb the tendency in many States which cannot be described by any other adjective than lawless.' Why not ask the Princes whose tyranny is older and perhaps more deep-rooted than that of the British to abdicate immediately ?"

I am surprised that the Professor has failed to see the distinction between the Princes and the Paramount Power. The Princes (present) are a creation of the Paramount Power. They derive their authority from it. Their abdication will not end the princely rule. Another will immediately take the vacant place and in the absence of one the State will be under British administration. Thus, whichever way you look, you will find the British Power by its very nature blocking the way to Truth.

Sevagram, 23-5-42

M. K. G.

### Khadi and Village Industry

Q. You have often said that khadi and village industry are supplementary to each other. But you have created separate organisations for them with the result that a khadi worker, when he goes to a village, is unable to spare time from his own particular work for either village industries or uplift. Recently you have asked for khadi and village industry *bhandars* to be run jointly. Times are such that transport of goods is becoming increasingly difficult. Should not khadi and village industry centres, therefore, be converted into one? Would it not be a good thing if khadi workers gave up all ideas of sending locally produced khadi to distant places and concentrated on both khadi and village

industry production for local use? Khadi workers are asked to penetrate into the houses of artisans with charkha and train them, to rouse a love of village products in them, improve their ways of living, health, sanitation, etc. But if they have no time to spare, how can they do all that is expected of them?

A. I admit that, if a khadi worker's entire time is employed in khadi work, he cannot possibly attend to either village uplift or industry. Three persons would be required for the three tasks. My idea is that in a well-organised village one person should suffice. For example, one worker may devote two hours to taking in yarn, distributing slivers and spinning tools, and sales of khadi; village industry work might take even less, and the remainder of the time he could give to village uplift and general education. This has not till now been possible because the khadi worker's time has been devoted to teaching people how to spin etc. But now the time has come when khadi and village products, locally produced, must also be locally absorbed. In that case one person will be able to do all the work. Today it suffices to say that all this work is complementary — and must become one as far as possible. The amalgamation cannot be imposed; it must be a natural growth. I do not, I cannot, apportion any blame to anyone for the existing position. Our plans have progressed as far as our intelligence and experience could have taken them. The creation of khadi *vidyalayas* is meant to expand and improve the technique of work. We shall learn from them how all departments of village work can be amalgamated.

(From *Sarvodaya*)

M. K. G.

### What Cost Violence?

Many who paid homage to non-violence from afar are disturbed about its practicability when the perspective is altered and when naked violence unashamed threatens to stalk the land. It is, therefore, necessary for us to consider the so-called effectiveness of violence. We shall not have space here to weigh the evils and benefits of violence and non-violence in the social, ethical and cultural spheres. We shall, therefore, confine ourselves purely to the economic field and that too more especially to armaments. Man differs from the brute in his creative propensities. Man's progress, therefore, is measured by his creativeness. Modern warfare, on the other hand, is a competition in destructive capacity. What with centralised methods of production and standardisation we are reaching a rate of destruction which bids fair to wipe out



all civilisation. Instead of men being occupied in supplying one another's wants today they are engaged in destroying not only the productivity of the enemy but also their own, under the scorched earth policy.

In normal times we used to regard a crore of rupees as a colossal sum. A battleship of the type of the "Prince of Wales" costs about 15 crores, and it is sent to the bottom of the sea in a few minutes. During a whole year the Government spends hardly 12 crores on education throughout India — barely three-quarters of the cost of a single battleship. A submarine boat will cost about 50 lakhs. With barely half this amount as capital the A. I. S. A. has provided work for years on end to about 3 lakhs of workers in over 13 thousand villages, distributing in wages over 15 lakhs of rupees amongst them. A single 16 inch gun on a battleship costs about 6 lakhs. Two to three such guns will more than pay for all the famine relief given by Government in a year all over India, the expenditure on which score is about 15 lakhs per year. Two shells fired from such a gun will more than pay the expenses of running the central office of the A. I. V. I. A. for a whole year. When we hear that ten bombers have been shot down it is equivalent to the loss of the whole capital of the A. I. S. A. What Great Britain spends during a single day on this war will more than pay the expenses incurred by all the Provincial Governments and the Central Government for fifteen years in India on the promotion of industries.

J. C. K.

### NON-VIOLENCE IN EVOLUTION\*

Scientific discoveries make books on the various sciences out of date within a short time of their publication. A student of medicine reading books on the aetiology of cancer, for instance, would go to the latest books on the subject, and reject one published two or even one decade ago. Books on surgery published fifty years ago, however valuable then, would not, at an old bookseller's, fetch even the cost of printing them. A monument of research and industry, Hume's History of England, is not read nowadays, as historical research since its publication has made many statements of fact inaccurate or untrue.

Not so however with books of spiritual science. Sage Patanjali gave his Yoga aphorisms centuries ago. Books about the date of Patanjali written fifty years ago would be displaced by later researches. But no commentary, provided it is written by one who has tried to carry out the aphorisms in actual practice, can be out of date, no matter when it was written. For each represents the result of the author's spiritual experience and growth, and every step towards the goal of self-realisation offers help and guidance to pilgrims on the path. Every such pilgrim is an experimenter in the laboratory of Truth which is Infinite. The discovery of Truth

\*Foreword to *Non-violence in Peace and War* to be shortly published by the Navajivan Publishing House, Ahmedabad. Price Rs. 4. Postage 10 As. extra.

will never be complete and any honest record of earnest striving has its value. It is from that point of view that this book<sup>1</sup>, which reproduces chronologically all the most important writings of Gandhiji on the subject of Non-violence, is of the greatest value to those who will follow Truth at all costs and who recognise that Non-violence is the road to that pursuit. This is all the more so when one realises that Gandhiji's experiments in Truth and Non-violence are not only in pursuit of Truth but also in pursuit of aims which one describes as mundane. Prof. Toynbee, the celebrated Research Professor of International History, has in the monumental volumes of *A Study of History* drawn this distinction. "Gentleness" — which he says might equally well be called 'Non-violence' — looks a superficial negative label, but carefully examined it "covers more than one positive reality" and he reveals four distinct positive meanings of the term. Thus "at its lowest the practice of Non-violence may express nothing more noble or more constructive than a cynical disillusionment with the fruitlessness of a violence which has been previously practised *ad nauseum* without having produced the intended results. A notorious example of a Non-violence of this unedifying kind is the religious toleration which has been in vogue in the Western World from about the last quarter of the seventeenth century of the Christian era down to our own day. Alternatively, Non-violence may express a conviction that Man's divinely allotted role in the economy of the Universe is to adopt a patiently passive attitude towards a mundane scene on which it is God's exclusive prerogative to execute His divine will through His own action — which would be hampered and not assisted, if Man were to presume to intervene in what is wholly God's business. Such is, for example, the conviction that underlies the Non-violence of *Agudath Israel*. This second philosophy of Non-violence is as pious and as scrupulous as our first is unprincipled and cynical; but at the same time it resembles the Non-violence of disillusionment in being unconstructive. Non-violence may, however, also be practised as a means to some constructive end; and such an end, again, may be either mundane or 'other worldly'. A classic example of the practice of Non-violence for a mundane end is presented in Mahatma Gandhi's political tactics of Non-violent Non-cooperation. The aim of Mr. Gandhi and his followers is to obtain for the people of India the political boon of complete self-government; and the pursuit of this aim by these tactics is evidence of a high degree of intellectual and moral originality; for the aim in view has been valued at its present enormously current price in a Western Vanity Fair; and our Western nationalists have seldom or never abstained from resorting to violence — of heart, if not of hand — in their endeavours to gain possession of this coveted pearl. Mr. Gandhi's tactical recourse of Non-violence is therefore a noteworthy new departure in the political technique of a Westernized 'Great Society'; but it is not, of course, so great a departure as a

1 *Non-violence in Peace and War*.



practice of Non-violence for reasons which are not just tactical but are strategic. While Mr. Gandhi practises Non-violence because he considers this to be the most efficacious means of pursuing an aim that is mundane, the Non-violence of Jesus and Johann ben Zakkai is a reflection on the mundane plane, of a transference of the field of action from that mundane plane to another."

But Prof. Arnold Toynbee does not quite see the reason why Gandhiji has dared to experiment the method of Non-violence on the mundane plane. It is precisely because Gandhiji refuses to make any distinction between the mundane and the 'other-worldly' plane so far as the moral and physical laws which govern them are concerned. For him the outside universe is but a reflection of the inside universe, and he repeats time and again that "the universe is compressed in the atom. There is not one law for the atom and another for the universe." It is not only the eye of the poet that enables him

To see a world in a grain of sand  
And a heaven in a wild flower,  
Hold Infinity in the palm of your hand,  
And Eternity in an hour

but an actual spiritual experience that gives the conviction that moral principles have no meaning unless they can be made to serve as guides of conduct in the daily affairs of men. It is therefore as a steady growth and evolution of the meaning and implications of Non-violence that this volume deserves to be studied by all who aspire to practise it for mundane or ultra-mundane ends. There is no royal road to train individuals or communities in the difficult art of Non-violence, except, as he says, "through living the creed in your life which must be a living sermon. The expression in one's own life presupposes great study, tremendous perseverance and thorough cleansing of one's self of all the impurities." And then he reveals the tremendous superiority of the spiritual force over physical force: "If for mastering of the physical sciences you have to devote a whole lifetime, how many lifetimes may be needed for mastering the greatest spiritual force that mankind has known? But why worry even if it means several lifetimes? For, if this is the only thing in life, if this is the only thing that counts, then whatever effort you bestow on mastering is well spent. Seek ye first the Kingdom of Heaven and everything else shall be added unto you. The Kingdom of Heaven is Ahimsa."

To outward seeming quite a number of contradictions will be found in this book—as, for instance, were pointed out by that great Pacifist B. De Ligt who, strongly criticised Gandhiji's participation in the Boer War and the First World War of 1914-18, which apparently is irreconcilable with his stubborn opposition to the present war and all wars. Thus there was a time when he felt it necessary to say: "I would not hesitate to advise those who would bear arms to do so and fight for the country." Not that he visualised a Swaraj won by violence. "Under Swaraj of my dream there is no necessity for arms

at all," he said, but added: "But I do not expect that dream to materialise in its fulness as a result of the present effort,"—he meant the Khilafat Struggle of 1921—"because I do not consider myself advanced enough to be able to prescribe a detailed course of conduct to the nation for such preparation." Again and again he used to say in those days: "I have not yet the attainments for preaching universal non-violence with effect." In one sentence he summed up the reason why even as a votary of non-violence he did not preach non-participation in 1914-18: "I had no status to resist participation"—by status meaning the status that service of the country and active practice of the principle for 29 years have given him now. By sufficient service he hoped then to attain some day "the power and confidence to resist the Empire's wars and its war-like preparations." There was a time when he thought in terms of his duty as a unit, however humble, of the Empire, and said that so long as he enjoyed the peace and security that "Pax Britannica" gave, it was his duty to serve the Empire. Today he continues to enjoy that "peace and security", but the peace is the peace of the grave and the security is the security of abject slaves. His soul therefore rebels against the Empire which now to him is a synonym for iniquity and he has vowed incessant opposition to that Empire and its war. Even twenty years ago, he knew that India's impotence affects and corrupts the whole of mankind, but he realises now as never before the implications of that knowledge. These are no contradictions. There is no more contradiction between them than there is between the root and the stem and the bark of a tree and its leaves and its flowers and its fruits. The same sap runs through all as the same passionate pursuit of non-violence runs through Gandhiji's life as through all that he has thought and done, said and written. Let the student read, study, chew and inwardly digest all that is included in this volume, and he will find that there is revealed in it the organic growth of a vital rule of life as of a soul aspiring not only towards Self-realisation, but also towards the emancipation of mankind from strife and bloodshed until, to use the words of Prof. Toynbee, "Violence annihilates itself and leaves Gentleness alone in the Field."

Bombay, 15-5-42

M. D.

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# HARIJAN

May 31

1942

## FRIENDLY ADVICE

( By M. K. Gandhi )

Thus reasons a friend :

"Most people will agree with you that Britain's inability to play fair by India deprives them of the right to expect even our moral support. Ideologically also most people will agree with you that their only honourable course would be to withdraw from India. But inevitably the withdrawal will confront us with immense difficulties which you yourself have admitted. You say you are willing to take all risks. Every brave man is. At the same time is it not your duty to prepare the ground up to a point so as to minimise the risks as far as possible? The people must, for instance, be made to shed cowardice and feel that it is possible for us to stand on our own legs. They must not desire, as so many do, Japanese help or even submit to Japanese domination as they would have to, if that help were taken. They must be weaned, as far as possible, from hatred of the British. And then every effort must be made to secure Muslim support. This is your last and supreme effort to bring freedom to India. Let no step be taken in haste or without due preparation. The time is too critical to bear failure."

As these columns show, with the overwhelming sense of the truth as it appears to me, I am taking every care humanly possible to prepare the ground. I know that the novelty of the idea and that too at this juncture has caused a shock to many people. But I could not help myself. Even at the risk of being called mad, I had to tell the truth if I was to be true to myself. I regard it as my solid contribution to the War and to India's deliverance from the peril that is and the peril that is threatening. It is too my real contribution to communal unity. No one can visualise what it will be like. Only it will not be the sham we have had up to now. It has touched only the few politically minded people. The masses have remained unaffected by it.

Whilst therefore I will take every imaginable care consistent with the urgency, I cannot guarantee freedom from cowardice, before taking any forward step. The cowardice will probably not be shed without much travail. Nor is waiting possible, till hatred abates. Withdrawal of the hated power is the only way to rid the land of the debasing hatred. The cause gone, hatred must cease.

Of course the people must not, on any account, lean on the Japanese to get rid of the British power. That were a remedy worse than the disease. But as I have already said, in this struggle every risk has to be run in order to cure ourselves of the biggest disease — a disease which has sapped our manhood and almost made us feel as if we must for ever be slaves. It is an insufferable thing. The cost of the cure, I know, will be heavy. No price is too heavy to pay for the deliverance. Sevagram, 23-5-42

## FOR RAJAJI

( By M. K. Gandhi )

There is no doubt that Rajaji is handling a cause which has isolated him from his colleagues. But his worst enemy will not accuse him of any selfish motive behind the extraordinary energy with which he has thrown himself into the controversy of which he is the author. It reflects the greatest credit on him. He is entitled to a respectful hearing. His motive is lofty. It is a noble thing to strive for Hindu Muslim Unity, equally noble to strive to ward off the Japanese intrusion. In his opinion the two are intertwined.

Hooliganism is no answer to his argument. The disturbances at his meetings are a sign of great intolerance. Evolution of democracy is not possible if we are not prepared to hear the other side. We shut the doors of reason when we refuse to listen to our opponents or having listened make fun of them. If intolerance becomes a habit, we run the risk of missing the truth. Whilst with the limits that nature has put upon our understanding, we must act fearlessly according to the light vouchsafed to us, we must always keep an open mind and be ever ready to find that what we believed to be truth was, after all, untruth. This openness of mind strengthens the truth in us and removes the dross from it, if there is any. I plead therefore with all who are disturbing Rajaji's meetings not to do so but to give him a patient and respectful hearing to which he is entitled.

The reader knows that I hold Rajaji to be in the wrong. He is creating a false atmosphere. He does not believe in Pakistan nor do the nationalist Muslims and others who concede the right of separation or secession. They and Rajaji say that that is the way to wean the Muslim League from the demand for separation. I am surprised that many Muslims rejoice over a concession of doubtful value. I see nothing but seeds of further quarrel in it. It should be enough to state the proposition that nothing can prevent the Muslim League from having it if the Muslims really want it. They will take it by the vote or the sword unless they will submit to arbitration. But all this can only happen when the British Power is entirely withdrawn and the Japanese menace has abated. Till then there is neither Pakistan nor Hindustan or any other 'stan'. It is today Englistan and may be tomorrow Japanistan, if we do not take care. If all who consider India to be their home now and for ever will pull their full weight to deliver it from the present and the impending peril, and when both the perils are finally removed, it will be time to talk of Pakistan and other 'stan's and to come to an amicable decision or fight. No third party will or should decide our fate. It should be reason or the sword. Rajaji's method leads us to the blind alley unless his admirable and patriotic persistence opens a way unknown to him or any of us. Whatever the fate of different opinions, my plea is for mutual toleration and respect. Sevagram, 24-5-42



## INDIAN SOLDIERS RUN AMUCK?

(By M. K. Gandhi)

I take the following from the report of the Secretary, B. P. C. C., on the shooting alleged to have taken place by soldiers of Indian Signal Corps on 17th and 18th instant at Nivodhai near Dutta-parkar in Barasat subdivision, Bengal:

"A batch of Indian troops about 7 or 8, while engaged in sinking telephone posts entered the garden of Rabindranath Bose at about 1 P. M. on the 17th May, plucked fruits and willfully damaged green mangoes and jack fruits etc, whereupon, Rabindra and Shashindra protested against their conduct. The soldiers thereupon assaulted them and kicked Sashindra when he fell down. Sashindra was attended by Dr. Tulsidas Sarkar, a local medical man. The soldiers also raided the house of Hari Charan Das and Sashanka Das and damaged the cooking and other utensils and threatened the local people with dire consequences.

... "Pachu Gopal Mookherjee, President, Union Board, Suresh Chandra Dey (Honorary Magistrate) and Dr. Tulsidas Sarkar lodged the first information at Barasat Thana at about 5-30 P. M. and reported the matter to the S. D. O. Barasat and sought his protection. The S. D. O., thereupon, directed the Thana officer to post four constables at Nibodhai village in the morning of the 18th and 19th May. The complainants carried written instructions from the S. D. O. to the Thana officer, but unfortunately no police constable was found in the village on the 18th morning, when that unfortunate firing took place. ... Next day on the 18th May, the soldiers numbering about 25 came to the scene of occurrence with arms at about 7 A. M. Out of these men about 12 or 13 entered the Nibodhai village at 8-30 A. M. and started patrolling the streets using abusive language to the villagers and womenfolk and threatened them with their rifles and bullets. They, then, entered the tailoring shop of Ratan Das and assaulted him. After assaulting Ratan Das they again entered the garden of Robin Bose, knocked at the door and threatened to assault the female members of the house. The panic-stricken inmates having raised a hue and cry, a large number of villagers (40/50) assembled there to rescue them. Thereupon, the troops gave a signal to the other members of the corps who were waiting in the neighbourhood, when they also ran to the place of occurrence.

"Four or five local young men, namely, Sushil Kanjilal, Bejoy Kumar Mukherjee, Sambhu Nath Dutta and Santosh Nath approached the soldiers and requested them not to intimidate the innocent people and asked them to leave the place, whereupon they got enraged and assaulted Sushil Kanjilal on the head with the butt end of a gun, (who has since been removed to Calcutta Medical School Hospital for treatment). At this the villagers got frightened and tried to run away when Bejoy Mukherji was pushed down by the soldier and a tussle ensued between them, then he fell into the adjacent tank and the soldiers got hold of him and ducked him in water. The villagers, thereupon, being exasperated ran to his rescue and some of them pelted stones at the soldiers. They then left Bejoy in the tank and opened six rounds of shot as a result of which

Bejoy was wounded and fell down. Santosh Nath and Sambhu Dutta also received gun-shot wounds and have subsequently been removed to Calcutta Medical School for treatment. The condition of Santosh Nath is reported to be very serious. Immediately after firing the signallers left the place dragging the body of Bejoy towards the place where the military lorry was standing. After the soldiers had gone away, villagers began to search for the victim when Sudarshan Mukherji, Sripada Mukherji, Bojomohan Bose and others found Bejoy in a dying condition with intestine ripped open and groaning under the bush, near the railway home signal in a ditch close to Rabindra's garden. He was carried to the nearest Kalibari where he died saying that he was dragged in and trampled upon by the booted-soldiers on his chest and other parts of the body and was also bayoneted. He could say no more and he succumbed immediately.

"It was a deliberate and cold-blooded murder. The whole village seems to be exceedingly panic-stricken. The police did not arrive on the 18th morning although the S. D. O., Barasat, apprehending some trouble directed them to post constables at Nibodhai from the 18th morning. If the police authorities had been a bit more vigilant the catastrophe could have been averted.

"Santosh Nath who had since been lying in a precarious condition died on the 20th morning at Calcutta Medical School Hospital."

No comment is necessary on this wantonness on the part of the so-called defenders of India, assuming the truth of the statement.

Sevagram, 25-5-42

## QUESTION BOX

(By M. K. Gandhi)

The six questions that follow are from workers who endorse my plan for the withdrawal of the British Power. The answers have to be read in the light of the plan. The workers should know that no plan, however wise it may be, can produce the intended effect if it does not commend itself to those for whose benefit it is presented, or if they are too weak to follow it out. Now for my answers:

### Not Right

Q. Are we right in believing that you wish the Congress and the people to become capable as soon as possible of taking over the administration and to do so on the first opportunity?

A. You are not right. I cannot speak for the Congress. But I want no organisation or individual to become capable of taking over the administration. In non-violent technique, it is unthinkable. You do not take over power. It may descend to you being given by the people. In an anarchical state, all turbulent elements will make a bid for power. Those who will serve the people and will evolve order out of chaos will spend themselves in removing chaos. If they survive, the popular will may put them in as administrators. This is wholly different from what you have imagined. People who make a bid for power generally fail to achieve it.

Q. In resisting unjust military or civil orders, is the primary motive, (a) protest against the



Government action? (b) alleviation of the peoples' sufferings? or (c) a preliminary step towards the capture of power?

A. The central point of my conception is non-violence. In trying to educate the people to be without the British or any power, the chief thing is to resist all injustice, no matter how or by whom it is perpetrated. Here resistance is not by way of protest, certainly not a preliminary step towards gaining power. I want thousands of people to resist injustice. If they all were to do so to seize power, they will never succeed. It is surely enough for them to resist the injustice they feel. It is in itself a duty.

Q. Do you expect individual Congressmen to offer resistance in cases where the villagers or general public are not prepared to come forward?

A. If I can speak for Congressmen I would say most emphatically "yes". People who are terror-struck have no gumption. Those who have, have to intercede even at the cost of their lives.

#### Self-Protection

Q. Shall we go to reason with the officials who refuse to allow the organisation of self-protective units? And if they do not listen, shall we still go on?

A. People have to protect themselves against officials, against dacoits and possibly Japanese. If they do not, they are doomed. Therefore they may not brook any interference with their preparation. But they may not bear arms without licence. What I have in mind is gymnastics, drill, lathi play and the like. The authorities are not likely to interfere with these practices. But if they do, the people affected may disregard prohibition and take the consequence.

#### Salt

Q. Villagers here are much troubled for want of salt which they used to get largely from Calcutta. If they defy the Salt Laws they can easily make sufficient stocks for the needs of the Province. Cattle in these parts are given no salt. If salt became free this serious defect could also be removed. May we advise the people to make all the salt they need for the Province? After the rains begin they will not be able to make salt.

A. Manufacture of salt for home consumption is covered by the Irwin-Gandhi Pact. The ten mile radius at present is unworkable. I do think that in these hard times the restriction should be relaxed and as far as possible the people should be left to help themselves. The main revenue from salt is not likely to be affected by the laxity of administration in favour of the poor people. I would advise local adjustment with the authorities.

The idea underlying my plan, however visionary or even mischievous it may appear to be, is that if the setting given is non-violent and the workers understand and carry it out, the withdrawal of British authority can take place without much disturbance and certainly without the Japanese replacing that authority unless, as has been suggested, the popular mind is in favour of the Japanese.

While I was preparing this note, I received a letter from Rajen Babu who writes as follows about salt:

"During my tour I have made it a point to meet representatives of merchants and traders at every place I visit, with a view to ascertaining the position of stock of food-stuffs, kerosine oil and salt and other necessary articles of daily consumption. At every place it has been impressed on me, both by merchants and members of public, that a most serious situation is developing with regard to supply of salt. A big shortage in salt is apprehended at almost every place that I have visited and unless immediate steps are taken it may cause great hardships and sufferings to the people, particularly to the poor who very often have to depend only on salt to enable them to gulp the coarse food they can somehow manage to get. The steps to control the price of salt are ineffective. It is worse than useless to control the price of an article of vital necessity, without ensuring a regular supply of it. The price fixed remains only on paper and cannot be enforced unless there is arrangement to ensure a supply of the commodity. Despite the price fixed by the Government, salt sells at higher prices at many places particularly in mofussil. But what is feared is much more serious than mere high prices, viz., more or less total disappearance of salt from the market and grocers' shops. I am told that orders placed by the merchants are not executed by the people at the centres like Khewra and Shambhar. There is nothing like price control there and a lot more than the apparent price has to be paid by the merchants if they want to get a supply. It is said that this extra cost comes to something like Rs. 300/- to Rs. 400/- or even more per waggon in addition to the standard price of Rs. 1075/- for 550 maunds. At Calcutta although the price control has fixed Rs. 170 for 100 maunds the actual price paid by the buyers is Rs. 270/- This is the state of price control. The difficulty in securing a waggon is not the least of the difficulties that has to be encountered. With increasing difficulty in supply of waggons the prospect is dismal. The Government should take immediate steps to ensure a regular supply of salt: (a) by securing a regular supply of waggons, (b) by ensuring a just and fair distribution of the available stock among dealers, (c) by opening new sources of supply of salt, and (d) by removing all restrictions on the manufacture of salt from sea-water at sea-coast and from earth in the interior. It must be realised that dislocation of transport may make it impossible for salt to be carried from long distances and efforts should be made to make it available within manageable distances so that ordinary means of country transport like bullock carts, boats, pack bullocks, horses and mules may be employed for transporting it. With the monsoon already in sight it is already very late and any further delay in taking effective steps may mean untold sufferings."

I wish the authorities will listen to Rajen Babu and relax the restrictions, before it is too late and people suffer before actual war overtakes the land.

#### In Case of Requisition

Q. Land is being requisitioned for military aerodromes and villagers are being ordered to vacate. If no reasonable arrangements are being made for



the villagers should the orders be resisted? or should we resist in any case as we do not want the aerodromes which are in themselves a danger not a protection, and no arrangements can ever adequately compensate a peasant for his house and fields?

A. No resistance on the ground of all war resistance is contemplated in the present plan. Resistance is permissible [only if villagers do not get equal facilities elsewhere in the shape of land and cottages. No monetary compensation can give evacuated people the land they will need. High-handedness should be resisted.

Sevagram, 22-5-42

### Out of Touch

Q. Do you know, being confined in Sevagram, how much you are out of touch with the public? If you were not you would not talk of resisting the Japanese as you do. For the dislike of the British is so great that the man in the street is ready to welcome the Japanese.

A. I cannot endorse your proposition that I am out of touch with the public. Though I am confined in Sevagram I see all sorts of people and receive correspondence from every nook and corner of India. Probably, therefore, I am more in touch with the people than you can be though living in a big town. You have not the opportunity that I have of gauging the public mind. But let us grant that what you say is right, (I believe you are partially right,) my suppressing the true remedy will not alter the public mind. On the contrary, I am showing the futility of hatred. I am showing that hatred injures the hater never the hated. An Imperial Power cannot act otherwise than it has been doing. If we are strong the British becomes powerless. I am therefore trying to wean the people from their hatred by asking them to develop the strength of mind to invite the British to withdraw and at the same time to resist the Japanese. With the British withdrawal the incentive to welcome the Japanese goes and the strength felt in securing British withdrawal will be used for stemming the Japanese inroad. I endorse C. R. 's proposition that the millions of India can resist the Japanese even without the possession of arms, modern and ancient, if they are properly organised. I differ from him when he says that this can be done even when the British arms are operating without coordination when you force yourself on the British Power. Experience teaches us that hearty coordination and cooperation is impossible where mutual trust and respect are wanting. British presence invites the Japanese, it promotes communal disunion and other discords, and what is perhaps the worst of all, deepens the hatred born of impotence. Orderly British withdrawal will turn the hatred into affection and will automatically remove communal distemper. So far as I can see the two communities are unable to think or see things in their proper perspective as long as they are under the influence of the third power.

Sevagram, 23-5-42

### LABOURERS AS CO-PARTNERS

Gandhiji has for years been saying that in industrial enterprises "workmen should be regarded as equal owners with the shareholders" and that "labour should have the same status and dignity as capital". In the midst of an acute industrial crisis he once seriously asked mill-owners to give to the workmen every year a fixed percentage of the mill's profit after all reasonable charges had been met. The suggestion, if adopted, would have ushered in an era of abiding peace between capital and labour. But that was not to be. That the suggestion, however, far from being either utopian or chimerical, was eminently practicable (provided the millowners' outlook underwent a little change,) is now proved by the following report from America published in the New York weekly *Time* dated 5th January, 1942:

"The plushiest employee profit-sharing plan in big corporation history last week was announced by Beech Aircraft Corp. (The biggest U. S. mass producer of heavy, twin-engined bomber trainers.) The scheme which was okayed with a whoop and a holler by Beech's 6,000 employers gives them one-half of all company profits. Distributions (50% cash, 50% U. S. Defence Savings Bonds) will be made every three months on the basis of the preceding quarter's earnings. Beech thereby expects to generate enough worker co-operation and efficiency at least to offset the cost of the stockholders."

This is no eyewash, for the Beech's is a prospering concern and is going through a boom period. "In the year ended September 30, Beech sales rose 240% to \$ 8,063,000, profits 600% to \$ 472,000. Both were all-time records." Again, "October and November sales almost equalled all those made last year; by next September sales will cross \$ 75,000,000." The labourers will thus be getting substantial sums. But whether the sums are substantial or otherwise, the underlying principle is sound, and will make the workers look upon the concern as their own.

The same issue of *Time* also contains the following news item of a somewhat similar nature:

"Another munitions-maker, Jack & Heintly, Inc. of Cleveland, also paid a remarkable bonus last week: \$ 650,000 to 800 employees. All employees are called 'associates'. They punch no time clocks, get monthly bonuses averaging \$ 30, free coffee, jazz music four hours daily, free hamburgers every Wednesday, will soon get free grub from a company cafeteria."

As regards Britain, a well-known British economist, Geoffrey Crowther (editor of *The Economist*) says in a book of his (*Economics for Democrats*) that "there is a profit-sharing arrangement in the mining industry by which the workers share immediately in any greater prosperity of the employers."

Why should something of the kind not be feasible of adoption in India? C. S.

By R. B. Gregg

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## FACE THE FACTS

Some time ago commenting on a frank speech by Major General Molesworth I tried to show that even if we could be armed the game was not worth the candle at this very late stage. But some of us continue to cry for arms, and when there is no response we bravely say, "Well, we will fight without arms." So far as Government are concerned more frankness from them cannot be expected. In answering the remark: "We are unarmed. What can we do? Let the Government put arms in our hands and we will spring to the defence of India like one man", the Viceroy frankly said: "Were the people of Great Britain armed in June 1940? Were the people of Russia armed in June 1941? During the long agony of China had ordinary men arms in their hands? The answer is 'no'. The mass of the people have never carried arms in any country or in any modern campaign." He ignored the fact that in Great Britain, Russia and China, the mass of the people who were not armed in 1940 or 1941 are armed today, but his answer should leave one in no doubt that it is impossible for him to arm the mass of the people of India. A suicidal military and political policy makes it impossible for the British to do so, no matter what the cost and the consequences. In Malay the same policy was followed. Sir Richard Winstedt, formerly General Adviser to the Johore State, in a letter to the *Daily Telegraph* scouts the suggestion that the Malays were "soft" or unpatriotic, asks how the Malays could be expected to defend their country when there were only two regiments led by officers with poor knowledge of Malays and their language, and says: "It is for the Imperial Defence Committee to explain the omission to raise more troops and provide a permanent nucleus of officers with a thorough knowledge of the Malay terrain, language and peoples. What must Malays think of that omission now? British prestige has had a staggering blow and quite the least we can do now is to refrain from criticism of those whom we were pledged to protect and whom we could not save and not to dream of reprisals against a country which, left by us in the lurch, may have to pretend collaboration with Japan."

Nothing can be more patent than this that they were either unable or unwilling to arm the mass of people in Malay and they are in the same predicament here. Then why not face the facts? The demand for withdrawal of the British power far from being intended to embarrass them is meant to indicate an honourable and dignified way to extricate themselves from the miserable mess they have made. If they depart they will have had the credit of having done the right thing. The Indians will then be free from one complication.

As for those of us who cry for more arms, we should realise that it is a cry for the moon, and it is best for us to educate and organise our people for non-violent non-cooperation. A writer in the

New York *Nation*, who is supposed to be a military expert, has made out a case for providing the people of Hitler-occupied Europe with arms, which should be rained on them from aeroplanes from America. "The weapons supplied must be simple enough," he says, "for untrained persons to operate and effective enough when employed with surprise and stealth to give the men temporary equality with German soldiers. The rifle does not possess the shock power required. The ideal weapons for counter-revolution are the submachine gun and the high power fragmentation grenade. Both are relatively simple to manufacture, easy to operate and deadly at close range." Whatever be the military knowledge of the writer, those in charge of the war in America certainly know better and they would not think of launching on the quixotic plan put forth in the article. It is impossible both selfishly and practically. America cannot afford, for naturally selfish reasons, to proceed on that wild goose chase. It would be easier for America to follow the plan with regard to India, but America and England know their business better. As for the poor people of vanquished Europe, if they tried to rise up in arms against Hitler, there would be far more death and destruction in the wake of their armed rebellion than there is today. But it is open to them to follow the way of non-violent non-cooperation. Nearly two million Poles are in Germany as agricultural labourers and the same number are in Russia which is fighting the war for democracy. And people from other countries are being drawn as combatants and non-combatants by Hitler. Would it not be easier for them, provided they had the will, to refuse all cooperation rather than rise up in revolt with the help of arms which may be supplied to them from America?

But whatever may or may not be possible for them, there is no doubt that that is the only way that is open to us, and also possible to us having in view the fact that we have received training, however imperfect, in the technique for several years. Both the authorities and we have to face the facts.

Sevagram, 24-5-42

M. D.

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# HARIJAN

Editor : MAHADEV DESAI

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[ FIVE PICE

## Notes

### A Triple Tragedy

The *National Herald* is an institution. It has a directorate which has no personal or financial interest in it. It is founded by Jawaharlal Nehru. It is only in India that the security of such a paper can be forfeited. In fact why any security at all from it? And they need the greatest assistance possible from him in the war effort. They have exploited his stray sayings torn from their context. In any case, what do the Government expect from their repressive policy? Consider this forfeiture of security in conjunction with the arrest and detention of Rafi Ahmed Kidwai, ex-Minister, the organiser of the Congress in U. P. and a Director of the *National Herald*. Put these two acts side by side with the wanton and almost indecent search of the A. I. C. C. Office. And the tragedy is complete. This triple act is in my opinion a great hindrance to national war effort. It is so mad as to amount to an invitation to the Japanese to walk into India. It is a justification for my friendly invitation to the foreign Government to abdicate in favour of the nation whatever it may be. It is bold, it is hazardous. The British are capable of taking risks such as very few are. Let them take the risk I have suggested and it will be their greatest war effort. It alone can save the situation, if anything can, so far as India is concerned. As a first step let them revoke the forfeiture order, discharge Rafi Saheb, and return the papers seized from the A. I. C. C.

Sevagram, 31-5-42

### Jodhpur

From Jodhpur comes the news that Shri Jainarayan Vyas has been arrested for daring to seek an interview with the Maharaja and for proposing to carry on the movement for responsible government in Jodhpur.

Evidently Shri Jainarayan Vyas had no other choice. I wish the Jodhpur workers all success. But I hope they have realised that they have to plough the lonely furrow. They will have abundant sympathy from all over India, but dry sympathy will give them no help. Help must come from their own resolute will and unflinching courage.

Sevagram, 30-5-42

### Sardar Prithvisingh

I am sorry that after association with me since his discovering himself and allowing himself to be arrested, Sardar Prithvisingh has parted company with me, having lost all faith in me all of a sudden

and as a result of a single talk with me. This naturally led him to tender his resignation from the Ahimsaka Vyayam Sangh. As a natural corollary to this step, the trustees of the Sangh have decided to wind up the Sangh and close the Vyayam Shala, which was established by the Sangh, purely to let him make experiment and find out, under my guidance, the scope and quality of non-violent Vyayam. I am hoping that, though he has lost faith in me, he has not lost it in *ahimsa* to which he was led after close and careful self-examination during years of secrecy.

Sevagram, 29-5-42

M. K. G.

## QUESTION BOX

(By M. K. Gandhi)

Q. "Is it a fact that your present attitude towards England and Japan is influenced by the belief that you think the British and the allies are going to be defeated in this War? It is necessary that you clear the position in this respect. A very important leader in the Congress thinks like that and he says that he is sure because he has this knowledge from his personal talks with you."

A. I wish you could have given the name of the leader. Whoever he is, I have no hesitation in saying that it is not true. On the contrary I said only the other day in *Harijan* that the Britisher was hard to beat. He has not known what it is to be defeated. Of the Americans in this very issue, you will see my answer to *The Sunday Despatch*. It contradicts the "leader's" statements. He has therefore either misunderstood me or you have misunderstood him. But I have said in my talk for the past twelve months and more that this war is not likely to end in a decisive victory for any party. There will be peace when the exhaustion point is reached. This is mere speculation. Britain may be favoured by nature. She has nothing to lose by waiting. And with America as her ally she has inexhaustible material resources and scientific skill. This advantage is not available to any of the Axis powers. Thus I have no decisive opinion about the result of the War. But what is decisive with me is that I am made by nature to side with weak parties. My policy of non-embarrassment is based upon that nature and it persists. My proposal for British withdrawal is as much in the Britain's interest as India's. Your difficulty arises from your disinclination to believe that Britain can ever do justice voluntarily. My belief in the capacity of non-violence rejects the theory of permanent inelasticity of human nature.

Sevagram, 30-5-42



### A REMINISCENCE OF C. F. A.

The five lakhs for the Deenabandhu Memorial could not have been made up in a week but for the generous response of some of the wealthy friends in Bombay. But it must not be forgotten that these include the meagre contributions of the poor—some of whom cherish the memory of the Deenabandhu who worked for them in Fiji, New Zealand and South Africa. A number of people from a village—Karadi Matwad—in Surat District have sent a sum of Rs. 131-4-0 by M. O., made up of small contributions. Some of these, I am told actually knew C. F. A. in New Zealand, and in gladly giving their contributions they said that was the least they could do. Very little is known of C. F. A.'s arduous work in these distant lands. "His activities on behalf of suffering humanity were so extraordinarily varied," says Mr. Hoyland in his memoir, that "the details of them have been forgotten even by himself." But a friend who worked with him in Fiji has a vivid memory of the trips and sends a record which is worth preserving. The system of indenture was a kind of extension of the slavery system for over eighty years after slavery had been nominally abolished, and C. F. A. was one of those whose souls rebelled against the iniquity, immorality and inhumanity of that tyranny. Just as C. F. A. made up his mind as early as 1928 that the British rule in India must be ended and India should be made independent, even so he decided that the indenture system admitted of no improvement, and it must be abolished root and branch. With this end in view he made several pilgrimages to Fiji, incurred the wrath of the owners of sugar companies and the authorities, both of whom worked in an unholy alliance of exploitation and oppression of the poor labourers who went there not knowing what awaited them. All that the sugar companies were concerned about was cheap labour. Before the curse was abolished it was necessary that there should be some education among them. The Deenabandhu's first visit was on a commission of inquiry. The second visit he made on his own, determined that some proper arrangement should be made for the education of the children of the labourers, if Government or the Sugar Company would do nothing in that behalf. His visit was misunderstood and misrepresented. Some tried to make out that he had come to organise a strike and revolt of labour against the Company. He arrived at Lautoka, visited Indians in their cottages and various settlements, and within a week selected three centres—Nadi, Sabeto and Karavi—all on the northern side of the Island where only Christian Mission Schools under the supervision of Europeans existed. He decided that the schools should be in charge of Indians, and education to be given them should be such as would enable them to maintain contact with the land of their birth and their culture. He had to select for this teachers from ex-government interpreters who were then the only educated Indians available as teachers. Shri N. G. Mukerji was appointed in charge of

Sabeto School and Shri S. C. Mitter in charge of Nadi School. Both these men, our correspondent says, had come to Fiji under contract to serve as clerks and interpreters but both resigned. The third school could not be organised. Before any thing could be done, he received a confidential message that if he did not leave Fiji in dignity he would be expelled. An Indian merchant helped him in booking a passage for Sydney and he sailed without a word to the public. His visit was not appreciated by the Australian overseers in the employ of the Colonial Sugar Refining Company, a district commissioner had asked his own Indian clerks to spy the Deenabandhu's movements, and an urgent meeting of the Legislative Assembly was called to bring into force a law for deporting undesirable persons from the colony. A warrant had been issued deporting him from Fiji as he was an agitator interfering with labour, but before the warrant could be served on him he had sailed for Sydney. On arrival in Australia he delivered his famous lectures. If he really wanted to make trouble and add to the discontent there he would have stayed in spite of the warrant and disobeyed it. But he was moderate to a degree, and he carried his ministry of conciliation to the extreme limit.

Sevagram, 24-5-42

M. D.

### HARIJANS AND SAVARNAS

As usual there are good and bad items to note in connection with Harijan work. There has been plenty of agitation regarding temple-entry for Harijans in Maharashtra. The Kala Rama Temple in Nasik which was the centre of this agitation is not yet open to the Harijans, nor even the famous temple at Pandharpur where thousands of Harijans go from everywhere and have 'darshan' from a distance. But slowly and silently reform is progressing, and on the 7th of May, 1942, Her Highness the Dowager Maharani Saheba of Kolhapur threw open a newly built temple to the Harijans at Khatgun, a village in Satara District. The village has only a population of 1500, and may be thus regarded as insignificant. But the importance of the event lies in the fact that the inhabitants themselves collected about Rs. 10,000, built the Shri Ram Temple, and in the teeth of the opposition of a few sanatanists had this opened by the Maharani. The Chief of Aundh with his son Appasaheb, Shri Satvalekar, Kakasaheb Barwe, Shri Pandurang Patil and others interested in Harijan welfare and in the uplift and purification of Hindusim were present at the ceremony. The village people made all the arrangements for the reception of the guests and for the huge meeting which was attended by about 10000 people including Harijans from neighbouring villages, and for a *bhajan* party in the *sabha-mandapa* of the temple, in which also Harijans took part.

There was, as I have mentioned above, a certain amount of opposition and those who sponsored it tried to scare away the Harijans without much success. But it is now the duty of the reformers who outnumber the orthodox to disarm their



opposition, and to win them over by patient persuasion, service, and work among the Harijans.

There is some glad news from Gujarat too. In the Kaira district the District Board has had to close some schools because Harijan children would not be admitted to the schools, and it has been a regular tussle between the orthodox and the workers. News now comes of a village Govindpura — where the Harijan Sevak Sangh has opened a school because there was none, and where the Baraiyas who are generally illiterate and superstitious gladly cooperated by sending their children to the school. The teacher is a Harijan, and the Baraiya children and Harijan children now learn sitting side by side in the school. The school has no building of its own. The inhabitants agreed to build one themselves, the Harijans undertaking to build the mud walls and the Savarna Hindus undertaking to build the rest. Foundation of the school was laid on the 20th of May. Harijans were invited to take part in the ceremony, and *prasad* was distributed to all including the Harijans and the Harijan priest was garlanded by the Savarnas.

Both the incidents are quite commendable. But when one thinks of the work still to be done one is filled with despair. No major State has yet followed the example of Travancore. Mysore which had in the late Maharaja a ruler noted for his piety and devotional temperament will not yet open its temples to the Harijans. Some of the best known of our shrines are still notorious for their having kept their gods untouchable and unseeable for the Harijans. The orthodox Patidars in some of the villages in Kaira district will not listen to reason and would rather let their children go without education than let them sit side by side with Harijan children in schools. Harijans in the Garhwal district and in parts of Rajputana are not suffered to celebrate their marriages and have marriage processions as any other Hindus can do.

As I am writing this comes a tale of woe from Gujarat.

"On the morning of May 13," says a newspaper report, "a Harijan went to take tea at a Muslim hotel, but as no one was in the hotel, he went to another hotel. When the owner of the first hotel learnt about this, it is alleged, he beat the Harijan mercilessly. Then at about 8 A. M. some Muslims went to the locality of the Harijans and, it is alleged, beat them mercilessly." This if true is a case of Muslims following the Hindus slavishly in their superstitions, and we have none but ourselves to blame for it. Only the other day in a public hotel situated in the compound of a police court in Nagpur district, an educated young man, the son of an ex-M. L. C., who had gone to the court on government work was belaboured by the men in the hotel. He reported the matter to the police, but the owner of the hotel, a government licensee, reported the matter to the Tahsildar who ordered the young man to pay Rs. 5 to the hotel-keeper by way of compensation as he had polluted the hotel!

And may I mention here the scandal of the crematorium at Vile Parle? To exclude dead

Harijans from a crematorium is a much worse sin than to exclude living ones from a hotel. Death ends all hates and should obviously end the hate that there is at the bottom of untouchability. When one thinks of these very dark spots, it becomes difficult to enthuse over the bright ones I have mentioned in this note.

Sevagram, 24-5-42

M. D.

### ANTI-BRITISH FEELING

When a man like Kunwar Sir Jagadish Prasad asserts that there is plenty of anti-British feeling among the Indian public, he would not say so lightly, and without good reasons. A correspondent has sent a number of cuttings containing statements by responsible people about racial discrimination against the Indian evacuees from the Malay Peninsula, Singapore and Burma, and the Marwari Relief Society's report has just been published in the newspapers. The correspondent, a highly educated person, asks:

"Apart from non-violence, why talk of cooperation on any terms, in face of insults such as these? Why have to choose the first robber instead of the second who is trying to rob the first? Why choose at all? I am inclined to believe that so long as England is here, there shall be racial discrimination in all its worst forms. Such things bring out the worst in one. Hate is the predominant feeling."

Another correspondent who happened to interview a high placed Indian official with regard to the behaviour of the soldiers sends a report of the talk he had with this official:

"With regard to the question of compensation, he told me that the government were not responsible for the deeds and misdeeds of their servants when off duty, and therefore the question of compensating the victims of the assaults did not arise. I asked him to let me have his answer in writing, particularly his views with regard to compensation and action that the government were taking to check such ugly happenings. But he refused to give me anything in writing and told me that he was not obliged to answer my letter. He even went the length of telling me that agitators were making capital out of such incidents and he tried to compare conditions in this country with conditions in Great Britain where all these tommies were befriended by the people and specially young girls in the streets and cafes in towns and villages of England. He even regretted that the ungrateful people of this country were not providing all the fun and facilities for the soldiers who have come all the way from England to defend and protect our country."

It is things like these that sink and spread the anti-British feeling. If the British withdraw voluntarily, and withdrew their soldiers too who suffer from want of fun and frolic here, this anti-British feeling would vanish and give place to a genuine feeling of friendliness.

Sevagram, 29-5-42

M. D.

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# HARIJAN

June 7

1942

## DIFFERENCES VERY REAL

(By M. K. Gandhi)

"Your latest advice to the British to withdraw from all Asiatic possessions or at least India is in accord with a general but undefined wish of a good section of the Indian public. Rightly or wrongly that wish is based upon the feeling that but for the Britisher making India the arsenal of his fight against the Axis, Japan may not have good cause for attacking India and will not do so. Even supposing Britain were to accede to this position, you do not suppose that Japan will on no account attack us. Very probably they may, and I am sure they will if only to get control of the vast material resources we have and use the same against their enemy. In which event you have advised non-violent resistance by us, but the Britisher will still carry the war against his enemy into our country (as is now done over the air in Burma, Siam, Indo-China, and occupied Europe) dictated, so they will say, solely by military considerations. None of these troubles may arise if the belligerents accept your method of settling disputes. But I see no near prospect of it nor do you. Meanwhile we may still have war in our midst each side saying that it is absolutely necessary to prevent the other from getting support for his operations. The resultant suffering will be ours and even if we hold on non-violently against the invader, it will not prevent the erstwhile possessor, from showering death and destruction on account of the enemy but all in our land and exactly over our heads. Perhaps Rajaji's attempt to organise a nation-wide resistance to the invader even at the cost of cooperating with the British arms is aimed at avoiding this futility of suffering. Even his method involves suffering, but is it not likely to be accepted more readily and with enthusiasm as being connected with the sole desire for preserving freedom and independence from aggression? It may also be that he feels that during and by that actual operation of mutual cooperation there may arise on our side a greater strength to achieve our independence and on their side a real appreciation of that strength and induce a feeling that it would serve no purpose to refuse the Indian demand any longer. . . . I should entreat you to let me know if I am correct in the above analysis and if so it does not reveal a fundamental difference between you and Rajaji in this critical hour of our history. In which event, you alone can show us the good and real way out, without futile suffering."

This is a very cogent letter from a friend who is most anxious to bridge the political gulf between Rajaji and me. But it cannot be by any make-believé. On the contrary any make-believe will mislead the country and serve neither his immediate purpose nor mine. We love the country with an equal passion. But our modes of service for the time being are diametrically opposite. He

believes in resisting the threatened Japanese attack with the British aid. I regard this as impossible in the long end. India is not the home of the British people. If they are overwhelmed they will retire from India every man and woman and child, if they have facilities enough to carry them, even as they retired from Singapore, Malaya and Rangoon. This is no reflection on them or their bravery. Every army would have done likewise. But most probably from India they will not take with them the Indian army. They will perhaps expect them to carry on the battle by themselves. No doubt they would try to harrass the Japanese army if they can from outside. So there would be no difference in the position imagined by my correspondent and what I have adumbrated. Only under my plan what is contemplated is an orderly withdrawal by the British as if it was a premeditated military movement which will, let us assume, please millions of Indians. Then the hated British will become esteemed friends and allies. They will operate in concert with their allies the Indians even as they would, say, with the Chinese. The whole thing becomes natural and a mighty force is voluntarily available to the British and to us. Add to this the moral height which Britain will occupy.

As for communal unity, the third party being removed unity will follow as day follows night. Unity will not precede but will succeed freedom. Today we do not even know that the goal of the Congress and the League is one. And you cannot bribe the League to cooperate for independence. Either the League believes that India is as much the home of Muslims as of non-Muslims, or it does not. If it does, it must first free the home from bondage before partitioning it. To-day there is nothing to partition. After ridding the home of the foreign occupant, it can demand partition if it wishes and get it by negotiation or force. However, if it does not believe in India being the home of the Muslims, there is no question of negotiations for freeing India from bondage.

Rajaji's plan is, in my opinion, wholly unnatural. He wants to thrust himself on the British power which does not want him, for as the possessor by right of conquest it gets all it wants. In order to thrust himself on the British he gives the League the right of self-determination which every single individual has whether the others recognise it or not. Rajaji does not like partition and hugs the belief that his superfluous recognition of the inherent right will enable him to avoid partition.

I advise my correspondent not to worry over our differences. We know and love each other enough to let time correct the error, whether it lies on my side or his. Meanwhile a frank and bold admission of differences and their exact nature makes for healthy education of public opinion. What is needed is avoidance of anger and intolerance, the twin enemies of correct understanding.

Sevagram, 29-5-42



## UNFAIR TO AMERICA?

Proceeding evidently on Reuters' summary of Gandhiji's statement about America during the interview he gave to the Bombay press, The *Sunday Despatch* of London sent Gandhiji the following cable:

"You are reported as saying that America could have kept out of the war if she had wished. How can you justify such a statement in view of the fact that while at peace America was attacked by the Japanese who simultaneously declared war on her."

To this Gandhiji sent the following reply:

"Cable just received. Evidently you have not my full statement. Part relating to America runs thus: 'I know that I have no right to criticise such a big nation. I don't know all the facts which have determined America to throw herself into the cauldron. But somehow or other opinion has forced itself on me that America could have remained out and even now she can do so if she divests herself of intoxication that her immense wealth has produced. And here I would like to repeat what I have said about the withdrawal of the British power from India. Both America and Britain lack the moral basis for engaging in this war unless they put their own houses in order by making it their fixed determination to withdraw their influence and power both from Africa and Asia and removed the colour bar. They have no right to talk of protecting democracy and protecting civilisation and human freedom until the canker of white superiority is destroyed in its entirety.' I adhere to that statement. How America could have avoided war I cannot answer except by recommending non-violent method. My American friendships had led me to build high hope on American contribution to peace. America is too big financially, intellectually, and in scientific skill, to be subdued by any nation or even combination. Hence my tears over her throwing herself in cauldron."

In war it is not always the first act of aggression that determines the causes of the war. That act becomes the occasion, but it is always the result of a series of events preceding it. The murder of the Austrian Crown Prince at Serajevo was but the matchstick that exploded the powder magazine in 1914, but the powder magazine had been getting ready for years before the war. The first act of aggression in America's war with Japan was certainly Japan's, but was that the cause? Rev. John Haynes Holmes who tendered his resignation as pastor of the community church in New York in December last, because he could not use his ministry "to bless, sanction, or support war", said in the course of his last sermon announcing his resignation: "The American people were not guiltless in a war which was the final outrage to the will of God... We have our share of guilt in this disaster. Ours is a war world, to which we have consented and in which we have participated, and this is what happens in such a world."

Evidently Rev. Holmes had better data before him than Gandhiji and so he had no hesitation in proclaiming to the world America's guilt.

Sevagram, 29-5-42

M. D.

## ALCHEMY OF PRODUCING FOOD

(By M. K. Gandhi)

Below will be found an extract from a letter of the Hon. Secretary of Maiwari Relief Society Social Service Department:

"We are on the threshold of an acute food shortage crisis today. A good deal is being heard of the "grow more food" campaign, and it is no doubt a move in the right direction. But in my humble opinion, our leaders have not given due consideration to one considerable potential source of food supply in our country, which if successfully tapped, would feed at least 50 lakhs of our starving fellow-men. I refer the tremendous waste of food that every one of us in this country indulges in, when taking our meals morning and evening and also the disgraceful waste that is usually seen on festive occasions. The aggregate amount thus thrown into the dustbins could easily keep 5 millions of our countrymen from a perpetual state of semi-starvation. While passing along the streets of Calcutta, I have been shocked to find my own brothers and sisters picking up rotten food from the dustbins and eating it. The thought of such a ghastly scene which can be described as nothing short of a national disgrace has haunted me day and night and I have felt ashamed to take my food at home."

The Secretary further asks me to suggest ways and means of organising a campaign popularising the plan suggested in the letter. The plan I can heartily recommend. All the belligerent countries have been forced to cut off food supplies all round. There is naturally therefore not much scope for wastage in these countries. In our country seemingly we are not reduced to the straits to which the belligerent countries are reduced. In reality, however, the wastage which is truly enormous is confined to the few within the cities. The millions are living in a state of perpetual semi-starvation. For them it is like living in a chronic state of war. Day in and day out they know not what a square meal is. For them who have no margin the pressure of the present war can better be imagined than described.

What the Secretary suggests is worthy of consideration. A campaign against waste can be easily organised in all the cities. No householder should be without the knowledge of how he or she can avoid waste. There is here no question of denial. The question is only one of consideration for the poor. All saving thus made will be equal to so much food production without effort. There will have to be literature on the subject. It should not be elaborate. Leaflets should suffice. They must not be argumentative. By facts and figures they should tell the citizens how much waste they are responsible for and how they can avoid it. The horrible superstition that the dishes of the rich should always be over-full so as to leave an ample margin for leavings should be banished forthwith. It should be considered a sign of bad breeding to leave one's plate with a heap of uneaten things, whether at home or in a hotel. One should regulate the helpings with strict regard to wants. If all who are given to the evil habit of having plates piled



up and merely sampling the courses served out were to follow the healthy rule here recommended much food can be saved for distribution among those who are in daily want. I think the Marwari Relief Society which has had rich and varied experience in social service is perhaps the fittest body to take the initiative in organising the work. Though the problem will be much the same in all the cities, with every city there will be variations according to people's habits. I suggest, therefore, that the work is begun in Calcutta. The experience gained there could be utilised in extending the scope of service. It ought not to take more than a week to organise the work in Calcutta. Naturally great concentration of energy and a large body of willing workers will be required for this essential and urgent service.

Sevagram, 30-5-42

### TOWARDS DESTRUCTION

An innocuous little note on how common folk can do uncommon things has brought to me a sheaf of letters. A correspondent—a student—is profusely thankful that I wrote that note for it has helped him in giving up tobacco. Others have written angrily citing instances of leaders who set a bad example to the public. They forget that I was primarily concerned with citing an instance of an ordinary man having overcome a harmful habit, and not with instances of those who had tried and failed. I would now like to drive the lesson further home by citing two or three instances of well-known men who gave up the habit in the twinkling of an eye. The late Deenabandhu Andrews was one; Mr. Hermann Kallenbach, of Johannesburg, is another; and nearer home is the shining example of Sardar Vallabhbhai. He was once a chain smoker, and used to consume a tin of 50 every day. He began reducing the number until he refrained from smoking in public or in the presence of people. One fine morning in March 1930 he was arrested at Kaira, and was being taken by the police chief to Sabarmati Jail. The Chief was friendly and offered him a cigarette. The Sardar politely declined and said: "Of course you offer it as you know I smoke. But I smoke no more." Boxes of cigars and cigarettes sent by friends through the Superintendent of the Jail were returned. And he has not touched tobacco since.

All that is needed is the knowledge that it is a destructive habit and the will to give it up. If any more evidence is needed on the destructive quality of the drug, here is the testimony of Havelock Ellis, the scientist, sent me by a correspondent:

"Another such ambivalent test is the consumption of luxuries of which alcohol and tobacco are the types. There is held to be no surer test of civilisation than the increase per head of the consumption of alcohol and tobacco. Yet alcohol and tobacco are recognisably poisons, so that their consumption has only to be carried far enough to destroy civilisation altogether."

Sevagram, 29-5-42

M. D.

## A RURAL ANTHOLOGY

### II

At Tedderfield and Newby we were hardly 40 miles from the Anglo-Scottish border. But we must now proceed farther afield and observe the rural scene in the extreme north of Scotland. Here, as we are informed by Mr. Russell Montague Garnier in the *Annals of the British Peasantry*, the labourer had no necessity to spend his money on clothes as long as he possessed a wife and a few sheep.

"He did not even require money for procuring the machinery for manufacturing his clothing. Any fellow with moderate dexterity could cut what he wanted out of the nearest wood. In Eden's days the ancient beart or loom was still used for the weaving of broad gaiters and belts... The cuigel or distaff... could be worked from an elbow chair or low stool, by mere children... He had encountered old women in his walks abroad, spindle in hand, distaff in girdle, proving to his delight that

'Still froe the russet lap the spindle plays.'

"Many a shepherd and cotter, with wife and children, appeared at kirk 'neat, tidy and even fine', in clothes which, from the time the stuff of which they were made was sown in the flax ground, shorn from the sheep or cut from the cow's hide, had been touched by no hand but their own.

".....A seaped shirt was washed with soap home made, generally of hog's dung; other garments with chamber ley. I doubt if in many parts where wages were still paid in kind, a coin was ever exchanged the whole year through for any necessary of life.

"Every Highland peasant made out of his home-tanned leather, shoes of astonishing elegance and strength, sewn by himself with thongs of calf skin.

"I will end it [this chapter] by showing how easily the Highland housewife dispensed with most of these so-called resources of civilization. Except the awl, needle, thimble, dyeing cauldron and a few bits of iron work for the weaving shed, all implements and materials were manufactured on the spot. Trees, shrubs and herbs furnished the various ingredients of the dye pot and every want in life was supplied with those hands and feet which the English statute book some three centuries earlier had preferred to all the cunning contrivances of machinery. Truly there was a modicum of method in the madness of that machinery destroyer, Ned Ludd and his poor deluded followers after all—only they, unlike most reformers, had come into the world a few centuries too late.

"Even at the present time we can, if we journey up into the Highlands, see the cottage factory still in its perfection. Only the other day I asked my boatman in the Cromarty firth if anything he wore was of home manufacture, and he astonished me when he replied that his blue tweed suit, cap, shirt, stockings and boots were all made during the silent night watches by himself and his dexterous spouse." (The italics are mine.)

(To be continued)

V. G. D.

The Indian States' Problem  
By Gandhiji

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## FREE INDIA CAN HELP BEST

Answering to the question of a press correspondent whether his present policy as revealed by his writings did not vitiate his own declaration that he was a friend of China, Gandhiji said: "My answer is an emphatic 'no'."

"I remain the passionate friend of China that I have always claimed to be. I know what loss of freedom means. Therefore, I could not but be in sympathy with China which is my next-door neighbour in distress. And, if I believed in violence and if I could influence India, I would put in motion every force at my command on behalf of China to save her liberty. In making, therefore, the suggestion which I have made about withdrawal of British power, I have not lost sight of China. But because I have China in mind, I feel that the only effective way for India to help China is to persuade Great Britain to free India and let a free India make her full contribution to the war effort. Instead of being sullen and discontented, India free will be a mighty force for the good of mankind in general. It is true that the solution I have presented is a heroic solution beyond the ken of Englishmen. But being a true friend of Britain and China and Russia, I must not suppress the solution which I believe to be eminently practical and probably the only one in order to save the situation and in order to convert the war into a power for good instead of being what it is, a peril to humanity."

### "I am Not Pro-Japanese"

"Pandit Nehru told me yesterday that he heard people in Lahore and Delhi saying that I have turned pro-Japanese. I could only laugh at the suggestion, for, if I am sincere in my passion for freedom, I could not consciously or unconsciously take a step which will involve India in the position of merely changing masters. If, in spite of my resistance to the Japanese menace with my whole soul, the mishap occurs, of which I have never denied the possibility, then the blame would rest wholly on British shoulders. I have no shadow of doubt about it. I have made no suggestion which, even from the military standpoint, is fraught with the slightest danger to British power or to Chinese. It is obvious that India is not allowed to pull her weight in favour of China. If British power is withdrawn from India in an orderly manner, Britain will be relieved of the burden of keeping the peace in India and at the same time gain in a free India an ally not in the cause of Empire—because she would have renounced in toto all her imperial designs, but in a defence, not pretended but wholly real, of human freedom. That I assert and that only is the burden of my recent writings and I shall continue to do so so long as I am allowed by the British power."

### No Secrecy

"Now what about your plan; you are reported to have matured plans for launching some big offensive?" was the next question. Gandhiji replied: "Well, I have never believed in secrecy

nor do I do so now. There are certainly many plans floating in my brain. But just now I merely allow them to float in my brain. My first task is to educate the public mind in India and world opinion, in so far as I am allowed to do so. And when I have finished that process to my satisfaction, I may have to do something. That something may be very big, if the Congress is with me and the people are with me. But British authority will have a full knowledge of anything I may wish to do before I enforce it. Remember I have yet to see the Maulana Sahib. My talks with Pandit Nehru are yet unfinished. I may say that they were wholly of a friendly nature and we have come nearer to each other even with the unfinished talk of yesterday. Naturally I want to carry the whole of the Congress with me if I can, as I want to carry the whole of India with me. For my conception of freedom is no narrow conception. It is co-extensive with the freedom of man in all his majesty. I shall, therefore, take no step without the fullest deliberation."

## TO RESIST SLAVE DRIVERS

The Rashtriya Yuvak Sangha of the C. P. Province have been having their annual in Wardha for some time. They are to finish it on 30th. They were anxious to have Gandhiji in their midst, even if it was for a few minutes. He therefore invited them to come to Sevagram. And a hundred of them walked four miles to have a talk with him at 6-15 in the morning. Gandhiji gave them a little over half an hour. The talk was in Hindustani. The following is the substance of the talk. It was in the nature of questions and answers.

"How are we to help in driving away the British from here?" was the first question that was asked.

"We don't want to drive away the British people from here. It is the British rulers whom we are asking quietly to withdraw. It is the British domination that we want to vanish from our land. We have no quarrel with the Englishmen, many of whom are my friends, but we want the rule to end altogether, for that is the poison that corrupts all it touches, that is the obstacle that stops all progress."

"And what is needed for this are two things—the knowledge that the domination is a greater evil than any other evil that we can think of, and that we have to get rid of it no matter what it may cost. The knowledge is so necessary because the British exercise their power and domination in all kinds of subtle and insidious ways that it is sometimes difficult to know that we are bound hand and foot. Next is the will to throw off the chains. We have simply to cultivate the will not to do the rulers' bidding. Is it very difficult? How can one be compelled to accept slavery? I simply refuse to do the master's bidding. He may torture me, break my bones to atoms, and even kill me. He will then have my dead body, not my obedience. Ultimately, therefore, it is I who am the victor and not he, for he has failed in getting me to do what he wanted done."



"That is what I am trying to impress both on those whom I want to retire and those who are bound in their chains. I am going to use all my powers to do so, but not violence—simply because I have no faith in it.

"Two forces of the same type are ranged against each other in the present war. We do not know what will be the upshot. At the present moment, the upshot is mutual destruction of life and property, and destruction not alone of the combatants but of innocent non-combatants. I do not want for our country this power of destruction that we find having full play. I do not want the power of a Hitler, I want the power of a free peasant. I have been trying to identify myself with the peasants all these years, but have not yet succeeded in doing so. What however differentiates me from the kisan today is that he is a kisan and a labourer not by choice but by force of circumstances. I want to be a kisan and a labourer by choice and when I can make him also a kisan and a labourer by choice, I can also enable him to throw off the shackles that keep him bound today and that compel him to do the master's bidding.

"For you to achieve identification with them, you have of course got to be able-bodied—not athletes like Sandow, but able to do all the body-labour that comes the peasant's way during his day's work. A Sandow may have a beautiful physique, but may not be able to carry a headload from here to Wardha in the heat of the sun—which a peasant here can do. We want a physical frame that can endure the sun and the rain and can stand any amount of labour. We want also the will to resist. We want to build up the muscles of the body, but we also want to build up the muscles of the will and the intellect.

"For that will enable us to do our part in the fight that is in front of us. But I am going to be patient, I am not going to hurry or hustle you. I am busy preparing the atmosphere, and whatever I will do I shall do having in view the limitations of our people. I know that neither the rulers nor public opinion understand the implications of my proposal."

"But", asked a friend, "have we not to see that the remedy may not be worse than the disease? There will be, in the course of the resistance, in spite of all our will to prevent them, clashes and resultant anarchy. May not that anarchy be worse than the present anarchy which you have called ordered anarchy?"

"That is a very proper question. That is the consideration that has weighed with me all these 22 years. I waited and waited until the country should develop the non-violent strength necessary to throw off the foreign yoke. But my attitude has now undergone a change. I feel that I cannot afford to wait. If I continue to wait I might have to wait till doomsday. For the preparation that I have prayed for and worked for may never come, and

in the meantime I may be enveloped and overwhelmed by the flames that threaten all of us. That is why I have decided that even at certain risks which are obviously involved I must ask the people to resist the slavery. But even that readiness, let me assure you, depends on the non-violent man's unflinching faith. All I am conscious of is that there is not a trace of violence in the remotest corner of my being, and my conscious pursuit of *ahimsa* for the last 50 years cannot possibly fail me at this crisis. The people have not my *ahimsa*, but mine should help them. There is ordered anarchy around and about us. I am sure that the anarchy that may result because of the British withdrawal or their refusal to listen to us and our decision to defy their authority will in no way be worse than the present anarchy. After all, those who are unarmed cannot produce a frightful amount of violence or anarchy, and I have a faith that out of that anarchy may arise pure non-violence. But to be passive witness of the terrible violence that is going on, of the terrible anarchy that is going on in the name of resisting a possible foreign aggression, is a thing I cannot stand. It is a thing that would make me ashamed of my *ahimsa*. It is made of sterner stuff.

"I know that what I am saying today is not easy to understand. Language is but a poor vehicle of one's thoughts. What I have said is bound to suffer from the limitations of that vehicle. But I want you to ponder coolly over what I have been saying and writing, and perhaps you will be able to understand me. I am also sure that those who cannot or will not understand me will do so in the light of experience, i. e. if they survive the present catastrophe."

Sevagram, 28-5-42

M. D.

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# HARIJAN

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[ FIVE PICE

## AN IMPORTANT INTERVIEW

The heat here this year has been uncommonly oppressive, and even those who may be said to be inured to it have felt it. But Gandhiji would not listen to any suggestion of moving to a cooler place—so possessed he is of his new idea, so disinclined he is to go to any other place but the environment that has now become part of himself. And though this serious preoccupation leaves him little time to meet people, he has willingly met press correspondents and opened his heart out to them. They too in their turn have come in this sweltering heat, but that is a pressman's job—to defy wind and weather and wrest facts out of events. So one hot afternoon two American journalists came—Mr. Chaplin of the International News Service, America, and Mr. Belldon representing the *Life* and *Time*. The latter is fresh from China and Burma. Both had heard rumours in New Delhi that Gandhiji might soon be arrested, and they naturally did not want to be forestalled. So they came post-haste, without even waiting for a reply giving them an appointment.

It was no joke jogging along in a rickety tonga through the treeless road that runs between Wardha and Sevagram. Gandhiji immediately put them in a good humour. "You came in an air-conditioned coach?" "No," they said, "but we had armed ourselves with some ice." Mr. Chaplin said he was a great friend of the late Jim Mills and that revived our memories of that genial American who, Gandhiji said, after the manner of American journalists, often embellished truth to make it look nicer. Mr. Chaplin demurred to the generalisation, and said they were quite careful about truth. Gandhiji did not mean to suggest that they deliberately mixed untruth with truth; they loved to give truth an attractive, if imaginative, background, as, for instance, Jim Mills described Gandhiji sharing his goat's milk with a tame cat, when there was no cat in the picture. "The native genius" of Americans, John Buchan has said, "is for overstatement, a high-coloured, imaginative, paradoxical extravagance. The British gift is for understatement. Both are legitimate figures of speech. They serve the same purpose, for they call attention to a fact by startling the hearer, for manifestly they are not the plain truth." There, I think, is a just estimate of American journalists.

Gandhiji had just emerged from an intensive talk with another American when these friends came, and so he said greeting them, "one American has been vivisectioning me. I am now at your disposal."

## Why Non-violent Non-Cooperation?

They had read all kinds of things about Gandhiji's latest move—his own words wrenched from their context, and words written about him. "It is your worst side that is known in New Delhi, and not your best," another journalist had said to Gandhiji, and they were therefore anxious to straighten out wrong notions if they had any. Why non-violent non-cooperation, rather than honest straightforward resistance against the Japanese? Far from preventing the Japanese, non-violent non-cooperation, they feared, might prove an invitation to them, and would not that be flying from the frying pan into the fire?

Gandhiji put a counter-question in reply:

"Supposing England retires from India for strategic purposes, and apart from my proposal,—as they had to do in Burma—what would happen? What would India do?"

"That is exactly what we have come to learn from you. We would certainly like to know that."

"Well, therein comes my non-violence. For we have no weapons. Mind you, we have assumed that the Commander-in-Chief of the united American and British Armies has decided that India is no good as a base, and that they should withdraw to some other base and concentrate the allied forces there. We can't help it. We have then to depend on what strength we have. We have no army, no military resources, no military skill either, worth the name, and non-violence is the only thing we can fall back upon. Now in theory I can prove to you that our non-violent resistance can be wholly successful. We need not kill a single Japanese, we simply give them no quarter."

"But that non-violence can't prevent an invasion?"

"In non-violent technique, of course, there can be nothing like preventing an invasion. They will land, but they will land on an inhospitable shore. They may be ruthless and wipe out all the 400 millions. That would be complete victory. I know you will laugh at it, saying 'all this is superhuman, if not absurd'. I would say you are right, we may not be able to stand that terror and we may have to go through a course of subjection worse than our present state. But we are discussing the theory."

"But if the British don't withdraw?"

"I do not want them to withdraw under Indian pressure, nor driven by force of circumstances. I want them to withdraw in their own interest, for their own good name."



"But what happens to your movement, if you are arrested, as we heard you might be? Or if Mr. Nehru is arrested? Would not the movement go to pieces?"

"No, not if we have worked among the people. Our arrests would work up the movement, they would stir every one in India to do his little bit."

"Supposing Britain decides to fight to the last man in India, would not your non-violent non-cooperation help the Japanese?" asked Mr. Chaplin reverting to the first question he had asked.

"If you mean non-cooperation with the British, you would be right. We have not come to that stage. I do not want to help the Japanese—not even for freeing India. India during the past fifty or more years of her struggle for freedom has learnt the lesson of patriotism and of not bowing to any foreign power. But when the British are offering violent battle, our non-violent battle—our non-violent activity—would be neutralised. Those who believe in armed resistance and in helping the British militarily are and will be helping them. Mr. Amery says he is getting all the men and money they need, and he is right. For the Congress—a poor organisation representing the millions of the poor of India—has not been able to collect in years what they have collected in a day by way of what I would say 'so-called' voluntary subscription. This Congress can only render non-violent assistance. But let me tell you, if you do not know it, that the British do not want it, they don't set any store by it. But whether they do it or not, violent and non-violent resistance cannot go together. So India's non-violence can at best take the form of silence—not obstructing the British forces, certainly not helping the Japanese."

"But not helping the British?"

"Don't you see non-violence cannot give any other aid?"

"But the railways, I hope, you won't stop; the services, too, will be, I hope, allowed to function."

"They will be allowed to function, as they are being allowed today."

"Aren't you then helping the British by leaving the services and the railways alone?" asked Mr. Belldon.

"We are indeed. That is our non-embarrassment policy."

#### A Bad Job

"But what about the presence of American troops here? Every American feels that we should help India to win her freedom."

"It's a bad job."

"Because it is said we are here really to help Britain and not India?"

"I say it is a bad job, because it is an imposition on India. It is not at India's request or with India's consent that they are here. It is enough irritation that we were not consulted before being dragged into this war—I am not sure that the Viceroy even consulted his Executive Council. That is our original complaint. To have brought the American forces is, in my opinion, to have made the stranglehold on us all the tighter."

"You do not know what is happening in India—it is naturally not your business to go into those things. But let me give you some facts. Thousands of villagers are being summarily asked to vacate their homes and go elsewhere, for the site of their homesteads is needed by the military. Now I ask, where are they to go? Thousands of poor labourers in a certain place, I have heard today, have been asked to evacuate. Paltry compensations are offered them, and they are not even given sufficient notice. This kind of thing will not happen in an independent country. The Sappers and Miners there would first build homes for these people, transport would be provided for them, they would be given at least six months' maintenance allowance before they would be uprooted from their surroundings. Are these things to happen, even before the Japanese have come here? There is no other way, but saying to them, 'you must go', and if British rule ends, that moral act will save America and Britain. If they choose to remain here, they should remain as friends, not as proprietors of India. The American and British soldiers may remain here, if at all, by virtue of a compact with Free India."

"Don't you think Indian people and leaders have some duty to help accelerate the process?"

"You mean by dotting India with rebellions everywhere? No, my invitation to the British to withdraw is not an idle one. It has to be made good by the sacrifice of the inviters. Public opinion has got to act, and it can act only non-violently."

"Is the possibility of strikes precluded?" wondered Mr. Belldon.

"No", said Gandhiji, "strikes can be and have been non-violent. If railways are worked only to strengthen the British hold on India, they need not be assisted. But before I decide to take any energetic measures I must endeavour to show the reasonableness of my demand. The moment it is complied with, India instead of being sullen becomes an ally. Remember I am more interested than the British in keeping the Japanese out. For Britain's defeat in Indian waters may mean *only the loss of India*, but if Japan wins India loses *everything*."

#### The Crucial Test

"If you regard the American troops as an imposition, would you regard the American Technical Mission also in the same light?" was the next question.

"A tree is judged by its fruit", said Gandhiji succinctly. "I have met Dr. Grady, we have had cordial talks. I have no prejudice against Americans. I have hundreds, if not thousands of friends, in America. The Technical Mission may have nothing but good will for India. But my point is that all the things that are happening are not happening at the invitation or wish of India. Therefore they are all suspect. We cannot look upon them with philosophic calmness, for the simple reason that we cannot close our eyes, as I have said, to the things that are daily happening in front of our eyes. Areas are being vacated and turned into military camps, people being thrown on their own resources. Hundreds, if not thousands, on their way from Burma



perished without food and drink, and the wretched discrimination stared even these miserable people in the face. One route for the whites, another for the blacks. Provision of food and shelter for the whites, none for the blacks! And discrimination even on their arrival in India! India is being ground down to dust and humiliated, even before the Japanese advent, not for India's defence—and no one knows for whose defence. And so one fine morning I came to the decision to make this honest demand: 'For Heaven's sake leave India alone. Let us breathe the air of freedom. It may choke us, suffocate us, as it did the slaves on their emancipation. But I want the present sham to end.'

"But it is the British troops you have in mind, not the American?"

"It does not make for me the slightest difference, the whole policy is one and indivisible."

"Is there any hope of Britain listening?"

"I will not die without that hope. And if there is a long lease of life for me, I may even see it fulfilled. For there is nothing unpractical in the proposal, no insuperable difficulties about it. Let me add that if Britain is not willing to do so wholeheartedly Britain does not deserve to win."

#### What Would Free India Do?

Gandhiji had over and over again said that an orderly withdrawal would result in a sullen India becoming a friend and ally. These American friends now explored the implications of that possible friendship: "Would a Free India declare war against Japan?"

"Free India need not do so. It simply becomes the ally of the Allied Powers, simply out of gratefulness for the payment of a debt, however overdue. Human nature thanks the debtor when he discharges the debt."

"How then would this alliance fit in with India's non-violence?"

"It is a good question. The whole of India is not non-violent. If the whole of India had been non-violent, there would have been no need for my appeal to Britain, nor would there be any fear of a Japanese invasion. But my non-violence is represented possibly by a hopeless minority, or perhaps by India's dumb millions who are temperamentally non-violent. But there too the question may be asked: 'What have they done?' They have done nothing, I agree; but they may act when the supreme test comes, and they may not. I have no non-violence of millions to present to Britain, and what we have has been discounted by the British as non-violence of the weak. And so all I have done is to make this appeal on the strength of bare inherent justice, so that it might find an echo in the British heart. It is made from a moral plane, and even as they do not hesitate to act desperately in the physical field and take grave risks, let them for once act desperately on the moral field and declare that India is independent today, irrespective of India's demand."

#### What about Muslims?

"But what does a free India mean, if, as Mr. Jinnah said, Muslims will not accept Hindu rule?"

"I have not asked the British to hand over India to the Congress or to the Hindus. Let them entrust India to God or in modern parlance to anarchy. Then all the parties will fight one another like dogs, or will, when real responsibility faces them, come to a reasonable agreement. I shall expect non-violence to arise out of that chaos."

"But *whom* are the British to say—'India is free'?" asked the friends with a certain degree of exasperation.

"To the world", said Gandhiji without a moment's hesitation. "Automatically the Indian army is disbanded from that moment, and they decide to pack up as soon as they can. Or they may declare they would pack up only after the war is over, but that they would expect no help from India, impose no taxes, raise no recruits—beyond what help India chooses to give voluntarily. British rule will cease from that moment, no matter what happens to India afterwards. Today it is all a hypocrisy, unreality. I want that to end. The new order will come only when that falsity ends."

"It is an unwarranted claim Britain and America are making", said Gandhiji concluding the talk, "the claim of saving democracy and freedom. It is a wrong thing to make that claim, when there is this terrible tragedy of holding a whole nation in bondage."

Q. What can America do to have your demand implemented?

A. If my demand is admitted to be just beyond cavil, America can insist on the implementing of the Indian demand as a condition of her financing Britain and supplying her with her matchless skill in making war machines. He who pays the piper has the right to call the tune. Since America has become the predominant partner in the allied cause she is partner also in Britain's guilt. The Allies have no right to call their cause to be morally superior to the Nazi cause so long as they hold in custody the fairest part and one of the most ancient nations of the earth.

Sevagram, 7-6-42

M. D.

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# HARIJAN

June 14

1942

## IMPORTANT QUESTIONS

(By M. K. Gandhi)

A friend was discussing with me the implications of the new proposal. As the discussion was naturally desultory, I asked him to frame his questions which I would answer through *Harijan*. He agreed and gave me the following:

1. Q. You ask the British Government to withdraw immediately from India. Would Indians thereupon form a national Government, and what groups or parties would participate in such an Indian Government?

A. My proposal is one-sided, i. e. for the British Government to act upon, wholly irrespective of what Indians would do or would not do. I have even assumed temporary chaos on their withdrawal. But if the withdrawal takes place in an orderly manner, it is likely that on their withdrawal a provisional Government will be set up by and from among the present leaders. But another thing may also happen. All those who have no thought of the nation but only of themselves may make a bid for power and get together the turbulent forces with which they would seek to gain control somewhere and somehow. I should hope that with the complete, final and honest withdrawal of the British power, the wise leaders will realise their responsibility, forget their differences for the moment and set up a provisional Government out of the material left by the British power. As there would be no power regulating the admission or rejection of parties or persons to or from the council board, restraint alone will be the guide. If that happens probably the Congress, the League and the States representatives will be allowed to function and they will come to a loose understanding on the formation of a provisional national Government. All this is necessarily guesswork and nothing more.

2. Q. Would that Indian national Government permit the United Nations to use Indian territory as a base of military operations against Japan and other Axis powers?

A. Assuming that the national Government is formed and if it answers my expectations, its first act would be to enter into a treaty with the United Nations for defensive operations against aggressive powers, it being common cause that India will have nothing to do with any of the Fascist powers and India would be morally bound to help the United Nations.

3. Q. What further assistance would this Indian national Government be ready to render the United Nations in the course of the present war against the Fascist aggressors?

A. If I have any hand in guiding the imagined national Government, there would be no further assistance save the toleration of the United

Nations on the Indian soil under well-defined conditions. Naturally there will be no prohibition against any Indian giving his own personal help by way of being a recruit <sup>or</sup> <sub>and</sub> of giving financial aid. It should be understood that the Indian army has been disbanded with the withdrawal of British power. Again if I have any say in the councils of the national Government, all its power, prestige and resources would be used towards bringing about world peace. But of course after the formation of the national Government my voice may be a voice in the wilderness and nationalist India may go war-mad.

4. Q. Do you believe this collaboration between India and the Allied powers might or should be formulated in a treaty of alliance or an agreement for mutual aid?

A. I think the question is altogether premature and in any case it will not much matter whether the relations are regulated by treaty or agreement. I do not even see any difference.

Let me sum up my attitude. One thing and only one thing for me is solid and certain. This unnatural prostration of a great nation—it is neither 'nations' nor 'peoples'—must cease if the victory of the Allies is to be ensured. They lack the moral basis. I see no difference between the Fascist or Nazi powers and the Allies. All are exploiters, all resort to ruthlessness to the extent required to compass their end. America and Britain are very great nations, but their greatness will count as dust before the bar of dumb humanity, whether African or Asiatic. They and they alone have the power to undo the wrong. They have no right to talk of human liberty and all else unless they have washed their hands clean of the pollution. That necessary wash will be their surest insurance of success, for they will have the good wishes—unexpressed but no less certain—of millions of dumb Asiatics and Africans. Then, but not till then, will they be fighting for a new order. This is the reality. All else is speculation. I have allowed myself, however, to indulge in it as a test of my *bona fides* and for the sake of explaining in a concrete manner what I mean by my proposal.

### No Salvation without Sacrifice

Accounts pour in upon me from all quarters about the action of the authorities demanding evacuation without notice. Sometimes it is a zamindar who is to surrender his bungalow and sometimes it is a middle class man who has to surrender his house with fans and furniture for the use of the military. More often it is villagers or labourers who are called upon under promise of compensation to vacate their quarters. The condition of these people is piteous. They do not know where to go. To these I can only say, 'Do not move and take the consequence.' They cannot be forcibly ejected. Even if they are, their cry will be heard whereas newspaper articles will be of little avail.

Sevagram, 8-6-42

M. K. G.



## QUESTION BOX

(By M. K. Gandhi)

## The Princes' Determination

Q. The Princes seem to be determined to maintain their privileges even after the departure of the British. Therefore there is need for a plain declaration that they would have no place in a Free India. My feeling is that you have so far shown them more consideration than they deserve.

A. If you are right in your judgment, the privileges themselves will destroy the Princes. Privileges that service of the people bestows will always persist. But most of the paraphernalia that 'pomp and circumstance' account for will most certainly go.

But I cannot make the declaration you will have me to make. It is contrary to the spirit of non-violence which seeks not to destroy but to purify. That which is beyond purification dies without any outside effort even as a body which has become wholly diseased dies.

If after the total withdrawal of the British power, there is found to be no awakening among the masses India will be split up into so many feudal strongholds each striving to swallow the small fry and some bidding for overlordship. What I am hoping and striving for is an irresistible mass urge on the part of the people and an intelligent response on the part of all privileged classes to the popular demand. But because I know that this picture is for the time being imaginary, I am quite prepared for the worst. Hence my statement that I would end the present state of things even at the risk of anarchy reigning supreme in the land.

Sevagram, 5-6-42

## If They Come

Q. (1) If the Japs come, how are we to resist them non-violently?

(2) What are we to do if we fall into their hands?

A. (1) These questions come from Andhradesh where the people rightly or wrongly feel that the attack is imminent. My answer has already been given in these columns. Neither food nor shelter is to be given nor are any dealings to be established with them. They should be made to feel that they are not wanted. But of course things are not going to happen quite so smoothly as the question implies. It is a superstition to think that they will come as friendlies. No attacking party has ever done so. It spreads fire and brimstone among the populace. It forces things from people. If the people cannot resist fierce attack and are afraid of death, they should evacuate the infested place in order to deny compulsory service to the enemy.

(2) If unfortunately some people are captured or fall into the enemy's hands, they are likely to be shot if they do not obey orders, e. g. render forced labour. If the captives face death cheerfully, their task is done. They have saved their own and their country's honour. They could have done nothing more if they had offered violent

resistance, save perhaps taking a few Japanese lives and inviting terrible reprisals.

The thing becomes complicated when you are captured alive and subjected to unthinkable tortures to compel submission. You will neither submit to torture nor to the orders of the enemy. In the act of resistance you will probably die and escape humiliation. But it is said that death is prevented to let the victim go through the agony of tortures and to serve as an example to others. I however think that a person who would die rather than go through inhuman tortures would find honourable means of dying.

Sevagram, 3-6-42

## CASUAL NOTES

## Falsehood in War-time

At the end of this war some one like Mr. Ponsonby will have to write the second volume of *Falsehood in War-time*. Many of the discoveries of the falsehoods will be after the termination of the war, but some can be found out even during the war—they are so painfully patent. Thus, for instance, the Governor of Burma who is now having a "well-earned" rest in Simla made a pompous statement on arrival in India. He declared that there was no "considerable disloyalty among Burmans", that "the Japanese are unable to get a single Burman of any weight to join their side", and that "there is not a single Burman Quisling and I am proud of it."

One wonders who then were the people described as "Burman traitors" in despatches from Burma. General Wavell did admit that there was a certain amount of Burman betrayal, and now General Alexander has given the lie direct to Sir Dorman-Smith. The Japanese, he said, were helped "by pro-Japanese Burmans", that though they were not more than ten per cent of the population, their number was the same as those who were pro-British, and they were better "organised and active agents" than the latter.

Regarding "Quislings" one would like to know from Sir Dorman-Smith the whereabouts and the present occupation of his Ministers—how many came with him from Burma, how many remained there and why, and whether any one has gone over to the enemy.

## Disastrous Admissions

But we are not so much concerned about proving the falsehood of the Burma Governor's statements as to draw pointed attention to some of the obvious admissions made by General Alexander. Having accounted for the 20 per cent of the active part of the Burmese people, General Alexander says: "The remaining 80 per cent loathed the idea of war and only wanted to be left alone." He does not tell us why, but the reason is not far to seek: It was the suicidal policy of the British Government not to arm the citizens and not to train them. That was the story in Malay and that is the story in India. And so far as fighting is concerned, the discovery is now being made that "the last thing you wanted in Burma was mechanization", and unfortunately that was the first and



only thing they took in Burma "The Japanese were specially trained to live and operate" in a foreign country, whereas those who claimed the country as their own were foreigners there, too lazy or too proud to learn the condition of things in the land of their occupation!

#### And Singapore

And now look at the story from Singapore. Cecil Brown, who was in Singapore a few hours before the fall, was banned from broadcasting through Singapore, because British authorities believed his stinging criticism of official complacency "too bad for morale". But when he went to Sydney, the Australian censors allowed him to broadcast from there. Here are some sentences from that broadcast: "The British were heavily outnumbered and unable to stop the Japanese infiltration attacks. The troops were not adequately trained for jungle fighting and could not adapt themselves in a few weeks." . . .

. . . "Every American and British correspondent affirmed that censorship in Singapore did everything possible to hide the situation from those civilians expected to fight the battle for Singapore. The tragic story of Singapore is not all one of Japanese numerical superiority, fanatical courage and brilliant military scheming. The Japanese are at Singapore also because of what the British *failed to foresee, prepare for, and meet.*" (Italics ours)

#### The Only Way

The *Time* in a long article tries to summarise the Indian case and the British case, and concludes: "Whatever the experts and officials" (men on the spot in India) "and vested interests were saying last week, the British people were calling for Indian self-government, calling for it in such words as these: 'We treat them like dirt and then expect them to fight.' Only time could fairly judge the complex Indian cases. But neither Japan nor the British people had time to waste. Unless *every possible iota of Indian strength and spirit were called on*, a day might soon come when Britain's Captains and Kings would depart from India, and the fire of Britain's power and glory would sink, perhaps for ever, from India's dunes and headlands."

"We treat them like dirt." How tragically true it is today!

The *Philadelphia Record* puts the matter in the most unequivocal manner:

"India is not ready for war. The cause is deeper than the lack of guns and tanks. The nationalist spirit is necessary for modern war, and the British have spent centuries trying to stamp out any movement toward nationalism in India.

"There are now moves to give India a measure of independence. The British Government is reported ready to send a Cabinet Minister out there to bolster morale.

"Such steps might be worse than none at all.

"Small doses of independence and recognition would not satisfy India and might give the Axis something to crow about.

"It is almost a certainty that the day it is freed, India will be willing and anxious to enter the British Commonwealth as a dominion and that it

would declare war on the Axis Powers. Under those conditions even a poorly equipped India might show the same amazing human resources that an ill-equipped China has shown.

"Ganeralissimo Chiang-Kai-Shek, who understands the military capabilities of India, 'hopes and expects' that Britain will grant India freedom as a war measure.

"Such a hope is shared by most of the people in the United Nations including Britain."

But the dose that the British Cabinet Minister brought was not only an inadequate dose of Independence, it was a dose which poisoned Independence, and which made India more than ever determined to have no patience with the Empire and the British Commonwealth. A "poorly equipped India" might indeed show "the same amazing resources that an ill-equipped China has shown," but that can happen only if she was free. The Government has not even the common-sense to consult one like Rajaji who is crying himself hoarse for unity and national Government and for resisting Japanese aggression. With them not only the masses whom they have never armed are suspect, Rajaji also is suspect.

#### The Only Alternative

And since the opportunity of calling on "every possible iota of Indian strength and spirit" is now gone — never to return — because of the obtuseness of the British, and since haphazard, unprepared and unforeseen warfare may be fraught with disaster, Gandhiji has placed an honourable alternative before them, viz., not to ask for American help (men and munitions), not to antagonise the populace by stupid methods of harassing evacuation, but to listen to the voice of justice, make an orderly withdrawal and leave India to fight her own battle. Sevagram, 8-6-42

M. D.

#### A RURAL ANTHOLOGY

##### III

The elevating influence of these handicrafts is thus dwelt upon by Miss Gertrude Jekyll in *Old West Surrey*:

"The sight of these simple pieces of mechanism — *mechanism that supplemented but did not supplant hand labour* — makes one think how much fuller and more interesting was the rural home life of the older days, when nearly *everything for daily use and daily food was made and produced on the farm or in the immediate district*: when people found their joy in life at home, instead of frittering away half their time in looking for it somewhere else; when they honoured their own state of life by making the best of it within its own good limits, instead of tormenting themselves with a restless striving to be, or at any rate to appear to be, something that they are not. Surely that older life was better and happier and more fruitful, and even, I venture to assume, much fuller of sane and wholesome daily interests. Surely *it is more interesting, and the thing when made of a more vital value when it is made at home from the very beginning, than when it is bought at a shop.*" (The italics are mine.)

The same theme moves Mr. George Sturt to eloquence in his *The Wheelwright's Shop*:



"But no higher wage, no income, will buy for men the satisfaction which of old — until machinery made drudges of them — streamed into their muscles all day long from close contact with iron, timber, clay, wind and wave, horse-strength. It tingled up in the niceties of touch, sight, scent. The very ears unawares received it, as when the plane went singing over the wood, or the exact chisel went tapping in (under the mallet) to the hard ash with gentle sound. But these intimacies are over. Although they have so much more leisure, men can now taste little solace in life, of the sort that skilled handwork used to yield to them. Just as the seaman today has to face the stoke-hole rather than the gale and knows more of heat-waves than of sea waves, so throughout. In what was once the wheelwright's shop, where Englishmen grew friendly with the grain of timber and with sharp tool, nowadays untrained youths wait upon machines, hardly knowing oak from ash or caring for the qualities of either. And this is but one tiny item in the immensity of changes which have overtaken labour throughout the civilised world."

(To be continued)

V. G. D.

## DR. TARACHAND AND HINDUSTANI

(By M. K. Gandhi)

The following was sent for the question box by Shri Murlidhar Sivastava M. A.:

"When prejudices come in, one is led to distort history. Dr. Tarachand is an ardent advocate of Hindustani as you are. He has every right to hold his view as you or I have to hold my own, but in his zeal he has grossly misrepresented the history of Brajhasha by declaring that no writing in Braj is known to have appeared before the 16th century, in an attempt to prove that Hindustani ('Khari Boli') has older literature than Brajhasha. According to him Surdas was the first poet to write in Braj in the 16th century. As the learned Doctor has been quoted by you in the *Harijan* dated 29-3-42, which commands wide publicity and authority, the mistake must be pointed out. For literature prior to Surdas, you have only to read the poems of Kabir, not to speak of Amir Khusru, some of whose verses are also in Brajhasha. Several small pieces of poems are attributed to several Santas and Bhaktas prior to Surdas and they can be looked into any standard history of Hindi literature."

I have removed the portion that had no bearing on the question at issue. I sent the letter to Kaka Saheb Kalelkar who made it over to Dr. Tarachand who has now sent the following reply which speaks for itself:

"My view that the literature of Brajhasha is not older than the sixteenth century is based on the following considerations:

1. Brajhasha is a modern language which belongs to the group named tertiary Prakrits or New Indo-Aryan. This group developed from the secondary Prakrits or Middle Indo-Aryan. Unfortunately the stages between the secondary and tertiary cannot be traced with absolute certainty. But most scholars are agreed that secondary Prakrit stage lasted from 600 B. C. to 1000 A. D.

2. The secondary Prakrits which were spoken dialects received the impetus towards literary development

from the religious movements inaugurated by Mahavira and Buddha. Of these Prakrits, Pali became the most important, as it was adopted as the medium of sacred texts of the Buddhists. Ardhamagadhi, which served a similar purpose in regard to the Jainas, came next in importance. There were other Prakrits also in use, for instance, Maharashtri which was the medium of song and poetry, Saurseni which was employed in dramas as the language of the ladies etc.

3. By the sixth century A. D. the Prakrits had become fixed and dead languages. Literature continued to be produced in them, but their development had ceased. In this century the languages of common speech, from which literary Prakrits had diverged, began to be used for literary purposes. This phase of literary growths of the Prakrits is given the name Apabhramsha. It lasted from 600 to 1000 A. D. Among the Apabhramshas one acquired a position of eminence, namely, Nagara. The varieties of Nagara were used as vehicles of literary expression in the greater part of northern India. But besides Nagara and its varieties, there had developed Apabhramshas of the other Prakrits, like Saurseni, also.

4. The modern Indian languages or the tertiary Prakrits developed from these Apabhramshas. Nagara became the parent of Rajasthani and Gujarati languages, through a variety to which Tessitori gave the name old Western Rajasthani.

Saurseni Apabhramsha is represented in the Prakrit grammar of Hemchandra (d. 1172 A. D.). But it is difficult to determine the relationship of Saurseni Apabhramsha with Nagara. It seems that the Saurseni Apabhramsha underwent a further change, which has been variously called old Western Hindi, Avahattha, Kavyabhasha.

5. With the arrival upon the scene of this language the stage of secondary Prakrits comes to an end, and the stage of new Indo-Aryan speech begins. The old Western Hindi which is the earliest form of the new midland speech appears to have become established in the eleventh century. From the old Western Hindi branched out Hindustani ('Khari') of the North midland, Braj of the middle region and Bundeli of the southern parts. In the twelfth century they were all spoken dialects. In the course of the following centuries they assumed literary form.

6. From a study of the development of these languages I have arrived at the conclusion that Hindustani ('Khari') was the first to develop into a literary language. We have a continuous history of Hindustani (Deccani Urdu) from the last quarter of the 14th century onwards. On the other hand the history of Braj literature before the 16th century is very doubtful.

7. Let me consider the so-called Braj literature of the pre-16th century.

(a) The first poet who is supposed to have employed Braj (Pingala) is Chand Bardai, the author of *Prithviraj Raso*, who is said to have been the contemporary of Prithviraj (12th century). Regarding the *Raso* the weight of opinion is that it is a spurious poem. Buhler, Gaurishanker Hirachand Ojha, Grierson and other scholars doubt its genuineness. Its language is a curious mixture of the archaic and the modern, its subject matter contravenes history and its authorship is dubious.



On these grounds Pt. Ram Chandra Shukla came to the conclusion that 'the book is of no use either to the student of language or of history.'

(b) The next author who is claimed as a writer of Braj is Amir Khusru. He died in 1325 A. D. Of his verses, acrostics, double entendre poems in Hindi no authentic manuscript has ever been found. Professor Mahmud Sherani of Lahore has conclusively proved that Khaliq Bari — a dictionary of Hindi and Persian words in verse, attributed to him — cannot possibly be his. The language of his Hindi poems is so modern that even a tiro in philology ought not fail to notice that it cannot belong to the 13th or 14th century. Much of it is simply modern Hindustani or Khari, some bears an impress of Braj. Dr. Hidayat Husain compiled a list of genuine works of Khusru and has not found room for his Hindi poems in it. Some Hindi writers have read an extract from his poem Khizra Khan and Dewal Rani, in which occurs a praise of Hindi. They have concluded from this that Khusru was an admirer and poet of Hindi. But a perusal of the passage leaves no doubt on the mind that he was not referring to Braj or Hindustani. On the basis of such slender evidence to trace the history of Braj to Khusru is not at all scientific.

(c) Then, mention is made of the saints and Bhaktas as writers of Braj poetry, like Namdeva, Raidasa, Dhana, Pipa, Sen, Kabir etc. The Banis and Padas of these are given in the Guru Granth. How far they can be considered genuine is an unsolved problem. Namdev was a Maratha who lived in the 13th century, and whether he wrote in Hindi or not cannot be ascertained, for Guru Granth was compiled in the beginning of the 17th century, nor any authentic manuscripts of the works of others are forthcoming.

Among them Kabir who lived in the 15th century is best known. A large number of his verses are found in the Guru Granth. Their language has a very strong impress of Punjabi. The Nagari Pracharini Sabha has published, under the editorship of Rai Bahadur Shyam Sunder Das, the works of Kabir. They are said to be based on a manuscript of 1504 A. D., but grave doubts have been cast upon the genuineness of this date (vide Dr. P. D. Barathwal's Nirgun school of Hindi poetry). In any case even the language of this edition is like the language of the extracts in Guru Granth, highly Punjabiified. Now Kabir himself has stated that he used the Purbi tongue, and there are Kabir's works which show great Rajasthani influence on the language. In these circumstances it is difficult to be certain of the language of Kabir's works. Pandit Ram Chandra Shukla has attempted to solve the problem by saying that Kabir used Sadhukkari for the poems teaching his doctrine (Sikhis) and Kavyabhasha or Braj for his Ramainis and Sabads.

This solution is hardly satisfactory. It contradicts Kabir's own statement. Again in the absence of authentic documents it is not possible to prove it.

8. Thus the more one investigates these literary products the more strongly the conclusion is borne in upon one that the popularly held opinion regarding their language has little basis in fact. Other considerations support this conclusion. It is well known that

no dialect rises to the position and status of a literary language unless a strong social force supports it. This force may be political or religious. Pali and Ardhamagadhi rose into fame because they became the vehicles of Buddhist and Jaina reformations. Hindustani acquired its literary status as a result of the support of Muslim preachers and rulers. Rajasthani which was the literary language of a great part of northern India during the 14th, 15th, and 16th centuries owed its rise and popularity to the greatness of Sisodias of Mewar. When the Moghals overthrew the Ranas of Mewar, Rajasthani shrank into a local language.

Now if we consider Braj, we do not discover any political or religious movement at its back till the 16th century. Braj was not the political centre of any power. Till Vallabhacharya settled in Braj and began his sectarian movement of Krishna Bhakti, Braj had no importance as a religious centre. Vallabha's movement apparently gave the impetus which transformed the spoken dialect into a literary language. Surdas and the other disciples of Vallabha (the Ashtachhapa) established the supremacy of Braj in northern India, with the result that a form of Braj was adopted even in distant Bengal as the medium of expression of Krishna Bhakti.

9. The poems of Kabir and other Bhaktas, whatever their original language, were mainly handed down by word of mouth. When the flood of Braj began to flow they were easily affected and Brajified.

10. My view that Braj has no genuine literature which can be ascribed to centuries before the 16th is based upon considerations which I have summarised above. But I am not the only one who holds these views. Dr. Dharendra Varma, the head of the Hindi department of the Allahabad University, who is emphatically not biased in favour of Hindustani, has given expression to the same view in his history of Hindi language and the grammar of Brajbhasha, to which reference may be made."

Sevagram, 6-6-42

Rajaji

Although I retain the opinion I have expressed about my differences with Rajaji, and although I adhere to every word I have said and he has quoted, and although I reaffirm my opinion that my language taken in its context does not bear the interpretation Rajaji puts upon it, I do not propose henceforth to enter into any public controversy with him. I join him in hoping that some day I shall see the error of my views which he sees so clearly. But public controversy with close companions like Rajaji repels me. He has a new mission and he has need to speak.

Sevagram, 7-6-42

M. K. G.

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# HARIJAN

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[ FIVE PICE

## THROW AWAY THE CARCASS

Everyone knows the story of Sindbad the Sailor and the Old Man of the Sea who would not get off his shoulders. To say that Sindbad is India and that the Old Man of the Sea is Britain would cause no surprise. It is a perfectly apt simile, and for Britain to expect India's cooperation is like the Old Man of the Sea asking for Sindbad's cooperation in resisting an assailant without getting off Sindbad's back.

But in a recent interview Gandhiji reversed the simile and likened Britain and the Allies to Sindbad carrying a heavy carcass on his shoulders and appealed to them to throw away the carcass if they would have victory. "India has no heart in the War, in fact she has her eyes on Japan. You may today be denuding her of her resources, but they are the resources of an unwilling India. India is thus a corpse — a heavy carcass of which the weight might make your victory impossible. If by some chance England comes to her senses—the Allies come to their senses—and say, 'let us get rid of this carcass', that single act will give them a power which no military skill or resources and no amount of American help can give them." This is what Gandhiji said to Mr. Preston Grover, the representative of the Associated Press of America, who came specially from Delhi to have his interview.

It was as usual a day of broiling heat and heavy work. Gandhiji had offered to go to Wardha to have his talk with the Maulana who has been keeping indifferent health, rather than let him go to Sevagram. As we went the car broke down about six furlongs from Shethji's bungalow. Gandhiji got down and began to walk in the blazing sun. I could not keep pace with him and collapsed after I had walked a furlong or two. It was only when I got a tonga, on coming round, that I got to the bungalow when Gandhiji had already got there. He evidently can bear this terrible heat, as it is nothing compared to the blazing furnace that is burning within him, and it was to share it with the Maulana that he went to Wardha. After a full two hours' talk with the Maulana and Jawaharlalji, he asked Mr. Grover to come in, and poured out his heart's agony before him for about an hour. "There has been a great deal of questioning in America and India as to the nature of your activities during the balance of the War. I should like to know what it will be like," said Mr. Grover. "But can you tell me when the War will end?" said Gandhiji laughing.

## It Will Be Felt by the World

Coming to the point Mr. Grover said again: "There is a good deal of speculation that you are planning some new movement. What is the nature of it?"

"It depends on the response made by the government and the people. I am trying to find out public opinion here and also the reaction on the world outside."

"When you speak of the response, you mean response to your new proposal?"

"Oh yes," said Gandhiji, "I mean response to the proposal that the British Government in India should end today. Are you startled?"

"I am not," said Mr. Grover, "you have been asking for it and working for it."

"That's right. I have been working for it for years. But now it has taken definite shape and I say that the British power in India should go today for the world peace, for China, for Russia and for the Allied cause. I shall explain to you how it advances that Allied cause. Complete independence frees India's energies, frees her to make her contribution to the world crisis. Today the Allies are carrying the burden of a huge corpse—a huge nation lying prostrate at the feet of Britain, I would even say at the feet of the Allies. For America is the predominant partner, financing the war, giving her mechanical ability and her resources which are inexhaustible. America is thus a partner in the guilt."

"Do you see a situation when after full independence is granted American and Allied troops can operate from India?" Mr Grover pertinently asked.

"I do," said Gandhiji. "It will be only then that you will see real cooperation. Otherwise all the effort you put up may fail. Just now Britain is having India's resources because India is her possession. Tomorrow whatever the help, it will be real help from a free India."

"You think India in control interferes with Allied action to meet Japan's aggression?"

"It does."

"When I mentioned Allied troops operating I wanted to know whether you contemplated complete shifting of the present troops from India?"

"Not necessarily."

"It is on this that there is a lot of misconception."



"You have to study all I am writing. I have discussed the whole question in the current issue of *Harijan*. I do not want them to go, on condition that India becomes entirely free. I cannot then insist on their withdrawal, because I want to resist with all my might the charge of inviting Japan to India."

"But suppose your proposal is rejected, what will be your next move?"

"It will be a move which will be felt by the whole world. It may not interfere with the movement of British troops, but it is sure to engage British attention. It would be wrong of them to reject my proposal and say India should remain a slave in order that Britain may win or be able to defend China. I cannot accept that degrading position. India free and independent will play a prominent part in defending China. Today I do not think she is rendering any real help to China. We have followed the non-embarrassment policy so far. We will follow it even now. But we cannot allow the British Government to exploit it in order to strengthen the strangle-hold on India. And today it amounts to that. The way, for instance, in which thousands are being asked to vacate their homes with nowhere to go to, no land to cultivate, no resources to fall back upon, is the reward of our non-embarrassment. This should be impossible in any free country. I cannot tolerate India submitting to this kind of treatment. It means greater degradation and servility, and when a whole nation accepts servility it means good-bye for ever to freedom."

#### India's Gains from British Victory?

"All you want is the civil grip relaxed. You won't then hinder military activity?" was Mr. Grover's next question.

"I do not know. I want unadulterated independence. If the military activity serves but to strengthen the strangle-hold, I must resist that too. I am no philanthropist to go on helping at the expense of my freedom. And what I want you to see is that a corpse cannot give any help to a living body. The Allies have no moral cause for which they are fighting, so long as they are carrying this double sin on their shoulders, the sin of India's subjection and the subjection of the Negroes and African races."

Mr. Grover tried to draw a picture of a free India after an Allied victory. Why not wait for the boons of victory? Gandhiji mentioned as the boons of the last World War the Rowlatt Act and martial law and Amritsar. Mr. Grover mentioned more economic and industrial prosperity — by no means due to the grace of the government, but by the force of circumstances, and economic prosperity was a step further forward to Swaraj. Gandhiji said the few industrial gains were wrung out of unwilling hands, he set no store by such gains after this war, those gains may be further shackles, and it was a doubtful proposition whether there would be any gains — when one had in mind the industrial policy that was being followed during the war. Mr. Grover did not seriously press the point.

#### What Can America Do?

"You don't expect any assistance from America in persuading Britain to relinquish her hold on India," asked Mr. Grover half incredulously.

"I do indeed," replied Gandhiji.

"With any possibility of success?"

"There is every possibility, I should think," said Gandhiji. "I have every right to expect America to throw her full weight on the side of justice, if she is convinced of the justice of the Indian cause."

"You don't think the American Government is committed to the British remaining in India?"

"I hope not. But British diplomacy is so clever that America, even though it may not be committed, and in spite of the desire of President Roosevelt and the people to help India, it may not succeed. British propaganda is so well organised in America against the Indian cause that the few friends India has there have no chance of being effectively heard. And the political system is so rigid that public opinion does not affect the administration."

"It may, slowly," said Mr. Grover apologetically.

"Slowly?" said Gandhiji. "I have waited long, and I can wait no longer. It is a terrible tragedy that 40 crores of people should have no say in this war. If we have the freedom to play our part we can arrest the march of Japan and save China."

#### What Do You Promise to Do?

Mr. Grover, having made himself sure that Gandhiji did not insist on the literal withdrawal of either the British or the troops, now placing himself in the position of the Allies, began to calculate the gains of the bargain. Gandhiji of course does not want independence as a reward of any services, but as a right and in discharge of a debt long overdue. "What specific things would be done by India to save China," asked Mr. Grover, "if India is declared independent?"

"Great things, I can say at once, though I may not be able to specify them today," said Gandhiji. "For I do not know what government we shall have. We have various political organisations here which I expect would be able to work out a proper national solution. Just now they are not solid parties, they are often acted upon by the British power, they look up to it and its frown or favour means much to them. The whole atmosphere is corrupt and rotten. Who can foresee the possibilities of a corpse coming to life? At present India is a dead weight to the Allies."

"By dead weight you mean a menace to Britain and to American interests here?"

"I do. It is a menace in that you never know what sullen India will do at a given moment."

"No, but I want to make myself sure that if genuine pressure was brought to bear on Britain by America, there would be solid support from yourself?"

"Myself? I do not count — with the weight of 73 years on my shoulders. But you get the cooperation



— whatever it can give willingly — of a free and mighty nation. My cooperation is of course there. I exercise what influence I can by my writings from week to week. But India's is an infinitely greater influence. Today because of widespread discontent there is not that active hostility to Japanese advance. The moment we are free, we are transformed into a nation prizing its liberty and defending it with all its might and therefore helping the Allied cause."

"May I concretely ask — will the difference be the difference that there is between what Burma did and what, say, Russia is doing?" said Mr. Grover.

"You might put it that way. They might have given Burma independence after separating it from India. But they did nothing of the kind. They stuck to the same old policy of exploiting her. There was little cooperation from Burmans, on the contrary there was hostility or inertia. They fought neither for their own cause nor for the Allied cause. Now take a possible contingency. If the Japanese compel the Allies to retire from India to a safer base, I cannot say *today* that the whole of India will be up in arms against the Japanese. I have a fear that they may degrade themselves as some Burmans did. I want India to oppose Japan to a man. If India was free she would do it, it would be a new experience to her, in twenty-four hours her mind would be changed. All parties would then act as one man. If this live independence is declared today I have no doubt India becomes a powerful ally."

Mr. Grover raised the question of communal disunion as a handicap, and himself added that before the American Independence there was not much unity in the States. "I can only say that as soon as the vicious influence of the third party is withdrawn, the parties will be face to face with reality and close up ranks," said Gandhiji. "Ten to one my conviction is that the communal quarrels will disappear as soon as the British power that keeps us apart disappears."

#### Why not Dominion Status?

"Would not Dominion Status declared today do equally well?" was Mr. Grover's final question.

"No good," said Gandhiji instantaneously. "We will have no half measures, no tinkering with independence. It is not independence that they will give to this party or that party, but to an indefinable India. It was wrong, I say, to possess India. The wrong should be righted by leaving India to herself."

C. R.

"May I finally ask you about your attitude to Rajaji's move?"

"I have declared that I will not discuss Rajaji in public. It is ugly to be talking at valued colleagues. My differences with him stand, but there are some things which are too sacred to be discussed in public."

But Mr. Grover had not so much in mind the Pakistan controversy as C. R.'s crusade for the

formation of a national government. Mr. Grover had the discernment to make it clear that C. R. "could not be motivated by British Government. His position happens to harmonise with them."

"You are right", said Gandhiji. "It is fear of the Japanese that makes him tolerate the British rule. He would postpone the question of freedom until after the war. On the contrary I say that if the war is to be decisively won, India must be freed to play her part today. I find no flaw in my position. I have arrived at it after considerable debating within myself; I am doing nothing in hurry or anger. There is not the slightest room in me for accommodating the Japanese. No, I am sure that India's independence is not only essential for India, but for China and the Allied cause."

"What are the exact steps by which you will save China?"

"The whole of India's mind would be turned away from Japan. Today it is not. C. R. knows it, and it worries him as it should worry any sane patriot. It worries me no less, but it drives me to a contrary conclusion. India lying at the feet of Great Britain may mean China lying at the feet of Japan. I cannot help using this language. I feel it. You may think it startling and big. But why should it be startling? Think of 400 million people hungering for freedom. They want to be left alone. They are not savages. They have an ancient culture, ancient civilisation, such variety and richness of languages. Britain should be ashamed of holding these people as slaves. You may say: 'You deserve it!' If you do, I will simply say it is not right for any nation to hold another in bondage."

"I agree," whispered Mr. Grover.

"I say even if a nation should want to be in bondage it should be derogatory to one's dignity to keep it in bondage. But you have your own difficulties. You have yet to abolish slavery!"

"In United States, you mean?"

"Yes, your racial discrimination, your lynch law and so on. But you don't want me to remind you of these things."

Sevagram, 11-6-42

M. D.

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## HARIJAN

June 21

1942

## JODHPUR TRAGEDY

(By M. K. Gandhi)

As I had feared, Jodhpur satyagraha has taken a serious and ugly turn. Heaps of paper have come in. From these I gather that arrests are multiplying. Lathi-charges are a daily occurrence. Official circulars have been issued prohibiting the use of private premises by satyagrahis. In fact all the worst things that were experienced during the satyagraha campaigns in British India are being repeated in Jodhpur. Only in Jodhpur they are being done far from the public gaze and a first class tragedy may pass unnoticed and may be buried like many such that have been buried and are being buried even today. The cause of all these troubles is one and so is the remedy. Till it is successfully applied, the painful drama will continue in some shape or form. The British Government cannot escape blame and responsibility for every such happening in the States. It is bound by treaty obligation to protect the people of the States from inhumanities such as those going on in Jodhpur in the name of law and order. The prisoners have no respite even behind the prison bars. The food is bad, usual facilities are denied to them. By way of protest Shri Jai Narayan Vyas has undertaken a hunger-strike till the grievances are redressed or unto death. If he has to die, the death will be upon those who are primarily responsible for the grievances which compel hunger-strikes unto death. Dr. Dwarkanath Kachru has sent an instructive note on Jodhpur from which I take the following for public information:

"The direct authority of the Jodhpur Government extends over 17 % of the total area of the State; the remaining area—about 83 %—is owned by the Jagirdars, about 1300 in number. These Jagirdars are mostly autonomous internally and pay fixed tributes to the Maharaja.

"For a long time now the Political Department has been controlling the affairs in Jodhpur. Thrice during this century the State passed under the direct control and supervision of the Political Department. At present Englishmen—a large number of them—occupy prominent positions in the State. The prime minister is also a retired British official.

"Apart from the British officials, other non-State subject elements also predominate in the State administration. There is thus a "Mulki Movement" which is becoming stronger day by day. There is also a very strong rivalry between the different castes, Rajputs, Brahmins etc., which is very often exploited by the government to play one against the other or to prevent the Lok Parishad from growing stronger.

"The Marwar Lok Parishad, formed in 1938, became, during the course of these four years, a

tremendous force in Jodhpur. Because of the general political backwardness of the Rajputana States, a more advanced mass movement in Jodhpur was destined to lead the vanguard of the popular movement in the whole of Rajputana. An All Rajputana Political Conference was also announced to be held in Jodhpur in March 1940. The mass awakening in Rajputana caused grave anxiety to the Political Department and the Jodhpur Government was instructed to act promptly. The Jodhpur Government therefore declared the Lok Parishad illegal and put all its prominent men in jails. Mass arrests, followed by terrible repression, ended in a compromise with the Government. Marwar Lok Parishad began its constructive work once again and soon came to be recognised by all the people in Marwar, both in the *khalsa* and *jagiri* territories. The Parishad contested the Municipal elections and emerged as the majority party in the Board. Its leader became the chairman.

"Since the war began the governments of Indian States have changed their attitude towards popular movements. The war had in fact provided as excuse to suppress civil liberties and check the growth of popular forces. In Jodhpur, where the Political Department has a hand in shaping the policy of the government, Prime Minister Sir Donald Field, set to work according to the instructions from above. Funds had to be procured for war and the whole State had to be put on war footing. Money had largely to be procured from the Jagirdars, who must in turn be protected against the popular movement in the Jagirs led by the Lok Parishad. The State Government thus assumed an attitude of neutrality towards the Jagirs and allowed the Jagirdars to squeeze even the last drop of blood from their subjects.

"But the Lok Parishad could not ignore the grievances and demands of the masses of Marwar living in Jagirs. The Parishad did not want the abolition of the Jagirs, but it certainly wanted the betterment of the people of Jagirs. Repeated requests were made to the government to intervene and secure a just and a humane treatment for the tenants in Jagirs, but unfortunately the government chose to act differently. They encouraged the Jagirdars and suppressed the Lok Parishad workers. Briefly stated the conditions in Jagirs are: (a) the tenants demand regular *latai* (allocation of the shares of the Jagirdars and their tenants). But the Jagirdars would not arrange to do it regularly and often evaded with the result that the tenants suffered, (b) the tenants also want the abolition of such cesses which have been declared illegal in the courts of the States.

"The Government of Jodhpur repeatedly refused to come to the help of the tenants and even refused to stop the exaction of such cesses which were declared illegal in their own courts of law. The Government went a step further and encouraged the Jagirdars themselves to take up cudgels against the Lok Parishad. Thus when the



Jagirdars beat and victimised and even burnt the houses of the Parishad workers the government refused to intervene."

Sevagram, 14-6-42

## QUESTION BOX

(By M. K. Gandhi)

### Its Meaning

Q. What is the meaning of your appeal to the British power to withdraw from India? You have written much recently on the subject. But there seems to be confusion in the public mind about your meaning.

A. So far as my own opinion is concerned, British authority should end completely irrespective of the wishes or demand of various parties. But I would recognise their own military necessity. They may need to remain in India for preventing Japanese occupation. That prevention is common cause between them and us. It may be necessary for the sake also of China. Therefore I would tolerate their presence in India not in any sense as rulers but as allies of free India. This of course assumes that after the British declaration of withdrawal there will be a stable government established in India. Immediately the hindrance in the shape of a foreign power is altogether removed the union of parties should be an easy matter. The terms on which the Allied powers may operate will be purely for the Government of the free state to determine. The existing parties will have dissolved into the National Government. If they survive they will do so for party purposes and not for dealings with the external world.

### What about Non-Violence

Q. But what about your non-violence? To what extent will you carry out your policy after freedom is gained?

A. The question hardly arises. I am using the first personal pronoun for brevity, but I am trying to represent the spirit of India as I conceive it. It is and will be a mixture. What policy the National Government will adopt I cannot say. I may not even survive it much as I would love to. If I do, I would advise the adoption of non-violence to the utmost extent possible and that will be India's great contribution to the peace of the world and the establishment of a new world order. I expect that with the existence of so many martial races in India, all of whom will have a voice in the government of the day, the national policy will incline towards militarism of a modified character. I shall certainly hope that all the effort for the last twenty-two years to show the efficacy of non-violence as a political force will not have gone in vain and a strong party representing true non-violence will exist in the country. In every case a free India in alliance with the allied powers must be of great help to their cause, whereas India held in bondage as she is today must be a drag upon the war-chariot and may prove a source of real danger at the most critical moment.

### What about Radio Messages?

Q. You do not hear the radio messages. I do most assiduously. They interpret your writings as if your leanings were in favour of the Axis powers and you had now veered round to Subhas Babu's views about receiving outside help to overthrow the British rule. I would like you to clear your position in this matter. Misinterpretation of your known views has reached a dangerous point.

A. I am glad you have asked the question. I have no desire whatsoever to woo any power to help India in her endeavour to free herself from the foreign yoke. I have no desire to exchange the British for any other rule. Better the enemy I know than the one I do not. I have never attached the slightest importance or weight to the friendly professions of the Axis powers. If they come to India they will come not as deliverers but as sharers in the spoil. There can therefore be no question of my approval of Subhas Babu's policy. The old difference of opinion between us persists. This does not mean that I doubt his sacrifice or his patriotism. But my appreciation of his patriotism and sacrifice cannot blind me to the fact that he is misguided and that his way can never lead to India's deliverance. If I am impatient of the British yoke I am so because India's sullenness and suppressed delight of the man in the street over British reverses are dangerous symptoms which may lead to the success of Japanese designs upon India, if they are not dealt with in the proper manner; whereas India finding herself in possession of complete freedom will never want the Japanese to enter India. India's sullenness and discontent will be changed as if by magic into joyful and hearty cooperation with the Allies in consolidating and preserving her liberty from any and every evil design.

Sevagram, 12-6-42

## Notes

### Education through Handicrafts

Shrimati Ashadevi sends the following interesting figures:

"The 27 basic schools in the small compact area in the Bettiah Thana, Dist. Champaran, Bihar, completed three years of work in April 1942. The annual economic chart of Grade I, II and III of these schools for the year 1941-42 makes encouraging study for all workers of basic education. The chart will be published in detail in 'Nai Talim', the monthly organ of basic education. Here we give a brief summary of the principal facts for all who are interested in the progress of basic education. The average attendance for these 27 schools is 70% in Grade I, 76% in Grade II and 79% in Grade III; the average individual earning is 0-11-0 in Grade I, Rs. 2-4-2 in Grade II and Rs. 6-1-1 in Grade III. The total earning of 390 (number based on average attendance) children of 10,264 total hours of work in all the schools is Rs. 267-8-6 in Grade I, of 356 (number based on average attendance) children of 14,082 total hours of work in all the schools is Rs. 804-13-8 in Grade II, and of 319 (number



based on average attendance) children of 14,362 total hours of work in all the schools is Rs. 1,935-14-11 in Grade III, i. e. the total earning of 1,065 children is Rs. 3008-2-1 for the whole year. The average maximum individual earning of these schools is Rs. 15-12-0 in Grade III, Rs. 6-2-0 in Grade II and Rs. 2-10-1 in Grade I. The average maximum speed is 480 rounds per hour on the charkha and 281 rounds per hour on the takli for Grade III; 350 rounds per hour on the charkha and 242 rounds per hour on the takli for Grade II; and 164 rounds per hour on the takli for Grade I."

These figures are not given to show the output and the income, important as they are in their place. The output and the income have a secondary place in an education chart. But they are given to demonstrate the high educational value of handicrafts as a means of training the youth. It is clear that without industry, care and attention to detail the work could not have been done.

M. K. G.

#### Only if They Withdraw

"Till the last day you said there can be no Swaraj without Hindu Muslim unity. Now why is it that you say that there will be no unity until India has achieved independence", the Nagpur correspondent of the *Hindu* asked Gandhiji the other day.

Gandhiji replied, "Time is a merciless enemy, if it is also a merciful friend and healer. I claim to be amongst the oldest lovers of Hindu Muslim unity and I remain one even today. I have been asking myself why every whole-hearted attempt made by all including myself to reach unity has failed, and failed so completely that I have entirely fallen from grace and am described by some Muslim papers as the greatest enemy of Islam in India. It is a phenomenon I can only account for by the fact that the third power, even without deliberately wishing it, will not allow real unity to take place. Therefore I have come to the reluctant conclusion that the two communities will come together almost immediately after the British power comes to a final end in India. If independence is the immediate goal of the Congress and the League then, without needing to come to any terms, all will fight together to be free from bondage. When the bondage is done with, not merely the two organisations but all parties will find it to their interest to come together and make the fullest use of the liberty in order to evolve a national government suited to the genius of India. I do not care what it is called. Whatever it is, in order to be stable, it has to represent the masses in the fullest sense of the term. And, if it is to be broad-based upon the will of the people, it must be predominantly non-violent. Anyway, upto my last breath, I hope I shall be found working to that end, for I see no hope for humanity without the acceptance of non-violence. We are witnessing the bankruptcy of violence from day to day. There is no hope for humanity if the senseless fierce mutual slaughter is to continue."

Sevagram, 11-6-42

M. D.

## A RURAL ANTHOLOGY

### IV

Not only clothes and shoes but even tools were made in the cottage factory. As James Nasmyth writes in his autobiography:

"Peter Stubbs's files were so vastly superior to other files, both in the superiority of the steel and in the perfection of the cutting, which long retained its efficiency, that every workman gloried in the possession and use of such durable tools. Being naturally interested in everything connected with tools and mechanics, I was exceedingly anxious to visit the factory where these files were made. I obtained an introduction to William Stubbs, the head of the firm, and was received by him with much cordiality. When I asked him if I might be favoured with a sight of his factory, he replied that he had no factory as such; and that all he had to do in supplying his large warehouse was to serve out the requisite quantities of pure cast steel as rods and bars to the workmen; and that they on their part forged the metal into files of every description at their own cottage workshops..."

And apart from the manufacture of clothes and other things of domestic use, cottage industries enabled women in some cases to earn as much money as the menfolk, and even children took part in them with benefit to the family purse and without any undue strain upon themselves. Mr. T. Hennell writes in *Change in the Farm*:

"The commonest sort [of straw-plait] was made by boys and children and paid for at the rate of five pence a score [twenty yards]. It was quite usual for children to be made to plait a score between coming out of school and going to play. For.....elaborate plaits women were often paid half a crown or three shillings a score and so were able to earn eighteen shillings a week, while their husbands got only sixteen shillings a week as labourers. They had to buy the straw which they used, but this was not a heavy proportion of the cost. Thirty yards of fine plait or twenty-six of coarser quality went to make a hat. No doubt it is a craft which could well be revived with much advantage to many British farmers and cottagers, but it has almost been killed by Japanese plaits and coarse rye-straw imported from France."

### V

Mr. Bell's delightful little volume not only tells us about the handicrafts practised in the British countryside; it also lets us catch a glimpse of the fine character which "living in constant touch with nature and face to face with reality" (C. J. Sharp) enables the countryman to build for himself.

For one thing a villager often sleeps under the sky, and "sleeping... under the sky, you come to find out for yourself what nobody taught you at school—how Orion is sure to be not there in summer, and Aquila always missing in March, and how the Great Bear, that was straight overhead in the April nights, is wont to hang low in the north in the autumn. Childish as it may seem to the wise, a few years' nightly view of these and other



invariable arrangements may give a simple soul a surprisingly lively twinge of what the ages of faith seem to have meant by the fear of God—the awesome suspicion that there is some sort of fundamental world order or control which cannot by any means be put off or dodged or bribed to help you to break its own laws" (C. E. Montague, *Disenchantment*).

The sympathy and solidarity which unite the members of a village community have been exquisitely described by Mr. W. H. Hudson (*A Traveller in Little Things*):

"I imagined the case of a cottager at one end of the village occupied in chopping up a tough piece of wood or stump and accidentally letting fall his heavy sharp axe on to his foot, inflicting a grievous wound. The tidings of the accident would fly from mouth to mouth to the other extremity of the village, a mile distant; not only would every individual quickly know of it, but have at the same time a vivid mental image of his fellow villager at the moment of the misadventure, the sharp glittering axe falling on to his foot, the red blood flowing from the wound; and he would at the same time feel the wound in his own foot, and the shock to his system."

And hospitality is of course a characteristically rural virtue. Mrs. Burrows in her *Life As We Have Known It* tells us how along with forty other children she used to work fourteen hours a day in the fields about the middle of the nineteenth century. One day "the cold east wind, . . . the sleet and snow, . . . seemed almost to cut us to pieces. . . . Well, the morning passed somehow. . . . Dinner time came, and we were preparing to sit down under a hedge and eat our cold dinner and drink our cold tea, when we saw the shepherd's wife coming towards us, and she said to our ganger, 'Bring these children into my house and let them eat their dinner there.' We went into that very small two-roomed cottage and when we got into the largest room there was not standing room for us all, but this woman's heart was large even if her house was small, and so she put her few chairs and table out into the garden and then we all sat down in a ring upon the floor. She then placed in our midst a very large saucepan of hot boiled potatoes, and bade us help ourselves. Truly, although I have attended scores of grand parties and banquets, since that time, not one of them has seemed half as good to me as that meal did. I well remember that woman. She was one of the plainest women I ever knew; in fact she was what the world would call quite ugly, and yet I can't think of her even now without thinking of that verse in one of our hymns where it says:

'No, Earth has angels though their forms are moulded  
But of such clay as fashions all below,  
Though harps are wanting, and bright pinions folded,  
We know them by the love-light on their brow.'

We will close with Mr. Alexander Somerville's description in *Autobiography of a Working Man* of a stone mason Alick F—, who gave him some new

ideas about the killing of birds and beasts. He said it was mean to put down a snare and catch a hare in the dark. He ridiculed the delight which people took in shooting. "I was with him one wintry day on the sea-shore.....He was quarrying stones in a sheltered nook, and I had taken my gun, because it was a stormy day, to have a shot at the sea-birds, which could be more easily reached in tempestuous weather than at other times. Thus we met. In the midst of our geological speculations.....and just as we had admired the magnificence of a wave which seemed in itself to be a sea risen on end to overwhelm the land, I saw a redshank on the wing, which I thought was within shot, and snatched up the gun to shoot it. He stopped me on the instant and said, 'Let it go! What if the hand, which has more power over that ocean and these waves than you have over that gun and the shot within it, were to have as little mercy for living things? What, if you and I were redshanks, or that all this nation was as but one redshank, and the author of this storm, which permits that redshank to live which you would have killed, should have lifted his arm against us?'"

(Concluded)

V. G. D.

## AMERICAN RACIAL DISCRIMINATION

The treatment of the Negro by the whites in America and racial discrimination operating against him in various walks of life has been discussed in these columns already. A brief reference may now be made to America's policy of racial discrimination against Asiatics—especially the Chinese who are now America's allies. The February number of *Asia* contains a studiously objective article on the subject by Dr. Spinks who makes out a strong plea for the immediate repeal of Chinese exclusion. Says Dr. Spinks: "Today the future of the United States has become more dependant than ever before upon our relations with the millions of inhabitants of Asia. Whether in war or in peace, whether as enemies or friends, we must henceforth deal with all these peoples upon a basis of equality. We cannot inspire their confidence in our efforts to make this a better world for humanity if our own laws and policies so glaringly place the Asiatic races in a different category from the rest of mankind." The plea is thus made both on the grounds of justice and expedience, though it is little realised that true justice is always the best expediency.

Dr. Spinks complains that "by our own action we ourselves are today violating two of the essential principles" for the violation of which the Axis powers are being strongly condemned. "By our immigration laws, the United States not only excludes over one quarter of the human race from the application of justice and equality, but singles out the Chinese people for a most shameful and categorical form of discrimination." He mentions the various measures on the statute book of the United States of which the very purpose is exclusion and discrimination. The United States Immigration



Law of 1924 excludes no Chinese or any other race as such, but excludes those who are ineligible to American citizenship, and the Supreme Court decisions in several cases have ruled that Asiatic races—including Indian—are ineligible for citizenship. Thus the Chinese, the Indians, the Japanese are all debarred except "in case of certain exempt classes (students and merchants) who can enter and reside here temporarily."

This however was what may be called dealing injustice to all Asiatics with an even hand. But China was singled out more especially than others, as we shall presently see. "The American Treaty with China of 1894 gave the United States the right to suspend all immigration for ten years. In 1902 Chinese exclusion was applied to the American insular possessions, and finally in 1904 the Chinese exclusion acts were made perpetual"—and this is in force in spite of the all-comprehensive law of 1924, and thus "the United States has singled out the Chinese by name for categorical discrimination and exclusion." A section of an Act of 1884 makes it obligatory for a Chinese holding passports to have in addition to the passport which does define his occupational status a certificate to the effect that the holder intends to make a temporary visit to the United States. "By this provision the United States in effect does not recognise a passport of the Government of China, which is fully tantamount to not recognising the sovereign power of that country."

"The only bar to immigration based on race", says the Encyclopaedia Britannica, "was the prohibition, since 1888, of Chinese immigration and the practical exclusion of Japanese labourers by a 'gentlemen's agreement' with the Japanese Government." Also, "the Chinese decreased in number, as might be expected from the policy of exclusion; in 1910 there were 71,531 and in 1920, 61,639. The number of Japanese however increased from 72,157 to 111,010, or 53.9 per cent." The Tables for Immigrant Aliens by country and by race give no figures of Asiatics or Orientals, which means that they are nil or negligible.

But to proceed. The Chinese are "justly sensitive and resentful" over a provision in the law prohibiting them from marrying women of their home-land and bringing them to the United States permanently. The Chinese population in America "is overwhelmingly male", and the resentment is thus natural.

Then the Chinese, as distinguished from all other Asiatic or non-Asiatic races, "must enter the United States at certain designated ports"—apart from the discourtesy that legitimate Chinese immigrants too often meet with at the hands of immigration officials.

The Chinese have felt the sting of the racial insult, and Dr. Spinks notes that the first anti-foreign boycott in China in 1905 was "directed against the

United States over our exclusion policy." Japan could make of the question a burning international political issue as she had attained the position of a "great" power, but it was precisely because Japan did so that it is said that the whole question of Asiatic immigration was prejudiced. The argument that unless Asiatics are specifically banned, they will in some way or other enter the United States in such numbers as to bring about serious economic and social problems, is dismissed by Dr. Spinks as fallacious, because if the quota system of 1924 which is applied to non-Asiatics were applied to the Asiatics there would be little social or economic disaster. This quota system consists of permission to all non-Asiatic nations to send as immigrants two per cent. of its population resident in the U. S. A. in 1890. Dr. Spinks calculates that if this system were to be applied to Asiatics "only about two thousand Chinese, a mere handful of Indians and other Asiatics and (when the war is over) only a hundred and eighty Japanese could enter the United States annually. Despite their racial and cultural differences, such meagre numbers could not conceivably give rise to economic and social problems." It may be interesting to note in this connection the figures of Asiatic population in the U. S. A. In 1870 there were 63,119 Chinese and 75 Japanese there. In 1930 there were 74,954 Chinese (16 per cent. increase in 60 years), but the Japanese had increased to 138,834 (because of gentleman's agreements with the Great Asiatic power) and other Orientals were only 50,978 in a total population of 12 crores. (Statesman's Year Book, 1937.) While the war lasts even if a partial open door was declared on the quota basis there would be little Chinese immigration.

Dr. Spinks dismisses equally summarily the legal argument—viz., the sovereign right to exclude certain races. This is nothing, says he, before the "broader, more fundamental principle of racial equality which has been a vital part of our national policy and which today is prerequisite to our concept of a new world order." In other words, rather than indulge in big talk of a new world order, make the just and righteous beginning now, and free yourselves of the charge of hypocrisy.

Sevagram, 11-6-42

M. D.

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# HARIJAN

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[ FIVE PICE

## A CHALLENGE

(By M. K. Gandhi)

I have before me three letters rebuking me for not going to Sindh to face the Hurs personally. Two are friendly. The third comes from a critic who has no faith in non-violence. His letter demands an answer. Its main part runs as follows:

"I am deeply interested in your writings and in the effect that they make upon the minds of the ignorant masses and your blind followers. I would therefore feel obliged if you enlighten me on the following points, especially because points nos. 3 & 4 raise novel and fundamental issues about non-violence.

"You have been training a number of satyagrahis in your Ashram and they must have had the advantage of your supervision and instructions. You have been proclaiming that violence could be effectively met by non-violent means. Japan is now attacking India in the East and Hurs are creating trouble in the West. Is this not then the long-awaited opportunity when you can practise what you have so long preached?

"Instead of doing that, you are contenting yourself by writing articles in the *Harijan*. Imagine Hitler or Stalin, without sending their armies to the front line, writing such articles in *Pravda* or such other paper. Instead of asking the Sindh M. L. A. s. to resign and go to the Hurs, why should you not send a 'company' of your trained satyagrahis and try the luck of your doctrine?

"Is it not the duty and business of a satyagrahi to go and meet the danger where it exists and threatens the country? Or is it your case that your satyagrahis will meet it only when it reaches the Ashram and not before? If so, is not your doctrine a doctrine of inaction?"

I have no doubt that if I could have gone to Sindh, I might have been able to do something. I have done such things before, not without success. But I am too old for such missions. What little energy I have, I am storing up for what promises to be the last fight of my life.

I have not conceived my mission to be that of a knight-errant wandering everywhere to deliver people from difficult situations. My humble occupation has been to show people how they can solve their own difficulties. So far as Sindh is concerned, I maintain that my advice was perfect. It was clearly Congressmen's duty to proceed to the infested areas and spend themselves in the effort to convert the Hurs to the way of peace. Indeed they could have used arms if they had no faith in non-violence. They should have resigned from the Congress to free themselves from the obligation to observe non-violence. If we are to be fit for independence, we have to learn the art of self-

defence either non-violently or violently. Every citizen should consider himself liable to render help to his neighbour in distress.

If I had adopted the role my critic has suggested, I would have helped people to become parasites. Therefore it is well that I have not trained myself to defend others. I shall be satisfied if at my death it could be said of me that I had devoted the best part of my life to showing the way to become self-reliant and cultivate the capacity to defend oneself under every conceivable circumstance.

My correspondent has committed the grave error of thinking that my mission is to deliver people from calamities. That is an arrogation only claimed by dictators. But no dictator has ever succeeded in proving the claim.

Indeed if I could say, as the correspondent thinks I could, that if the menaces of the kind described by him face the Ashram, it will give a good account of itself, I should be quite content and feel that my mission was wholly successful. But I can lay no such claim. The Ashram at Sevagram is only so-called. The visitors gave it the name and it has passed current. The Ashram is a medly of people come together for different purposes. There are hardly half a dozen permanent residents having a common ideal. How these few will discharge themselves when the test comes remains to be seen.

The fact is that non-violence does not work in the same way as violence. It works in the opposite way. An armed man naturally relies upon his arms. A man who is intentionally unarmed relies upon the unseen force called God by poets, but called the unknown by scientists. But that which is unknown is not necessarily non-existent. God is the Force among all forces known and unknown. Non-violence without reliance upon that Force is poor stuff to be thrown in the dust.

I hope now my critic realises the error underlying his question and that he sees also that the doctrine that has guided my life is not one of inaction but of the highest action. His question should really have been put thus:

How is it that, in spite of your work in India for over 22 years, there are not sufficient satyagrahis who can cope with external and internal menaces? My answer then would be that twentytwo years are nothing in the training of a nation for the development of non-violent strength. That is not to say that a large number of persons will not show that strength on due occasion. That occasion seems to have come now. This war puts the civilian on his mettle no less than the military man, non-violent no less than the violent.

Sevagram, 18-6-42



## THE PRESSURE OF LOVE

I extract the following from a correspondent's Gujarati letter:

"Our little village was the scene of an event last week. Two of the leading men in our village were drink-addicts. Their sons who are reformers could not bear this. The fathers would not listen to the sons' entreaties. So the sons went on a fast refusing to have any food until the fathers promised to give up drink. This created a stir in the village. After a day of the fast the fathers promised privately before a few friends to give up drink. The sons refused to accept this promise as satisfactory, and insisted on a pledge being taken before a public meeting of the villagers. After two days the fathers relented and agreed to pledge themselves publicly never to touch drink. Shri Gordhandas Chokhawala who was here was invited to preside over the public meeting held for the purpose, and the sons thereafter broke the fast.

"This is all very well. But I do not know if the sons were right in coercing their fathers. Is not this coercion violence? My own father is a drink-addict. I have tried hard and long to wean him from the habit, but in vain. But these my cousins have succeeded and their action has had a great effect in the village and its neighbourhood. May I follow in their footsteps? I was not sure of the ethical correctness of the course, otherwise I too should have joined them. But your word would be enough for me. I would request you to deal with this letter in *Harijanbandhu*, so that your advice may be acted upon by young men like me."

I am sure there was no coercion involved in the step taken by the young men, and I am equally sure that it has Gandhiji's blessings and he would commend it to all young people who have the misfortune to have their nearest and dearest ones in the grip of a vice. Satyagraha in the domestic field is a well-trying and unexceptionable remedy. There are a few obvious conditions. The short-coming it is aimed against must be an intolerable vice amounting to a disgrace and working the physical and moral ruin of the addict. Then there should be an indissoluble bond of affection between the parties. It is the right of service and affection that entitles the children and wards to exercise this moral pressure on their parents or guardians. The other condition is that they should have exhausted all other remedies which include repeated requests and entreaties, more devoted service, and giving the dear ones visible demonstration of one's mental pain by giving up one's favourite dishes or one meal, and so on, briefly anything short of a complete fast. Non-cooperation of a sort can also be applied. I have known a sister who non-cooperated with her husband and patiently suffered the consequences thereof for a number of years in order to wean him from vice, and the husband was completely won over as a result of her suffering. If even after all possible gentle measures have been employed the parents or guardians or other dear ones persist, fasting may be legitimately resorted to. There should be no anger and no resentment, there should be

utmost love. The dear ones should be made to feel that their persistence in the vice gives the relatives deep pain so much so that it becomes impossible for them to eat and drink and carry on as usual until the unpleasant thing that divides them is removed. The greater their earnestness and affection the quicker and more abiding will be the result. Let me tell the correspondent that this form of Satyagraha has, to my knowledge, been successfully used not only by children against their parents, but by parents against children, by husbands against wives and *vice versa*. Being the purest type of weapon it can be used by all those who are fired with love, who have no axe to grind, and only the highest end to serve.

The young men in question were right in insisting on the pledge being taken in public. There is shame in persisting in vice, no shame in owning it up and declaring it from the housetops that one is free from it. This public avowal gives one a measure of moral strength and is sufficient protection against a temptation to break the pledge.

Sevagram, 22-6-42

M. D.

## CASUAL NOTES

### "Extraordinary Blindness"

Lin Yutang, the distinguished Chinese author who has made his mark in the domain of English letters, is the last person to be charged with pro-Japanese sympathies or with a defeatist mentality. He has written an article in the 25th anniversary issue of *Asia* on the necessity of a Union Now (of China) with India as a counterblast to Clarence Streit's cry of "Union Now" (of U. S. A.) with Britain. We are not now concerned with the idea of an Asiatic Federation — not at any rate so long as the principal Asiatic nation — Japan — is out for totalitarian fascism. But some of the home-truths he has uttered must be laid to heart by every Britisher. He deplores that "both the United States and Great Britain have not changed in their attitude to Asia", and he is therefore worried not so much about the outcome of the war as about the outcome of the peace. He refers to what he calls "the extraordinary blindness of the British Government with regard to Asia", "shown not so much by the inadequate defence of Singapore as by the complacency with which that inadequacy is excused, and apparently accepted." Malay and Singapore were lost, he says on the authority of British Cabinet Ministers, not due to "neglect" but to "deliberate choice". And yet, says Lin Yutang, both the United States and Great Britain "expect to go on colonizing every Asiatic when the war is over." "What is happening," he asks, "inside the minds of the Malays and the Indians and the Burmese and the Chinese? Are the white Imperialists going to stage a comeback?"

The inference to be drawn from these apparently contradictory statements is that neither America nor Britain can afford to lose these "colonies", and it is part of their strategy to lose them now in order to win them back as "colonies", rather than to win an honourable victory by freeing these and letting them fight as equal Allies.



"Democracy today has its chance," he concludes warning them, "and democracy may forfeit it. The Atlantic Charter has been promised to all countries subjected by Hitler. The Atlantic Charter must be equally promised to all countries subjected by England, or we shall run into another and greater world catastrophe."

One vital correction is needed in this warning. The Atlantic Charter must not be *promised*—Germany and Japan also can make and are making big promises—but it must be *applied now* at this very moment, if the Allies are to have a moral victory which alone counts and which alone can ensure a stable peace.

#### Stop the Traditional Game

A writer in the *New Statesman and Nation* sounds a similar warning and refers pointedly to the expectation of "traditional England" "that at the end of this war, with the aid of the Chinese, American, and Dutch, it is going to recover its traditional Empire in which everything will go on as before." "Our reverses in Malay and Burma mean not merely that on the spot we were ill-prepared and ill-led: they mean that by our own faults of racial arrogance and aloofness our leadership over these peoples has passed from us. We may, if we have the grace to mend our ways, become in the future their allies, friends and helpers, but only on condition that we abandon our traditional claim to rule over them." The mention of Dominion Status serves, he says, but as "an irritant and a symbol of insincerity." "In the past all our offers were qualified by reservations which in effect enabled and even invited the minorities to put their veto on any advance. What Indians chiefly mean by 'independence' is that we should cease to play this traditional game of divide to rule." Alas, the writer did not know then that even before the ink on his paper was dry the British were preparing to play the last (one hopes it was the last) move in that game, viz., the Cripps' proposals. It is therefore that Gandhiji would have no more offer from them, neither the promise of Independence nor any schemes for India's "future Freedom," as they love to describe it, but only an orderly withdrawal leaving us alone to do what we like with ourselves.

#### Another Game

A Chinese resident in Britain gives through the columns of the same weekly a warning against another game that the British are playing, little knowing that Japan has all along profited by it. "Each time when a city in the Far East is evacuated, the population is invariably divided between the Europeans (which illogically includes the Americans) on the one hand, and the 'coloured people' (with 'natives' and 'Asiatics' as alternatives) on the other. Behind this rough classification I fear that there is still the old white men's consciousness lurking. It is unpleasant but true to say that the Japanese propagandists have exploited this time-worn generalisation with some success."

"Are there," he asks, "any colourless people on earth except those standing in Madame Tussaud's?"

Of all colours, nothing frightens me more than wax! Be one's face a Devon apple, a half-ripen tomato, or a brownish dumpling, there is always so much more life." He recognises what Britain is doing for China, and says, "with such a rosy picture in mind, I venture to suggest that we should uproot the colour-bias."

That, I should think, is an extraordinarily mildly worded warning. The stark fact, as we have known it to our cost, is that the bias is there not only in outward verbal expression but corrupts their daily life—even their behaviour in organising to win this war! The war, they should know, cannot be won, except "ye be converted" and "born again".  
Sevagram, 18-6-42 M. D.

## Notes

### Independence Ensures Speedy Victory

Asked by the Reuter's London representative to amplify his statement about the possibility of Free India entering into a treaty with the United Nations, Gandhiji said:

"There can be no limit to what friendly Independent India can do. I had in mind a treaty between United Nations and India for defence of China against Japanese aggression. But given mutual goodwill and trust, the treaty should cover protection of human dignity and rights by means other than resort to armament. For this involves competition in capacity for greatest slaughter. I wish British opinion could realise that Independence of India changes character of Allied cause and ensures speedier victory."

### Deliberate Distortion

Replying to the criticism of the London *Times* on his latest proposal Gandhiji said: "Every time nationalists have suggested solutions however sound intrinsically there has been distortion of their speeches and writings; followed later by persecution. My latest proposal conceived in the friendliest spirit and in my opinion intrinsically sound has already begun to be distorted. I regard my proposal as fool-proof. The operations of the Allied forces against Japanese aggression have been left intact under my proposal which amounts to this that Britain should become true to her declaration, withdraw from India as conqueror and therefore controller of her destiny, and leave India to shape her own destiny without the slightest interference. This, as I can see, puts her case on a moral basis and gives her in India a great ally not in the cause of Imperialism but in the cause of human freedom. If there is anarchy in India, Britain alone will be responsible, not I. What I have said is that I would prefer anarchy to the present slavery and consequent impotence of India. Any person, however great he may be, who distorts the proposals I have made will be condemned by history as an enemy of the Allied cause. Sir Stafford Cripps' proposals have been weighed by India and after great deliberation rejected by all parties. It is an insult to India to repeat those proposals as the final word of British statesmanship."

Sevagram, 21-5-42



## HARIJAN

June 28

1942

## A POSER

( By M. K. Gandhi )

A correspondent writes to Mahadev Desai :

"Referring to Gandhiji's demand for an orderly withdrawal of the British from India or for a complete and immediate ending of the British rule in this country, some friends here want to clearly understand the implications of the suggestion that on free India becoming an ally of the United Nations, British and American troops may remain on Indian soil and operate from her under a treaty with free India, because defence of India will be then our 'common cause'. Theoretically from the standpoint of India's independence the position is no doubt quite clear. But some questions arise as to its practical implications. It is of course understood that Gandhiji here is not stating his personal non-violent position but is visualising one of the possibilities, namely, that of a free nationalist India going in for a policy of armed resistance or of collaboration of some kind with foreign troops in armed resistance, to aggression. But what about the British position? A cordial acceptance of Gandhiji's demand by the British will not only completely change the moral basis of the war but will in fact negative, for them, its political and economic *sine-qua-non*. If the British are not driven out of India by force of circumstances, but they give up their hold on India as a voluntary repayment of a debt long overdue, this moral act cannot, by its very nature, be an isolated one, but should fundamentally affect Britain's relations with her other Asiatic and African possessions also. If Britain is forced to leave India to God or to the Japanese she will go on fighting to save her other possessions in Asia and Africa and to regain those already lost; but if she voluntarily dispossesses herself of her ill-gotten properties, her *material* reasons for prosecuting the war will practically vanish. From the economic point of view, Britain could never inflict upon herself this terrible costly war if she did not hope afterwards to reimburse herself somehow out of the possessions she was fighting to retain. It will be absolutely beyond the resources of Britain, divested of her foreign possessions, to carry on the war on anything like its present scale. To try to do that would be a most senseless and inhuman infliction on the British people themselves.

"As regards *ideal* reasons, these have no substance now, because so long as Britain is holding millions upon millions of human beings in subjugation she has no right to speak for democracy, etc. But the *ideal* reasons will gain substantiality on Britain responding to Gandhiji's appeal. And then it is true Britain may look forward to the sympathy and co-operation of the peoples she will have freed and may to some extent rely on their resources too. But just here we are brought face to face with the old question of means and ends, namely, whether war can be a proper and

effective instrument of policy for the attainment of the democratic ends of justice and human freedom. It would be a disaster if anything were said or done that would give rise to a misunderstanding on this issue so as to jeopardise or prejudice the historic lead which Gandhiji has given in this matter to the world at this unprecedented crisis in human affairs. On no account can that moral world-leadership be endangered. Why does not Gandhiji persist in the line which he enunciated sometime ago, namely, that the voluntary abdication of the British power in respect of her imperial possessions is sure to bring about a moral situation in the world that will baffle Hitler and Mussolini and their war machines? The voluntary liquidation of British Imperialism in India, if it comes about, will be a tremendous act of non-violence on the part of the British. When we are visualising its effect, why should we not think in terms of non-violence also? If the tree is non-violence the fruit also should be non-violence.

"There are so many side issues arising from the question of allowing foreign troops on Indian soil. Foreign troops cannot at all function in this part of the world without India being made a vast arsenal and supply-base for the United Nations. Any suggestion, however tentative and hypothetical, in this direction is fraught with danger.

"While Gandhiji is desperately anxious to prove his *bona fides* as to his determination to keep the Japanese out, his utterances regarding the future position of foreign troops in India are likely to be misunderstood by the other party who may be already seeking an opening for bargaining. Not that negotiations as such are objectionable, but if the other party's approach is vitiated by the spirit of bargaining, that will not only detract from the value of the British action, if any, but will also introduce unwanted complications on the Indian side. The effect on the mind of the Indian masses has also to be taken into consideration. At this stage of the new movement it is most essential to attune the public mind to the thought and conviction that India must get ready to fall back exclusively upon her own resources, moral and material. Can we at this psychological moment emphasise a possibility which will suggest to the man in the street that 'after all they will be here'? The mind of the man in the street will hardly be able to juxtapose national freedom and the presence of thousands and thousands of foreign troops in the country."

This letter demands an answer. The difficulty about the confusion in the public mind by the contemplated stay of the Allied troops in the country is very real. Neither the masses nor even the classes will appreciate the necessity of the military operations of the Allied powers after the declaration of withdrawal. But if the necessity is proved, the public may be expected to reconcile themselves to the inevitable.

There was obviously a gap in my first writing. I filled it in as soon as it was discovered by one of my numerous interviewers. Non-violence demands the strictest honesty, cost what it may. The public have therefore to suffer my weakness, if weakness it may be called. I could not be guilty of asking



the Allies to take a step which would involve certain defeat. I could not guarantee fool-proof non-violent action to keep the Japanese at bay. Abrupt withdrawal of the Allied troops might result in Japan's occupation of India and China's sure fall. I had not the remotest idea of any such catastrophe resulting from my action. Therefore I feel that if in spite of the acceptance of my proposal, it is deemed necessary by the Allies to remain in India to prevent Japanese occupation, they should do so, subject to such conditions as may be prescribed by the national government that may be set up after the British withdrawal.

The writer's argument about Britain having no cause left for pursuing the war, if she accepts my proposal and logically follows it in Africa, is sound. But that is the acid test proposed. India has every right to examine the implications of high-sounding declarations about justice, preservation of democracy and freedom of speech and individual liberty. If a band of robbers have among themselves a democratic constitution in order to enable them to carry on their robbing operations more effectively, they do not deserve to be called a democracy. Is India a democracy? Are the States a democracy? Britain does not deserve to win the war on the ground of justice if she is fighting to keep her Asiatic and African possessions. I am not unaware of the tremendous change in Britain's economic policy that the acceptance of my proposal involves. But that change is a vital necessity, if this war is to have a satisfactory ending.

Who knows if Britain's acceptance of my proposal will not by itself mean an honourable end of the war resulting in a change even in the mentality of the Axis powers?

The writer is afraid that my reconciliation to the presence of the British troops would mean a descent on my part from my non-violent position. I hold that my non-violence dictates a recognition of the vital necessity. Neither Britain nor America share my faith in non-violence. I am unable to state that the non-violent effort will make India proof against Japanese or any other aggression. I am not able even to claim that the whole of India is non-violent in the sense required. In the circumstances it would be hypocritical on my part to insist on the immediate withdrawal of the Allied troops as an indispensable part of my proposal. It is sufficient for me to declare that so far as India is concerned, she does not need troops to defend herself, having no quarrel with Japan. But India must not by any act of hers short of national suicide let China down or put the Allied powers in jeopardy. So long therefore as India lacks faith in the capacity of non-violence to protect her against aggression from without, the demand for the withdrawal of the Allied troops during the pendency of the war would itself be an act of violence, if the controllers of the troops hold it to be necessary for their defence to keep them in India for that purpose and that alone.

Sevagram, 22-6-42

## TWO ACTIONS

(By M. K. Gandhi)

My proposal for the withdrawal of the British power involves two actions. One is to deal with the present emergency, and the other to secure freedom from British supremacy. The second admits of delay. There is a lot of confusion about its implications. I am trying to the best of my ability to deal with the questions as they arise from time to time.

The first admits of no delay and demands specific action irrespective of the proposal for British withdrawal. This is in connection with (1) the behaviour of troops, (2) the impending salt famine, (3) control of food grains, (4) evacuation for the sake of the military, (5) discrimination between Europeans and Anglo-Indians and Anglo-Burmans on the one hand and Indians on the other.

On the first item the people have the law and public opinion wholly on their side. The Government machinery is always slow to move, more so now, when it is all pre-mortgaged for military preparations. People must everywhere learn to defend themselves against misbehaving individuals, no matter who they are. The question of non-violence and violence does not arise. No doubt the non-violent way is always the best, but where that does not come naturally the violent way is both necessary and honourable. Inaction here is rank cowardice and unmanly. It must be shunned at all cost. Pandit Nehru told me that at the stations in the north, platform hawkers have banded themselves for self-defence, so the troops are careful at those stations.

As to salt famine, the law is not quite on the people's side but right is wholly on their side. I am hoping that the Government will put the widest construction on the clause referring to salt in Gandhi-Irwin pact and allow people to manufacture salt wherever they can. And I would advise them to manufacture salt even at the risk of prosecution. Necessity knows no law. A starving man will help himself to food wherever he finds it. Rishi Vishwamitra did so.

Number three is difficult to deal with. But the same rule applies as to the second. Food cannot be manufactured as easily as salt. It is up to the merchants to band themselves to do what they can and force the hands of the Government to do the right thing by suggesting wise rules for the supply of food to the poor people at fixed prices. If this is not done in time looting shops is sure to be a daily event.

As to four, I have no doubt that the authorities may not ask people to vacate except where they are ready to offer equivalent land and buildings and cart the people and their belongings to the places prepared for them and pay them a living wage till they find suitable occupation. The people, if they have nowhere to move to, should simply refuse to vacate and suffer the consequences.

As to the fifth, the people should refuse to submit to discrimination and it will break down. Most of these difficulties take place because we have cultivated the habit of submitting to them. In the words of the late Lord Willingdon, we must learn resolutely to say 'no', when that is the real answer possible and take the consequence. Sevagram, 22-6-42



### "THE COMMUNAL TRIANGLE"\*

The Communal Triangle in India is the pregnant title of a book on our communal problem by two of our distinguished socialists. It is a remarkable contribution to the study of a problem which has baffled our best leaders, and though the book has been published over the authorship of two, it is acknowledged to be the result of the joint labours of several socialist friends whose harmonious collaboration in jail has borne such rich fruit. Study of our social, economic and political problems has become a rare virtue in these days, what with the preoccupations of the struggle for our freedom and what with our lack of emphasis on patient and tireless study of facts and figures which used to be the forte of our stalwarts like Dadabhai and Wacha, Gokhale and Joshi. The charge that our labours since 1920 have lacked study is well-founded. This book into the making of which have gone infinite cooperative labour, study and research, will be a considerable answer to that charge. Every possible source of information has been tapped, important literature on the subject, not only in English and other foreign languages, but in Hindustani, Persian and Marathi has been utilised, and the result is history which, as Buchan has said, is not only a science but an art, "a synthesis rather than a compilation, an interpretation as well as a chronicle".

The book has, as I have said, a pregnant title. The phrase 'the eternal triangle' is well-known, and the havoc that the third party works in the life of a married couple is incalculable. Often the disaster is irretrievable, unless the two who have plighted their troth to each other recover their senses and eliminate the third, or the third repents and eliminates himself or herself. The third side which the authors have rightly described as the base of our communal triangle has played the disastrous part of the third party in 'the eternal triangle', and the conclusion is irresistible that as soon as the base is eliminated there will be no basis left for the perpetual troubles between the two, who for good or ill plighted their troth to each other centuries ago. Gandhiji, temperamentally accustomed to looking for the cause of our ills in ourselves rather than outside, made his best endeavour to rivet the attention of his countrymen for over a quarter century on our own failings and shortcomings and on our duty. But failure of his intensive prayerful effort has now driven him to the conclusion that unless the *fons et origo mali* is removed, the disease cannot be eradicated. It is not with a light heart that he came to that painful conclusion. The last straw on the camel's back was the Cripps' proposals constituting the climax of the diabolical process of *divide et impera*, and he returned from Delhi with the decision made up in his own mind that there was no salvation for this stricken land without a withdrawal of its imperialist masters. The authors of the book have traced the history of the operation of this disastrous policy ever since the British gained their foothold in India, with such wealth of detail,

such masterly analysis, and such accuracy that any dispassionate reader, Hindu or Muslim, should come to the same conclusion that they have arrived. It is remarkable that the book was given to the press before the climax of the Cripps' proposals came upon us, and months before Gandhiji raised his life-giving slogan asking the British to withdraw; but the conclusion they have arrived at is absolutely identical. "It is for this reason," they say at the end of a revealing description of the 'the British arm of the Triangle', "that the Congress has always thrown out the challenge that the first condition for a speedy settlement of the Hindu Muslim differences is that the third party of the triangle should withdraw unconditionally and give the two parties an honest chance to face each other's fears and demands." Again: "the fact is that whatever form of government or constitutional arrangements we want in this country, if they are to be based on the people's consent, then we can never get them as long as the British are masters in our house." Exposing the mischievous conclusions of a book by Sir George Schuster and Mr. Guy Wint, the latest genealogical descendants of the "Empire-builders", the authors say: "If as Guy Wint suggests, the Congress is not a homogeneous organisation but a body of miscellaneous opinion held together by their common opposition to the British Raj then, as soon as that opposition is over and India becomes free, the Congress will fall to pieces and the various groups in it may seek fresh party alignments and party labels. When that happens, the Congress will no longer be there to impose its totalitarian will upon the Indian people, and the stage will be clear for sober statesmen to try all the constitutional experiments they want in a spirit of sweet reasonableness." But the primary inexorable condition for that happy consummation is the British withdrawal. They came as birds of passage and remained as birds of prey, "and the marks of their ravages have sunk deep into the face of this unfortunate land". The Muslims stayed not to exploit but to make the country their motherland and helped in producing a culture which is our "richest treasure". The only expiation for the "Great Refusal" of the British to settle in India is now to withdraw in dignity.

The authors have used the language of sociology and discussed in separate chapters the political, the sociological and the "irrational factors" of the communal problem, but it will be found that the three are but the branches of the same poison-tree, and the facts therefore of one chapter run into those of the other chapters. Thus the development of Muslim politics which has been treated in a separate chapter is bound up with the working of the "British arm of the Triangle" which has a chapter for itself, and it is again intimately connected with the sociological aspect of the problem to which a valuable chapter has been devoted. The same poison runs through all the aspects, for the simple reason that it is administered by the consummate masters of the art of divide and rule.

One wonders if the ordinary Muslim knows even a fraction of the history of the Muslim

*The Communal Triangle in India*: by Ashoka Mehta and Achyut Patwardhan, (Kitabistan, Allahabad) Rs. 4-8-0.



connection with the British. They were the *bete noir* of the British in the beginning of the nineteenth century, they were systematically shut out of the army, as "part of a deliberate policy to enfeeble a great community, to crush the spirit of a proud people"; in 1871 out of 2141 gazetted appointments in Bengal 711 were held by Hindus and 92 were held by Mussalmans; "a hundred and seventy years ago it was impossible for a well-born Mussalman in Bengal to be poor" wrote Dr. Hunter; "at present it is almost impossible for him to continue rich"; Persian and Arabic were "utterly untaught" in the schools, says Bowen, and "the curriculum was so designed as to estrange rather than interest the Muslim"; the tragic story of the Hooghly Trust which was so manipulated as to leave only a fraction of the millions of the trust for Muslim education; "they are a race ruined under the British rule," concluded Dr. Hunter. Well do our authors exclaim: "The Muslim League today is declaiming against the terrible 'atrocities' committed by the Congress Governments during the twenty-seven months that they were in office. It has, however, little to say about a Government which during a period of nearly a hundred years has perpetrated every injustice against the Muslim community. . . . You may take away by force all that a man possesses, and then call him magnanimous, you may do everything to sink him into the mire of poverty and ignorance and then talk of his culture, you may utterly ruin him and then call him a member of a great community. You may do all these things in India, for here unthinkable things are not only thinkable but do-able and often done."

A cold-blooded narration of the working of the British policy in India with the deliberate purpose of playing one community against the other demonstrates to the hilt the truth of the last sentence in the foregoing extract. "In the Montford Report, its distinguished authors expressed themselves against separate electorates, but nonetheless accepted them because of the Congress-League understanding. In 1933 the Communal Award was imposed for exactly the opposite reasons. In 1919 communalism was introduced because the two parties had agreed to it; in 1935 communalism was extended because the Hindus and the Muslims could not agree." The inexorable purpose throughout, of every detail of their policy, no matter how ludicrously inconsistent one may be from the other, is the crushing out of the spirit of nationalism and its strategic value in the perpetuation of the British heel. "The Government of India Act (1935) appreciably widened the franchise. 27.43 out of every 100 adult males in British India are voters. Here was material that nationalism could mobilize. The Government, however, took good care to frustrate such efforts. The electorate in 1919 was broken up into ten parts, now it is fragmented into seventeen unequal bits. Separate electorates were thrust, against their wishes, on women and the Indian Christians. The Hindu community was further weakened by giving separate representation to the scheduled classes.

Divisions on the basis of religion, occupation, and sex were made. Every possible cross-division was introduced." The share of every one of the Empire-builders, beginning with Mount Stuart Elphinstone, Lawrence, and Beck the original exponent of the two-nation theory, to Minto and Samuel Hoare — Lord Irwin's refusal to invite Dr. Ansari to the second Round Table Conference, and his mischievous Massey lecture might have been mentioned too — has been mentioned in its proper place. Amery and Cripps and Churchill and Attlee will deserve a special chapter in a second edition of the book. But the consummation was complete even before Amery and Co. came. The two-nation theory had been enunciated and tacitly accepted by the rulers and taken up as a war-cry by the misguided Mussalmans and Hindus.

That brings us to the brilliant chapters on the two nationalisms in India — the communal nationalism of the two rivals Muslim League and the Hindu Mahasabha and the democratic nationalism of the Indian National Congress — and the chapters on the Hindu Communalism and the movement for Pakistan. The authors have shown with ruthlessly impartial analysis how the illogicality of one communalism has provoked and stimulated the illogicality of the other; how their narrow self-interest has driven them from one impossible position into another; how the Muslim League shamelessly declares, 'we can go on multiplying the list' (not only of demands, but of 'atrocities' also) and how the Hindu Mahasabha sets up a board called the Hindu Militarization Mandal; how both are anxious for the Congress to fade out, so that the war of attrition exhausts both, destroys the Congress and leaves the field clear for the third Party. Both have no nobler urge than that of power politics, the one deluding itself with the will o' the wisp of a Hindudom meaning the maintenance, protection, and promotion of the Hindu race, Hindu culture, and Hindu civilisation, and the advancement of the glory of Hindu *rashtra*, and the other looking forward to the recreation of the exploded conception of a Muslim theocracy on the strength of methods and tactics which are aptly described as "spuriously Bismarckian" or Hitlerian.

As against this is the democratic nationalism of the Congress — which is not uni-national but broad-based on the fundamental rights of all India's diverse citizens — "recognising the need for nations to expand into peaceful federal units", eschewing violence and therefore all exploitation and "mercantilist adventures", — "as Mahatma Gandhi put it recently in his own inimitable way, Indians will go to Burma, but they will do so without guns". For, "only that nationalism can survive in the stress of the modern world which embraces federalism, is anchored in democracy and has an answer to the insistent challenge of war — viz., satyagraha . . . Lincoln condemned slavery because it degraded the master as much as the slave. The same could be said of modern warfare, for no matter how just your cause may be, war in the end will degrade it. One cannot fight the enemy without improving upon the enemy's weapons."



This last can alone be the foundation of a World Federation of Free States, whenever it can be formed. There are erudite chapters in the book on this and kindred subjects, but I must content myself with just a bare mention of them. In these days of spurious nationalisms which are at the root of all the welter of strife and bloodshed, it is something to see two socialist authors stand up for "a moral and political country" which, in the language of Burke, is "distinct from the geographical and which may possibly be in collision with it." "Nationalism," they declare, "has a meaning, it can enlist our allegiance only when its political and moral boundaries are co-terminous."

A question is asked: 'If Britain retires, would communal unity automatically come?' It will not come, for the simple reason that the several years' growth of poisonous weeds will have to be cleared and it may take some time, but the ground will be automatically created, and the poison-root removed, the weeds will not take long to be removed. It is in this work of removal of the weeds that constructive work will have to play a great part. The only hiatus that I have noticed in the book is a chapter surveying the work of those who have devoted themselves during the past twenty years to this task—not only of Gandhiji who fasted 21 days in order to awaken our consciences, but of numerous people like Appa Saheb Patwardhan who often risked their lives in the cause of unity. The epilogue devotes a para or two to methods of improving communal relations. But that is not enough. For only that kind of work will set unity on a firm foundation and prevent it from being wrecked again by outside third parties.

There is many an interesting feature of the book on which one would like to pause—the history of Hindu Muslim relations before the advent of the British, the numerous useful appendices containing facts and figures—but I must cut a long review short and commend the book to every Hindu and Muslim student for careful study. It is a distinct service rendered by the socialist friends and it deserves to be translated into every one of our provincial languages.

M. D.

#### The Late Dr. Datta

In Dr. Datta, Principal of Forman Christian College, the country has lost a staunch Christian nationalist. I had the privilege of knowing him intimately soon after my return from South Africa. He was an intimate friend of the late Deenabandhu Andrews and he would not be satisfied until he had brought me in touch with every one of his friends. Dr. Datta worked wholeheartedly day and night at the Unity Conference during the anxious time of my 21 days fast in 1924 in Delhi. I saw him again equally earnestly at work at the time of the second Round Table Conference. His loss at this critical juncture in the country's history would be doubly felt. I tender my condolences to Mrs. Datta. His numerous friends will share her sorrow. Sevagram, 23-6-42

M. K. G.

### REPLY TO SIR S. CRIPPS

In an interview by the representative of the United Press of London regarding Sir Stafford Cripps' statement published in the press Gandhiji said:

"I have read Sir Stafford Cripps' statement to the United Press representative in London. It is not conducive to the proper understanding between different parties, if ascertainable facts are not admitted by all. Sir Stafford knows that I was disinclined to proceed to New Delhi. Having gone there, I intended to return the same day that I reached there. But Maulana Saheb would not let me go. I wish that I could have induced the Working Committee to take up its stand on pure non-violence. But it did not and could not. With it, rightly, politics were all important and it could not, not having the conviction, allow its deliberations to be affected by the issue of non-violence. The deliberations, therefore, of the Working Committee at New Delhi were carried on without any interference or guidance on my part. Therefore, the negotiations had nothing to do at any stage with the question of non-violence. I would not have brought out this fact, if it was not relevant to a calm consideration of the situation that faces British and Indian statesmen.

"Nor do I like Sir Stafford's description of my appeal for withdrawal of the British power as a walk-out. The appeal has been made in no offensive mood. It is the friendliest thing that I could do. It is conceived in the interest of the Allied cause. I have made it in a purely non-violent spirit and as a non-violent step. But this is merely personal to me. It is necessary to remember in considering my proposal that it is essentially a non-violent gesture. Such non-violence as India has or may have becomes impotent without the withdrawal of the British power—even as that part of India which will put up an armed fight becomes impotent. The step that I have conceived overcomes all difficulties, shuts all controversy about violence and non-violence and immediately frees India to offer her best help to the Allied cause and more especially to China which is in imminent danger. I am convinced that the independence of India, which the withdrawal of the British power involves, would ensure China's freedom and put the Allied cause on an unassailable basis."

Sevagram, 19-6-42

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# HARIJAN

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[ FIVE PICE

## Notice

The next issue, to be published on 12th July, will contain *twelve pages* and will be priced at *two annas* per copy. Agents will please notify changes in their requirements, if any, by Thursday next.

Manager

## FOR THE SIKH FRIENDS

(By M. K. Gandhi)

Thus writes Sardar Mangal Singh:

"I wish to bring to your notice the objections raised against the Congress and against your personal attitude towards the Sikhs. I hope you will deal with them in a proper way in *Harijan*.

(1) The first and the great point made against the Congress is that the Congress does not care for the Sikhs. No Sikh has been taken on the Working Committee or even specially invited to attend the Working Committee meetings during the last 7 years. We tell them that Working Committee is not constituted on a communal basis, but this does not carry conviction with the general Sikh masses.

(2) Several years ago while discussing the thesis of non-violence in *Young India* you said that 'Guru Govind Singh was a misguided patriot' or words to that effect. When fiery speakers mention this it makes a great sentimental appeal to the Sikhs. I think you should explain your point of view.

(3) That you are against the bearing of *Kirpan* by the Sikhs.

(4) That you said to certain Sikhs that they should either follow Guru Govind Singh or yourself.

I personally know that the last two allegations have no foundations, but lies when repeated do acquire some importance. I hope you will agree with me that some elucidation is necessary from you. This will help the nationalist Sikhs and the Congress in the Punjab."

It is painful for me to have to write on this subject. Some of the points have been discussed thread-bare. When however suspicion usurps the place of reason, it becomes most difficult to remove it. But I cannot resist the inquiry of a fellow-worker especially when he makes it to smooth his way.

The first question is really for the Congress Secretary to answer. But I can say that for years Sardar Shardul Singh Caveesher was a member of the Working Committee. It is not always possible to provide for communal representation on the Working Committee. The policy should be and is to get the best men. The fact is that the Congress

has always given the greatest consideration to the Sikh sentiment. It was for them that a special committee was appointed on the question of the colour of the National Flag. It was for them that the famous Lahore resolution on the communal question was framed. They have therefore the least cause for complaint against the Congress.

As to what I am supposed to have said about Guru Govind Singh, I can only repeat what I have said about the charge that I have no recollection whatsoever of having made the remark attributed to me. Whoever brings the charge should at least refer me to the passage in question in my writings. I have searched in vain. What is however more to the point is to know what I think about Guru Govind Singh. I have the highest regard for him. The popular belief is that it was he who gave the sword to the Khalsa. I have believed that to the extent that he did so he departed from the non-violence of his predecessors. This is not the place to examine or question the justification for the great Guru's step. A learned Sikh friend tells me that he could show that Guru Govind Singh never departed from the teachings of the preceding Gurus on non-violence. But such proof may have an academic value. The common belief as I have understood it among the Sikhs is that Guru Govind Singh accepted resort to the sword in well-defined circumstances as quite valid. Be that as it may, there never was the slightest disrespect on my part for the great Guru or the Sikh *Panth*. Indeed among the *bhajans* sung at the the Ashram prayers there are several of Guru Nanak's.

As to *Kirpans* I am afraid I must say that I do not like the wearing of *Kirpan* or the like by human beings as part of their religion. But my likes or dislikes can produce no effect on the Sikh practice. If by the question is meant whether I should vote for legislation prohibiting the wearing of *Kirpans* by the Sikhs, I can unhesitatingly say 'no' for the simple reason that I do not believe in making people non-violent by legislation.

The suggestion made in the fourth question is ridiculous. I have never considered myself as a religious teacher. I have never asked anyone to disown his own faith, in order to accept non-violence or my teaching. I have not known any religion to make violence obligatory. Most religions have permitted it, where non-violence is not possible. But I have no right to judge other religions. I entertain equal respect for all religions. I must if I expect others to respect mine.

Sevagram, 26-7-42



## QUESTION BOX

(By M. K. Gandhi)

## A Fallacy

Q. You consider it a vital necessity in terms of non-violence to allow the Allied troops to remain in India. You also say that, as you cannot present a fool-proof non-violent method to prevent Japanese occupation of India, you cannot throw the Allies over-board. But, don't you consider that the non-violent force created by your action which will be sufficient to force the English to withdraw will be sufficiently strong to prevent Japanese occupation also? And is it not the duty of a non-violent resister to equally consider it a vital necessity to see that his country, his home and his all are not destroyed by allowing two foreign mad bulls to fight a deadly war on his soil?

A. There is an obvious fallacy in the question. I cannot all of a sudden produce in the minds of Britishers, who have been for centuries trained to rely upon their muscle for their protection, a belief which has not made a very visible impression even on the Indian mind. Non-violent force must not act in the same way as violence. The refusal to allow the Allied troops to operate on the Indian soil can only add to the irritation already caused by my proposal. The first is inevitable, the second would be wanton.

Again, if the withdrawal is to take place, it won't be due merely to the non-violent pressure. And in any case what may be enough to affect the old occupant would be wholly different from what would be required to keep off the invader. Thus we can disown the authority of the British rulers by refusing taxes and in a variety of ways. These would be inapplicable to withstand the Japanese onslaught. Therefore, whilst we may be ready to face the Japanese, we may not ask the Britishers to give up their position of vantage merely on the unwarranted supposition that we would succeed by mere non-violent effort in keeping off the Japanese.

Lastly, whilst we must guard ourselves in our own way, our non-violence must preclude us from imposing on the British a strain which must break them. That would be a denial of our whole history for the past twenty-two years.

Sevagram, 28-6-42

## A Bengali Mother's Two Questions

Q. Bengal is threatened by the Japanese menace. It is time now the political workers in this province composed their differences. I believe they will readily forget their domestic squabble only if the right person mediates. Would you not exert yourself to that end and save Bengal from the impending disaster?

A. What you say is too true. But I doubt if I am the right person to mediate. A Bengali should tackle the question. I would go to Bengal today, if I had the confidence that I could perform the trick. When one comes to think of it, the differences are too trivial to need any mediation.

Q. My husband is a teacher employed in a school of Calcutta. His income is already alarm-

ingly diminished. It is apprehended in a month or so he will have no income at all. He has now seven dependants. Formerly he earned just enough to provide his family with the ordinary necessities of life. He has now nothing to fall back upon. I know my husband is patriotic and Congress-minded. But in order to be able to give us food he finds no alternative but to join war-service. What else can he do? What is your advice to those who are similarly stranded?

A. This is a very serious question. I know that joining the military is the shortest cut to bread-winning. If you and your husband are averse to all war like me, you will face starvation and prove your aversion. God will prevent you from dying of starvation. You might have to revise your way of living. Middle classes have to come down to the level of the peasantry. Then only shall we know real India and the way to deal with growing distress of the millions. But if you have no such aversion, I see no harm in your husband joining military service. He will do no worse than many are doing.

Sevagram, 29-6-42

## WITH KHADI WORKERS

On the 26th of June Gandhiji gave a couple of hours to the khadi workers in India most of whom had come for the annual meeting of the All India Spinners Association. That was also the occasion of distribution of certificates to the students of the Khadi Vidyalaya who had passed their examinations this year. The Vidyalaya and the examinations are all organised by the A. I. S. A. The course is an intensive one in the theory and practice of all the processes involved in the manufacture of khadi from the selection of the cotton-seed to getting the finished product ready for market, including account-keeping in all its details. Thus the study of the theory and practice of spinning includes the detailed mechanics of the wheels and the spindle and the strings; the practice includes practice on all the varieties of wheels and taklis, and so on.

Gandhiji after distributing the certificates gave a brief benedictory speech, in which he blessed both those who had passed and those who had failed. "For," said he, "these examinations are unlike the orthodox university examinations which are at best a test of book-knowledge and depend on the whims of examiners. Here even if you do not pass in your examinations what you have learnt is not lost, it has profited the country, failure means inadequate practice or work, and the next year you will increase your knowledge and production. Then the orthodox examinations prepare the examinees at best for clerkships, and those who pass have no illusions about adding anything to the wealth of the country, while even the failures amongst you have added something to the wealth of the country, if not quite as much as those who have passed. Then there is another very vital difference. The boys in the schools and colleges pay heavy fees, but far heavier than their fees are the expenses incurred by Government on



their education. The country gets nothing by way of return for this enormous expenditure; if there is any little gain it belongs to an alien government. Then the system of examinations is most mechanical and tiring and calculated to add little to the examinees' intellectual calibre. Here the end in view is to qualify students to add more and more to the country's wealth, to stimulate originality and, apart from gaining them a living, render service of the country. One last point which if you have not grasped I want you to grasp today. Inasmuch as service of the country is the final aim, the failures have no cause for disappointment, the passes have no reason to look down upon the failures, and there is little scope for unhealthy rivalry. The students in the ordinary schools and colleges throw away their books after they have passed their examinations, for they think they are no longer going to be of use to them. Here you cannot afford to throw away your books or tools, for they are always of value, and once a khadi student is always a khadi student, he goes on adding to his knowledge and fitness as a khadi worker."

Gandhiji next addressed himself to a vital difference between spinning as practised in ancient times and as it is being taught and practised now. It is a thing which has to be borne in mind by both the taught and the teachers and the examiners, for the latter not only teach the students but teach themselves in the process. "The distinction I desire to invite your attention to is fundamental," said Gandhiji. "Our ancestors did spin and weave and produce their own cloth, but they were just spinners and weavers, toiling either for their bread or for their employers, e. g. the East India Company. There was little joy about their work, and no spirit of service or knowledge. They toiled because they could not help it, and often it was such irksome drudgery that it drove them to cut off their own fingers in order that the slave-drivers may drive them no more. Their toil was their slavery. They have left nothing for us to emulate. We have to do penance for and wipe out that slavery. Their toil would have been perfectly honourable, if there had been knowledge at the back of it, as also the desire for the country's freedom, the determination not to bend the knee to the slave-driver, and a sense of art. A revival of the industry means adoption of all these life-giving virtues, it means infusing new life into the dead bones of the old industry."

#### Questions and Answers

The first question discussed was about adding to the capital by making collections and raising loans. The collections could, it was explained, be made by every one of the branches, but they should be made on behalf of the A. I. S. A., which must determine the way of their disposal. Gandhiji had no objection to raising loans, but those who advanced loans must be told, in this uncertain time of war, they were taking obvious risks, though perhaps no more than deposits in banks. If we survive the war and the terrible struggle ahead, we should repay every pie, but if we don't survive, they stand every

risk of losing their money. It is likely that no one would care to advance loans. It was better therefore to concentrate on self and sacrificial spinning, and on getting gifts of yarn and cotton.

"But those who advance loans to us may have another fear," some one asked. Even as it is there is the obvious risk of war, but by advancing loans to us they may feel that they add to their risk." "Then," said Gandhiji, "let them know they will have earned the merit of having lost money in a good cause."

"Would the struggle involve the khadi workers?" was another question.

"I am not going to make a call to the khadi workers", said Gandhiji. "But if there is a general conflagration khadi workers cannot escape it, *should* not escape it. You must know the full implications of that beautiful phrase, 'livery of freedom' applied to khadi by Jawaharlal. Khadi must not fetter us. You must also understand that I am not thinking of civil disobedience or non-cooperation of old. But there may be quixotic and arbitrary orders given to the people in the midst of whom we are working. We would reason with the authorities, but if they do not listen, we might be involved in spite of ourselves. Therefore no hard and fast rules can be laid down this time. Let us go on as usual unmindful of risks. Our inflexible rule is not to take part in politics, not to meddle with them."

There were a number of administrative questions asked and discussed. Summing up Gandhiji said: "All these may well prove irrelevant before the crisis that faces us. You must make no mistake about it. A conflagration is imminent and let us not have the slightest thought of saving our skins. If we do, we shall have plied our wheels and worn khadi in vain. Let it never be said the A. I. S. A. was an institution which would run no risk."

And with this he invited the workers to vivisection him regarding his new move. "If you feel it is mid-summer madness you must unhesitatingly tell me so. If you think anything I am doing is prompted by anger or passion you must not spare me. I think all that I am doing is prompted by the highest sense of non-violence and therefore for universal good. My readiness to allow foreign armies to stay in India for their own self-protection and for saving China should be enough proof of this."

There were questions and answers on this crucial question of foreign troops, for it was the only plank in the new programme to which many could not reconcile themselves. I will not give here Gandhiji's reply, as he discusses the question in this week's leading article.

Sevagram, 29-6-42

M. D.

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# HARIJAN

July 5

1942

## OH! THE TROOPS

(By M. K. Gandhi)

I have to pay a heavy price for having drawn up an entrancing picture of a Free India without a single British soldier. Friends are confounded now to discover that my proposal admits of the presence of British and even American troops under any circumstance at all. In vain do I argue that the Allied troops, if they remain, will do so not to exercise authority over the people, or at India's expense, but they will remain under treaty with the Government of Free India at the United Nations' expense for the sole purpose of repelling Japanese attack and helping China.

It has been pointed out that not to consent to the Allied troops remaining in India during the period of the war is to hand over India and China to Japan, and to ensure the defeat of the Allied powers. This could never have been contemplated by me. The only answer, therefore, to give was to suffer the presence of the troops but under circumstance the reverse of the existing. They will remain under permission of Free India and not at all in the role of masters but of friends.

My proposal presupposes shedding of all fear and distrust. If we have confidence in ourselves, we need neither fear nor suspect the presence of Allied troops.

May I suggest also that it is altogether premature and wrong to pore over the weakest points of a very difficult project which may not be accepted even with the troops remaining in India. It will be most assuredly an event of the century and may be a turning point in the war if Britain can honestly perform the act of renouncing India with all that the renunciation would mean. The virtue and the value of the renunciation in my opinion will not be affected in the least, because the Allied troops will be operating in India with the sole object of preventing Japanese attack. After all India is as much interested as the Allies in warding off the attack and yet under my proposal India will not have to pay a single pie over the expenses of the troops.

As I have already said in the previous issue of *Harijan*, the British acceptance of my proposal may itself lead to a most honourable peace and hence automatic withdrawal of the troops. I would therefore ask the doubters to concentrate their attention upon the grandeur of the proposed renunciation and help to the utmost of their power the fruition of the great act. Let them not dread the presence of the troops in India for the purpose indicated but regard it as an inevitable part of the proposal so as to make it not only justifiable but fool-proof. So far as I can see, Free India will run no risk by their presence. Her freedom will certainly suffer no diminution thereby.

The implications of my proposal are :

(1) India becomes free of all financial obligation to Britain;

(2) The annual drain to Great Britain stops automatically;

(3) All taxation ceases except what the replacing government imposes or retains;

(4) The deadweight of an all-powerful authority keeping under subjection the tallest in the land is lifted at once;

(5) In short, India begins a new chapter in her national life, as I shall hope to affect the fortunes of the war with non-violence as her predominant sanction. This non-violence will no longer take the shape of non-cooperation and the like. It will express itself in her ambassadors going to the Axis powers not to beg for peace but to show them the futility of war for achieving an honourable end. This can only be done if and when Britain sheds the gains of perhaps the most organized and successful violence the world has seen.

All this may not come to pass. I do not mind. It is worth fighting for, it is worth staking all that the nation has.

Sevagram, 27-6-42

## NOW IS THE MOMENT

Prof. Harold Laski's book *Where Do We Go from here?* is by far the most important "Penguin Special" published during the war. His main argument is that the way to victory lies through the revolt of the masses against their conquerors in the occupied countries, but that that revolt can come only by Britain setting the example by building a just and equal society. This again depends upon, what Prof. Laski calls, "the cleansing of our democracy" which has two aspects, viz., "our position as an empire", and secondly "our authority to persuade the peoples of the European continent that we genuinely seek a world-peace which definitely rules out the possibility of resuming war." Empire has, until now, meant life-trade, raw material, opening for successful career to thousands of young men, a standard of life for the local proletariat—but it is that Empire that has caused war and now is synonymous with death, as I showed in a previous article in these columns. Prof. Laski takes as an illustration of the Problem of Empire—the most pivotal of all—India. "India stands before us to-day," says Prof. Laski, "demanding freedom from our paramount power as unmistakably as Poland or Czechoslovakia demand freedom from the paramount power of Germany over them," and he describes vividly how that "paramount power" is being maintained. He says :

"Year by year, to maintain it, even in the revised form of 1936, we have to resort to special powers, the exercise of undemocratic authority, the wide use of the power to imprison and to flog. The few Indians of position we can produce to applaud our rule are men whom we have elevated for that purpose, who without the elevation, as both we and India know, would be against us and not for us. The main interest we support in India, apart from our own financial interest, is a



mass of feudal princes of whom, with not more than six exceptions, it can, so far as the last half century is concerned, be said with literal accuracy, that the character of their governance competes, in barbarism and squalor, with that of the outlaws in Europe.

"The character of our rule in India, maintained in defiance of Indian demands, has long stained our reputation for plain dealing all over the world; until the advent of Hitler and Mussolini, it was the classic example of imperialist exploitation. We are squarely faced from India with a demand, insistently maintained, for self-government; and we know, within ourselves, that sooner or later we must yield to it, even though the risk to our interests of so yielding is a formidable one. But we cling to the maintenance of that interest by every pretext and device we can discover. The very statesmen who manipulate these pretexts and devices are most prolific in the announcement of their yearning for the fulfilment of India's ambition; Sir Samuel Hoare was even shameless enough to represent the Act of 1935, which ingeniously multiplied every protective device discoverable of reaction, as a long step on the road to that fulfilment. We announce that we shall put no obstacle in the way of Indian freedom; we only ask that all Indians of every sort shall first agree upon its pattern. And since that agreement is not forthcoming, we continue to govern India for our own purposes. Meanwhile, in the name of the Indian people, we ourselves take this and that decision on its behalf; and then proudly thank India for its generosity to us; or accept this gift or that from one or other of the Indian princes — their method of insuring their further protection from us — which we know is a gift mostly wrung from the misery of their unhappy subjects, and then exhibit these gifts as the proof of Indian "loyalty". *I do not know how far we deceive ourselves by this technique; empire possesses a large capacity for self-deception. I do know that we deceive no people beyond the boundaries of our empire — least of all the Indian people themselves.*" (Italics ours.)

After stating the naked fact Prof. Laski proceeds to offer a solution which does credit to his sense of justice, but which now would seem out of keeping with the reality of the situation. He suggests a declaration that "self-government will begin to operate within a year of the conclusion of peace", the offer of a constituent assembly, the submitting of communal differences to independent arbitration, and so on. The book was published towards the end of the year 1940, and the solution, had it been applied then, might have been timely and might have worked admirably. But we have found that all solutions offered since then have been vitiated by the policy followed until now and described in the paragraph just quoted. In fact Prof. Laski is not unaware of this, for he says: "But as long as every vested interest in India is, like the Moslem interest, encouraged, openly or secretly, to believe that it will get better terms from dependence upon us than from a real attempt at accommodation with other Indian interests, of course agreement between them is not forthcoming. We patronize these dissidents from unity in the same way, though much

more subtly, as the Conservative Party has so long patronized the separation of Ulster; and with the same evil consequences."

Now that is exactly what the Cripps' proposals gave ample proof of. But it is interesting to note that even Prof. Laski had no idea of the mischief that these proposals were fraught with, for he supported the proposals in advance in an article written a week before Sir Stafford Cripps' departure.

The fact is, as Prof. Laski has himself said, the "empire possesses a large capacity for self-deception", and there is no greater enemy of man than self-deception. The deception lies in the belief that those who hold the empire can judge the interests of those they hold in subjection, and to say the least the Cripps' proposals are vitiated by that belief. In fact, as a proposition Prof. Laski himself expounds it most ably:—

"The point I am making is the simple one that *empire is a handicap to freedom whenever its subjects deny the validity of its maintenance.* At that stage, it must either become a partnership or it degenerates into a tyranny. And it is particularly dangerous to permit that degeneration when it offers to our enemies an opportunity of reproach to which we have no adequate response. The plea made by our enemies that the real nature of our dominion is shown by the way in which we maintain our rule in India, we cannot answer by reference to a single Indian representative able freely to secure the full support of his own people. We can answer that plea only by saying that we are satisfied with our achievement there. *But we have, in truth, no more right to constitute ourselves judges in our own cause than the Fascist leaders possess; less even, since we deny them that right so soon as its attempted application touches ourselves.* A nation can justly stand as trustee of another people when it can be shown that no vested interest of its own is safeguarded by that trusteeship, and when a detached observer would admit, first, that the people so ruled do not claim freedom from trusteeship, and second, when the objective results of its exercise are clearly and mainly for the benefit of that people. *Judged by these standards, it is, I think, clear that the sooner we end our paramountcy over India the better for Indians and for ourselves. And there is no moment more fitting to end it than in a war where we claim to be the world-defenders of democracy and freedom.*" (Italics ours)

That is the barest truth. No promises to be carried out *after* peace, but while the war is going on, and there is no better way of ending the paramountcy than by an orderly withdrawal, for it has one saving virtue, viz., those who hold the Empire cease to be judges of the interests of those held in subjection.

Sevagram, 27-6-42

M. D.

#### Home and Village Doctor

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## FRIENDS' AMBULANCE UNIT IN INDIA

The Friends' Ambulance Unit is a voluntary body of workers who share Quaker views on peace and war. Conscientiously unable to help in the war directly or in organisations set up to achieve ends by violent means, they still would share the sorrows and sufferings of a war-torn world and are therefore pledged to relieve suffering and heal the wounds of war wherever their services may be acceptable. They number about 700, are all unpaid, receiving only board and lodging, and pledged to go wherever they may be required. They have all received training in first aid, stretcher work, and anti-gas, and also training in hospitals. The Unit has worked, during the present war, in London and many parts of England, in Finland, Norway and Greece, in Central China and on the Burma Road, in Libya and Syria, and in hospitals in Germany, Poland and Hongkong.

After Japan entered the war some of the members felt that their experience in the bombed areas in Britain might prove of value in India, and it was proposed to send a small band to work, if possible, in cooperation with the volunteer agencies here. Accordingly a band of eight (six men and two women), with Prof. Horace Alexander of Woodbrooke College (Birmingham) as the leader, were told off to go to India, and Prof. Alexander and Mr. Richard Symonds have already arrived. Prof. Alexander is an old friend, belonging as he does to the Fellowship of Reconciliation, and having been a sympathetic student of Indian affairs for several years. Mr. Symonds is much younger and is not long down from Oxford, but has had considerable experience of the work to which they have been called, having organised medical aid in London shelters and done active evacuation work. The others who have not yet arrived and are still on the high seas are Messrs. Alec Horsefield, Brian Croves, Kenneth Criffin, Glanmore Davies, and Miss Jeane Coffle and Miss Pamela Bankhart, who have all had experience of work in the bombed areas in England.

"We were wondering if it was auspicious for an English party to arrive in India, when you were asking the British to withdraw," said Prof. Alexander with a kindly smile. "Agatha suggested that we might have a party from India to work with us, and make of our party a mixed party."

"My first writing," said Gandhiji, "did, I am afraid, give rise to that kind of fear. That was because I had not given expression to the whole idea in my mind. It is not my nature to work out and produce a finished thing all at once. The moment a question was asked me, I made it clear that no physical withdrawal of every Englishman was meant, I meant the withdrawal of the British domination. And so every Englishman in India can convert himself into a friend—as you have come as Friends—and remain here. The condition is that every Englishman has to dismount from the horse he is riding and cease to be monarch of all he surveys and identify himself

with the humblest of us. The moment he does it, he will be recognised as a member of the family. His role as a member of the ruling caste must end for ever. And so when I said 'withdraw', I meant 'withdraw as masters'. The demand for withdrawal had another implication. You have to withdraw, irrespective of the wishes of anybody here. You do not need the consent of a slave to give him freedom. The slave often hugs the chains of slavery. They become part of his flesh. You have to tear them asunder and throw them away. You must withdraw because it is your duty to do so, and not wait for the unanimous consent of all the sections or groups in India.

"There is thus no question of the moment being inauspicious for you. On the contrary, if you can assimilate my proposal, it is the most auspicious moment for you to arrive in India. You will meet many Englishmen here. They may have entirely misunderstood what I have said, and you have to explain to them what exactly I want them to do.

"Really speaking, therefore, this should become the major part of your mission, and even the India Office who facilitated your coming here cannot possibly misunderstand you. You have, therefore, not only the humanitarian mission—there may not be any bombing here, and in this vast country even if there is bombing you may not be able to reach everywhere—but you have also this peculiar mission of interpretation and reconciliation. And it is well perhaps that your mission begins with me. Begin it with finding out what exactly is at the back of my mind by putting to me all the questions that may be agitating you."

That put both the friends at ease and prompted them to try to understand the whole of the background of Gandhiji's mind. And in this connection I may mention a curious but very significant fact. When Sir Stafford Cripps' mission was announced, Prof. Horace Alexander and Miss Agatha Harrison had sent Gandhiji a cable reminding him of the phrase Gandhiji himself had used, viz., "Andrews' legacy" meaning thereby that in memory of Andrews the best Englishmen and the best Indians should come together to bring about a permanent understanding between England and India. "Here," their cable seemed to say in effect, "is one of the best Englishmen coming to India. You had better settle with him, as there is a great opportunity."

It was in reply to this cable that Gandhiji wrote a long letter to Prof. Horace Alexander soon after the failure of the Cripps' mission,—a letter in which he gave expression for the first time to the demand for British withdrawal. He had not discussed it with any soul on earth, but as he was writing the letter the thing that was, so to say, cooking in his mind ever since his return from Delhi came to his pen. "Sir Stafford" he said in that letter, "has come and gone. How nice it would have been if he had not come with that dismal mission. . . How could the British Government at this critical hour have behaved as they did? Why should they have sent proposals without discussing them with the



principal parties? Not one single party was satisfied. In trying to please all, the proposals pleased none.

"I talked to him frankly but as a friend, if for nothing else, for Andrews' sake. I told him that I was speaking to him with Andrews' spirit as my witness. I made suggestions, but all to no avail. As usual, they were not practical. I had not wanted to go. I had nothing to say being 'anti-all-wars'. I went because he was anxious to see me. All this I mention in order to give you the background. I was not present throughout the negotiations with the Working Committee. I came away. You know the result. It was inevitable. The whole thing has left a bad taste in the mouth."

And now comes the key paragraph: "My firm opinion is that the British should leave India now in an orderly manner and not run the risk that they did in Singapore, Malay and Burma. That act would mean courage of a high order, confession of human limitations, and right doing by India."

The letter was sent by air mail on the 22nd April, but Prof. Horace Alexander had left England before it could reach him. He was agreeably surprised when he found that he was the first person with whom Gandhiji had shared his great thought.

Gandhiji's talk was almost a commentary on the parts of the letter I have quoted. "You will see that I have used the words 'orderly withdrawal'. I had, when I used the phrase, Burma and Singapore in mind. It was a disorderly withdrawal from there. For they left Burma and Malay neither to God, nor to anarchy, but to the Japanese. Here I say: 'Don't repeat that story here. Don't leave India to Japan, but leave India to Indians in an orderly manner,'" said he, concluding a long talk. The whole talk, even as the letter I have reproduced, was inspired by the spirit of C. F. A., and the idea of asking the British to withdraw was conceived in the friendliest spirit, as it was done with a remembrance of C. F. A. and all his noble work. As Gandhiji said, "So you have now to do what Andrews did—understand me, pitilessly cross-examine me, and then if you are convinced be my messenger", Prof. Alexander felt overwhelmed and said: "We dare not assume his mantle. We can but try."

They propose to meet various people and see things for themselves before they decide where to start work. And they should take a little time, as their companions will not arrive until a week or more. Their work will be in cooperation both with the A. R. P. agencies and voluntary organizations, as the case may be.

Sevagram, 25-6-42

M. D.

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## BADSHAH KHAN'S POPULARITY

(By M. K. Gandhi)

The Associated Press has circulated the following note about Khan Saheb:

"The Frontier Provincial Congress Committee has released the following statement:

"We warn the public against the false propaganda that is being carried on against Khan Abdul Ghaffar Khan, the undisputed leader of the Pathans, and the Khudai Khidmatgar movement, in certain sections of the press. It has been hinted that the differences have arisen among the workers and party-politics is raising its ugly head. Not a single Khudai Khidmatgar has so far resigned. They are all united like one man under Khan Abdul Ghaffar Khan's leadership. All talk about parties among them has no foundation whatsoever. All these so-called differences etc. exist only in the imagination of a few interested people who are craving for offices and think that by encouraging such talk they can gain their end. The Government is at the back of all such propaganda. But these people have no following among the Frontier masses. Every true nationalist in the Frontier clearly realises that we can have nothing to do with the British Government in India, much less with offices. Whatever attraction the parliamentary programme may have elsewhere in India, it has certainly no place in the Frontier.

"Khan Abdul Ghaffar Khan's peaceful constructive humanitarian work among the villages for the maintenance of internal security and self-sufficiency in matters of food and cloth has further endeared him to the people—especially the poor. He has been hoping to carry his message of peace and good-will even to the neighbouring tribes. He has been devoting all his energy to raise a non-violent and peaceful army who can render true service to the people under difficult days ahead. What the Government has failed to achieve at the cost of millions of rupees he is attempting to do with purely voluntary help. He deserves the sympathy and cooperation of every man, woman and child of the Frontier in this noble work. We hope that the Frontier masses will respond to his call and the Press and journalists of India who have the true interests of the country at heart will take a dispassionate interest in his work."

The Frontier Provincial Congress Committee has done well to pass the resolution and circulate the note. But Badshah Khan's reputation rests on much more solid ground than the resolution of the Frontier Provincial Congress Committee. It rests on the strength of selfless service rendered for nearly a quarter of a century and the affection of the people won through that service. In spite of traducers Khan Saheb has come triumphant through every ordeal so far. And I have little doubt that when the next test comes, he will show the same popularity as he has shown before.

Sevagram, 30-6-42

#### Constructive Programme

Some Suggestions

By Rajendra Prasad. Price As. 4. Postage 1 Anna.

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## Notes

### Jodhpur

Shri Sriprakasa who went to Jodhpur at my request to do whatever he could to ease the atmosphere, interview the authorities and know their version of the affair has returned and given me his report which leaves no doubt that free use has been made by the authorities of the lathi in order to repress the people. He nevertheless tells me that some members of the Lok Parishad have not always been discreet in their language. He was told by the authorities that they had no objection to the Lok Parishad holding meetings and asking for responsible government so long as the language kept within bounds. He also tells me that the Jodhpur Government are anxious to reduce to some kind of order the admitted irresponsibility of Jagirdars, but that the passage from feudalism to legalism must take some time. So far as the treatment of political prisoners is concerned, Shri Sriprakasa has hope that it would be better, though he has also hope that, given some accomodation on the part of the local workers, there should be no political prisoners at all. If all his hopes are fulfilled, the visit although brought about accidentally, will have borne ample result and the hunger-strike of the prisoners and the sad death of Balmukund Bisa would not have gone in vain. Shri Sriprakasa tells me too that though the death was due somewhat, no doubt, to bad prison accomodation, there was no callousness on the part of the prison authorities. Deaths will occur even in the best of circumstances. We may not therefore always blame authority whenever a death occurs in a prison. Every case has to be examined and judged on merits. I understand that Balmukund Bisa was a very fine worker. He leaves a large family to mourn him. It is hoped that the citizens of Jodhpur will provide for the widow and children to whom I send my condolences.

Shri Sriprakasa has brought me a leaflet from Beawar, which contains language which a satyagrahi will not use. It is to be hoped that the workers will be careful in the choice of the language they use. I would ask them to keep themselves in touch with Shri (not Dr. as I had called him by mistake) Kachru who will be in Jodhpur till the whole trouble has subsided.

Sevagram, 29-6-42

### Hooliganism

The report of hooliganism at Rajaji's meeting in Matunga makes painful reading. Has Rajaji lost every title to respect because he has taken what seems to be an unpopular view? He went to Matunga on invitation. He was entitled to a patient hearing. Those who did not share his views might have abstained from attending the meeting, but having gone there they should have given him a hearing. They might have cross-questioned him. Those who tarred him and created a disturbance have disgraced themselves and have harmed their cause. Their way is neither the way to Swaraj

nor 'Akhand Hindustan'. It is to be hoped that hooliganism of Matunga will be the last exhibition of barbarism. The calmness, good humour, presence of mind and determination that Rajaji showed that trying time were worthy of him. These must bring him many admirers, if not even followers. For people generally do not weigh the pros and cons of a problem. They follow their heroes. And Rajaji has never lacked the qualities that go to make a hero.

Sevagram, 28-6-42

M. K. G.

### A Correction

A certain misunderstanding has been caused by the figures regarding hours of work given in the note on "*Education through Handicrafts*" in *Harijan* of 21-6-42. The total hours of work for each grade do not represent the hours devoted by all the children in that grade in the 27 basic schools; but the sum-total of hours actually devoted by one child of that grade in each of the 27 schools—in other words, the total hours devoted by 27 representative children of that grade in the 27 basic schools.

M. D.

### Basic Training Centre at Sevagram

A training centre of basic education will be opened at Sevagram by the Hindustani Talimi Sangh on August 1, 1942, to prepare workers and teachers of basic education both men and women.

Candidates seeking admission in the training centre should have faith in Gandhiji's constructive programme, and enthusiasm to work for the same. They should also be healthy and capable of putting in eight hours of strenuous work per day during their period of training. Their standard of general knowledge should not be below that of the present matriculation or its equivalent, but candidates of higher academic qualification will be preferred. Knowledge of English, however, will not be considered essential. Every candidate must bring a written assurance, either individually or on behalf of an institution, of working in the field of basic education after the completion of his or her training.

Institutions and individuals seeking further information should write to the Secretary, Hindustani Talimi Sangh, Sevagram, Wardha, for the prospectus.

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# HARIJAN

12 pages

Editor : MAHADEV DESAI

VOL. IX, No. 26]

AHMEDABAD — SUNDAY, JULY 12, 1942

[TWO ANNAS

## Notes

### For Middlemen

I am having pathetic letters from upper poor people bitterly complaining about grain merchants. The substance of these letters is, "why should we serve these merchants when they will not sell grain, though they have the stock, unless we pay prices higher than those fixed by the Government and in every case at prices beyond our reach? What is there left for us but to starve or loot?"

The complaint is just and universal. The Government is no doubt most answerable for this state of things. They have sent out grain and they do not know how to deal with the stock there is in the country. Prices must be regulated and there must be grain offices like post offices where people can buy grain like stamps. But people cannot starve while Government are learning wisdom. It is therefore the duty of the whole merchantile community to take the matter into their own hands and ensure a regular supply of grain to the poor at reasonable rates. The Government can't interfere with any such humanitarian effort. It will be a real help to them if the merchants perform what is their obvious duty. This requires voluntary co-operation of the whole merchantile community of India. But the beginning must be made with the provinces or even districts. The matter brooks no delay. Hunger knows no law and bread-or rather grain-riots are sure to break out all over the country if energetic benevolent measures are not taken in time.

Sevagram, 7-7-'42

### A. I. S. A. and Kindred Institutions

The question of the connection with present politics of the members and the staff of the A. I. S. A., A. I. V. I. A., The Hindustani Talimi Sangha and the kindred institutions was raised at the recent meeting of the A. I. S. A. held in Wardha and is being raised by numerous correspondents. It is better therefore for me to give my opinion in sufficient detail for the guidance of the persons concerned. These institutions, though some are creations of the Congress, are wholly autonomous and unconnected with Congress or other politics. Their mission is humanitarian, social, educational,

economic, or all combined. Their work is wholly constructive and creative. But it is true that most men and women in charge of them are Congress-men or Congress-minded, though they are open to all. There are cases of men unconnected with the Congress being found actively engaged in working or aiding them. These institutions must not lose this non-political character of theirs, if they are to retain their prestige, usefulness, and efficiency such as it is.

This is simple enough. But the question raised is complicated. It is clear that the members and the staff may not take part in any civil resistance movement and be still connected with these organisations. But what are they to do if they see a civil resister belaboured or a general lathi charge takes place in front of them? I say unhesitatingly that the workers in these institutions are bound to render such aid as they can at the moment without considering the consequences. This intervention is itself pure humanitarian work. Persons engaged in these institutions must not be cowards nor may their work be used as a halter round their necks making them useless for service. It is this fear of losing one's job or risking the safety of one's organisation that has played a large part in hindering our march to freedom. During the previous struggles all the most scrupulous care to avoid even the remotest suspicion of participation in politics did not save the men and these organisations from the attention of the authorities. Therefore the golden rule is to dare to do the right at any cost. But there should be no camouflage, no secrecy, no make-believe. Those who feel the urge to take part in the coming movement must resign before joining it. In all other respects the organisations should run their even course. Every moment they are building the temple of liberty and when it is won they will all be required as specialists for the numerous nation-building activities. Let them therefore diligently add to their knowledge and usefulness. During all these twenty-two years the true workers have proved their worth, they are responsible for creating and distributing lacs worth of material and lacs of rupees among lacs of poor men and women who, but for the work provided, would have lived in a state of semi-starvation.

Sevagram, 6-7-'42

M. K. G.



## THE GROUNDWORK FOR INDEPENDENCE

(By J. C. Kumarappa)

Before good bread can be made the dough has to be kneaded well. Similarly adequate preparation has to proceed any system of organisation if such a system is to be effective. Great preparations are needed to attain and maintain independence through non-violent means.

As we had long been taught to look at economics through the window of money economy most of us associate capitalism with a method of production in which accumulated wealth is sunk in the equipment needed to produce goods. This description is partly correct. If this were all, capitalism would have died long ago as there is no means of propagating itself. For the continuity of its existence capitalism has to create a clientele for itself by setting up social customs and fashions which people will follow without questioning their rationale. The life of any organisation depends on its capacity thus to make a place for itself. Therefore, a more correct classification would be the one which sorts out the methods of production according to the manner by which a system seeks to control the environment and circumstances of human beings so as to justify its existence and to create and retain its market and custom. Such a classification will be human rather than monetary.

### An Enslaving System

The shopkeeper would like to see the wants of the people increase, he would like to supply their needs himself, and the more helpless the people are to help themselves the better will his own business be. Therefore, his interest is identical with making his customers depend on him. To this end he will study their needs most minutely and attempt to supply them better than they themselves can. The ultimate result of this will be the customer will become emaciated, numbed and paralysed for lack of scope to develop his faculties and the shopkeeper will become fat, flourishing and resourceful. This is what is happening under centralised methods of production. We witness the degradation of races and nations who have become dependent politically and economically on those who supply their wants under various masks of trusteeship for civilising backward races. They give their victims an opiate that with the aid of factory production people can raise their standard of living, can buy standardised goods cheaply and have more of them. In the measure in which manufacturers succeed in doping their victims into thinking that it is to the customer's advantage to take their help to that extent only can the manufacturers thrive.

We see such helplessness taking alarming strides in countries like the U. S. A. where a woman need not even cook her food. Everything is done for her. She can walk into a shop and get her soup tablets, meat and fish courses prepared and tinned, freshly made puddings and sweets, and well preserved fruits. All the trouble she needs to take is to set the table and dine. We find this trend

in our country. Quaker oats, shredded wheat, corn flakes, jams, marmalade and hundred and one things are becoming more and more common, and half-baked medical men advocate these to ill-educated women and repeat the salesman's slogans about these food articles being richer in nutrition than home made wheat *dhalia*, seasonal fruits, etc. If this goes on, in a few years we may find our bazars stocked with chapaties, cooked dal and rice made in England and sent out in attractive containers and our ambitious medical men may tell us that these very articles prepared in the English climate and latitude have special food values as compared with food made in India! Women who have more money than sense will patronise them. In time the art of cooking will be forgotten, but the London manufacturers will flourish. We need only look around with our eyes open to know that this is no fairy tale. The capitalistic structure of centralised production rests on the tombstones of its customers. Therefore, judged from the point of view of its effect on human beings, centralised production may be appropriately described as an enslaving, parasitic, or as Tagore would have it, cannibalistic system. Once the victim realises the true situation, bestirs himself and sets about supplying all his own needs the capitalist's reign is doomed.

### An Emancipating System

As against this, a method of production and consumption which will awaken the people to realise their own possibilities will be emancipatory, creative or evolutive system. Our villages can meet their wants in two ways: 1. provide what they need by their own efforts, and 2. forego such of what they need as cannot be supplied by themselves. The reaction will be progressive self-reliance and self-advancement, though in the beginning the so-called standard of living may appear low. Our goal is a state where the villagers will supply all their own requirements and that of the city people. Their effort to do so will bring employment to millions and make for a better circulation of money. This is the only permanent way of dispelling poverty and creating wealth.

### Freedom

What shall we do with political freedom even if it is given as a gift? It will be meaningless as we shall not be able to turn it to good account. As our people learn to produce all that is needed by the country they will acquire self-reliance which is the basis of freedom, while dependence on others is the essence of slavery. When the villagers have become self-reliant, and attain freedom, they will be able to look after themselves. Their panchayats will function, they will settle their own disputes and banish litigation, they will control their water-supply and sanitation, build their own roads, run their schools and to an extent tax themselves and thus govern themselves. If we are not prepared to take up all this responsibility our second state will be worse than the first.

As a corollary to this, such discipline and initiative as may be generated by self-directing and



regulating villages will enable us to put up a non-violent barrage of defence against any foreign aggression, without submitting to the humiliating experience of begging other nations to help defend our own hearths and homes.

### GURU GOVIND SINGH

(By M. K. Gandhi)

At last after diligent search Mahadev Desai and others have traced the writing in which I have referred to Guru Govind Singh. It appears in *Young India* of 9th April, 1925. It is headed 'My Friend the Revolutionary'. I would commend it to my Sikh friends and, for that matter, others the whole of the article. It is seasonable and they will profit by it, whether they accept or reject the views propounded in it. Here I must content myself with only relevant extracts from that article. Here they are:

"One of your objections against the revolutionaries is that their movement is not mass-movement, consequently the mass at large will be very little benefitted by the revolution, for which we are preparing. That is indirectly saying that we shall be most benefitted by it. Is it really what you mean to say? Do you believe that those persons who are ever ready to die for their country—those mad lovers of their country—I mean the revolutionaries of India in whom the spirit of *Nishkama Karma* reigns, will betray their motherland and secure privileges for a life—this trifling life? It is true that we will not drag the mass just now in the field of action, because we know that it is weak; but when the preparation is complete we shall call them in the open field. We profess to understand the present Indian psychology full well, because we daily get the chance of weighing our brethren along with ourselves. We know that the mass of India is after all Indian, it is not weak by itself but there is want of efficient leaders; so when we have begot the number of leaders required by constant propaganda and preaching, and the arms, we shall not shrink from calling, and if necessary, dragging the mass in the open field to prove that they are the descendants of Shivaji, Ranajit, Pratap and Govind Singh. Besides we have been constantly preaching that the mass is not for the revolution but the revolution is for the mass. Is it sufficient to remove your prejudice in this connection?"

I neither say nor imply that the revolutionary benefits if the masses do not. On the contrary, and as a rule, the revolutionary never benefits in the ordinary sense of the word. If the revolutionaries succeed in attracting, not 'dragging', the masses to them, they will find that the murderous campaign is totally unnecessary. It sounds very pleasant and exciting to talk of 'the descendants of Shivaji, Ranjit, Pratap and Govind Singh'. But is it true? Are we all descendants of these heroes in the sense in which the writer understands it? We are their countrymen, but their descendants are the military classes. We may in future be able to obliterate caste, but today it persists, and therefore the claim put up by the writer cannot in my opinion be sustained.

"Last of all, I shall ask you to answer these questions: Was Guru Govind Singh a misguided patriot because he believed in warfare for noble cause? What will you

like to say about Washington, Garibaldi and Lenin? What do you think of Kamal Pasha and De Valera? Would you like to call Shivaji and Pratap well meaning and sacrificing physicians who prescribed arsenic when they should have given fresh grape-juice? Will you like to call Krishna Europeanised because he believed also in the *vinasha of dushkritas*?"

This is a hard or rather awkward question. But I dare not shirk it. In the first instance Guru Govind Singh and the others whose names are mentioned did not believe in secret murder. In the second, these patriots knew their work and their men, whereas the modern Indian revolutionary does not know his work. He has not the men, he has not the atmosphere, that the patriots mentioned had. Though my views are derived from my theory of life I have not put them before the nation on that ground. I have based my opposition to the revolutionaries on the sole ground of expedience. Therefore, to compare their activities with those of Guru Govind Singh or Washington or Garibaldi or Lenin would be most misleading and dangerous. But by test of the theory of non-violence I do not hesitate to say that it is highly likely that, had I lived as their contemporary and in the respective countries, I would have called every one of them a misguided patriot, even though a successful and brave warrior. As it is, I must not judge them. I disbelieve history so far as details of acts of heroes are concerned. I accept broad facts of history and draw my own lessons for my conduct. I do not want to repeat it in so far as the broad facts contradict the highest laws of life. But I positively refuse to judge men from the scanty material furnished to us by history. *De mortuis nil nisi bonum*. Kamal Pasha and De Valera too I cannot judge. But for me as a believer in non-violence out and out they cannot be my guides in life in so far as their faith in war is concerned. I believe in Krishna perhaps more than the writer. But my Krishna is the Lord of the Universe, the creator, preserver and destroyer of us all. He may destroy because He creates. But I must not be drawn into a philosophical or religious argument with my friends. I have not the qualifications for teaching my philosophy of life. I have barely qualifications for practising the philosophy I believe. I am but a poor struggling soul yearning to be wholly good—wholly truthful and wholly non-violent in thought word and deed, but ever failing to reach the ideal which I know to be true. I admit, and assure my revolutionary friends, it is a painful climb, but the pain of it is a positive pleasure for me. Each step upward makes me feel stronger and fit for the next. But all that pain and the pleasure are for me. The revolutionaries are at liberty to reject the whole of my philosophy. To them I merely present my own experiences as a co-worker in the same cause even as I have successfully presented them to the Ali Brothers and many other friends. They can and do applaud whole-heartedly the action of Mustafa Kamal Pasha and possibly De Valera and Lenin. But they realise with me that India is not like Turkey or Ireland or Russia and that revolutionary activity is suicidal at this stage of the country's life at any rate, if not for all time, in a country so vast, so hopelessly divided and with the masses so deeply sunk in pauperism and so fearfully terror-struck."



I reverted to the same subject in another article written a short time after, from which I need take only the following lines:

"My belief about the Sikh Gurus is that they were all deeply religious teachers and reformers, that they were all Hindus, and that Guru Govind Singh was one of the greatest defenders of Hinduism. I believe too that he drew the sword in its defence. But I cannot judge his actions nor can I use him as my model so far as his resort to the sword is concerned."

It must be clear even to him who runs that I never applied the word 'misguided patriot' to the Great Guru and that I have not written a word in disrespect or of which I have any reason to be ashamed or to repent. I abide by every word I have said in that article. I hope that now that the source of the mischief has been traced it will abate entirely and the Sikhs will count me, though a humble Hindu, as a fellow devotee of the Panth. Sevagram, 4-7-'42

## HARIJAN

July 12

1942

### TO MUSLIM CORRESPONDENTS

(By M. K. Gandhi)

"How can you think of a mass movement for liberation without first closing with Muslims?" ask Muslim correspondents whose letters fill my file. I used at one time to think like my correspondents. But I see that for the moment I cannot reach the Muslim mind. The Muslim League blocks my way. I try to read the League newspapers. They give me a peep into the League mind in so far as they represent it. In their opinion I am thoroughly untrustworthy. Even my services during the Khilafat days wear for them a sinister meaning. I am quite clear in my mind that this is a passing phase. I am not aware of having done a single disservice to any Muslim cause or a Muslim person. Thank God, even today I claim numerous Muslim friends.

I do not know how to get rid of the distrust. "Give Pakistan", say my critics. I answer, "It is not in my giving." If I felt convinced of the rightness of the demand, I should certainly work for it side by side with the League. But I do not. I would like to be convinced. Nobody has yet told me all its implications. Those that are described in the anti-Pakistan Press are too terrible to contemplate. But I cannot take them from the opposition. Only the protagonists know what they want and mean. I plead for such an exposition. Surely Pakistanis want to convert the opposition, not to force them? Has an attempt been ever made to meet the opposition in a friendly manner and to convert them? I am sure the Congress is willing to be converted, let alone me.

But what I am to do meanwhile? I feel that now is the time for India to play an effective part in the fortunes of the war, if she becomes free from British servitude. I am convinced too that nothing

stands in the way of that freedom except British unwillingness to give up India as the happy hunting-ground for the British that she has been for three centuries. If she gives up India, she might as well give up fighting, says the imperialist. If such is the case, what is all this war for? The original fighters are Great Britain and Germany. Was India the hidden stake between the two? This is all speculation I know. The truth will be known presently. Thinking Indians cannot idle away their time. I think that even a large number, if not all of us, prepared to undergo any sacrifice that may fall to our lot, would impress the British rulers that they can no longer hold India as a British possession. I believe too that such a number is available. Needless to say, their action must be non-violent, irrespective of their belief, as even a military man's has often to be, on behalf of his cause. The fight has been conceived in the interest of the whole of India. The fighters will gain no more than the poorest Indian. They will fight, not to seize power but to end the foreign domination, cost what it may.

What will happen after, if ever we reach that stage, will depend upon how we act when the all-powerful British hand is withdrawn. We may quarrel among ourselves or we may adjust our quarrels and agree to set up ordered rule on behalf of the people. It may be a democratic constitution or unadulterated autocracy or oligarchy. The conception is not that of a settlement with the British Government. That could happen only if there is a settlement between the principal parties, and as a preliminary the Congress and the League. But that so far as I can see is not to be.

Therefore the only settlement with the British Government can be that their rule should end leaving India to her fate. Thus assuming that the British leave, there is no government and no constitution, British or other. Therefore there is no Central Government. Militarily the most powerful party may set up its rule and impose it on India, if the people submit. Muslims may declare Pakistan and nobody may resist them. Hindus may do likewise, Sikhs may set up their rule in territories inhabited by them. There is no end to the possibilities. And to all this idle speculation let me suggest one more addition. The Congress and the League being best organised parties in the country may come to terms and set up a provisional government acceptable to all. And this may be followed by a duly elected Constituent Assembly.

The movement has only one aim—that is of displacing the British Power. If that happy event comes about and if it is followed by a stable government, it will most assuredly decide the fate of the war—I shall hope in a non-violent manner. India can show no other strength during this war at any rate. Why should not Muslims who believe in Pakistan but also believe in Independent India join such a struggle? If on the other hand they believe in Pakistan through British aid and under British aegis, it is a different story. I have no place in it.

Sevagram, 6-7-'42



## OUR ORDERED ANARCHY

In the midst of a world of woes the following account of conditions and happenings in Orissa may be passed over lightly by the casual reader. But though the blood and thunder may be less than that of the war fronts, the root tragedy it brings to view is deeper. That tragedy is perpetrated by one belligerent nation on another, whereas this tragedy is perpetrated by a so-called protecting government on its subjects.

I came to Orissa on May 11th. Since then I have been almost continually moving about the province, in the company of Babu Harekrishna Mehtab, visiting places where people are in trouble and distress, owing to the present crisis. We have toured through the villages, putting up as we went along, in the peasants' little homes and we have had public and private meetings in big towns, besides which I have had interviews and discussions with government officials of all grades from the Chief Secretary to village clerks. The following description is based on these experiences.

It is difficult to know where to begin and on what to concentrate in such a tale of confusion and suspicion. So in order to give a living picture to the reader, I will depict in detail one scene in the drama, and make but a passing mention of the rest.

On the day of my arrival we started straight off for a tour of the coastal area where the little villages are dotted about like islands in a vast sea of brown fields. When the rains come these lands go under water, and the villages become islands indeed. Throughout these flood areas, all along the coast, the villagers have been ordered to immobilize their boats. At every place where we went, the villagers told us that to be without their boats in the rains would literally mean death. There is no other means of getting about. Even for answering the calls of nature it is necessary to go in a boat. The villagers were in despair. "Are we then to be killed even before the Japanese invasion?" they asked. "No, you must gather up courage when the floods come and resist such an order." What else could we say?

After this experience, we were faced with the problem of the canal districts. Here all the canals have been kept dry by order of the military authorities, lest the waterways might be of use to the Japanese. Each year the canals are dried off for a certain period; but before cutting off the water, notice is given, and the villagers have time to fill up their tanks and other water-supplies. This time no notice was given, and the villagers were left high and dry. When the usual season came for letting in the water nothing was done, and the canals have remained dry. The working of the land has been all upset and the villagers have been put to great hardship. Appeals have been sent up to the government, but the reply is always that the matter has been referred to the military department, from where no answer comes. One wonders how much, if at all, these orders have been thought out. When I look at these broad dry canal beds

they strike me as more serviceable for bringing up tanks and other heavy equipment, than they would be if full of water.

After drying up the canals the government got the bright idea of sending round the province 50 propagandists for the "grow more food" campaign. "But what is this!" exclaimed the unfortunate propagandists, "the canals are all dried up." "O yes, the canals are dry, you had better appeal to the military department."

Now at last the rains have begun.

In the cities there is an atmosphere of helplessness and panic, specially since the government notice of May 24th prohibiting the formation of any volunteer organizations for self-protection or any groups for patrolling, except under government authority and guidance. This notice has had a very bad effect, especially amongst the merchants who do not dare to keep proper stocks of food. Cuttack, which will be completely isolated if the bridges are blown up, is running now-a-days, on a fortnight's supply and Puri, which gets its stocks from Cuttack, is still more hand-to-mouth. There the merchants' troubles are further increased by the fact that bookings for goods between Cuttack and Puri are often closed without notice, and for indefinite periods. Reasoning and appeals are at present being tried for getting the government to revise its policy regarding self-protection.

And now for the scene which I want to depict in detail, and which, indeed, is not yet finished. As I write these lines I am sitting in the village where the main tragedy occurred only six days ago.

While staying in Cuttack I began to hear accounts of an aerodrome that is being prepared in this area, and the government plans for evacuating several villages around the site. I decided to go and have a look at the place, and about the end of May spent two days with the District Congress workers bicycling around the area. What I saw and heard was very disquieting, and as soon as our programme would enable us, I planned to return with Mehtab Babu, who was engaged elsewhere at the time of this first visit.

In the meantime we put the matter before the Chief Secretary, the Collector and subordinate government officials. They listened sympathetically, especially the Collector, who expressed himself anxious to do everything he could, within reason, to alleviate the plight of the villagers. The position was briefly as follows: Lands for the site of an aerodrome were requisitioned last December. Most of the land is bare, rocky upland, the property of a zemindar. Round the edge of this upland many villages are situated, and a few of their fields were also requisitioned. The chief difficulty, however, arose when the military department announced its intention of taking possession of eight of these villages, and then too, before the rains. Orders for evacuation were served only in the beginning of June. The civil administration took up the military instructions and proceeded to warn the villagers that they must go to sites two to three miles off which would be allotted to them. The villages were



measured and evaluated for compensation, and everything pointed to an immediate evacuation. At the same time the new sites had not been prepared, not even wells or tanks had been dug. the compensation fixed upon was quite inadequate and the monsoon was now rapidly approaching, when all building operations would become impossible. The villagers were desperate and said they would rather die of bombs in their homes, or risk the perils of attempted evacuation by force, than go out into the rains to die of exposure and want.

Alongside this evacuation dilemma, the problem of imported labour had been unnecessarily created. Though large quantities of local labour were available some 3,000 labourers had been imported from Hyderabad (Deccan), U. P., Travancore and Cochin. These were paid Re. 1/- a day, along with food, and the local labourers were paid, for the same work, 6 annas per day with no extras. This naturally led to heart-burning and then, added to this, the new labourers were housed in camps built right alongside, and in some cases half inside, these villages. For this huge imported population, as well as for the cement-work and road-making in the aerodrome, no special water-supply was provided for; for all purposes the wells and tanks of the villagers were drawn upon. For sanitation no kind of arrangement was made. And then, finally, as if occasion for frictions and fracas were not enough, toddy-shops were added. One big village was burdened with no less than 1,500 Travancore and Cochin labourers and a toddy-shop right up against the side of the village. The inhabitants sent up a petition to the Collector, but before it could pass through the red-tape labyrinths of officialism, the explosion came.

On the morning of June 14th, for a trifling reason, the outside labourers rushed into the village with sticks, stones and fire, and before anyone could bring them under control, 40 villagers had been wounded, 258 rooms including bazar shops had been burnt and looted and 88 families rendered homeless and propertiless.

We heard the news first through the Collector who had just received the information, when we went to him in Cuttack for a discussion on the evacuation problem. So here was a new problem, or rather the fruits of the other, in bitterest form! Investigation, and temporary relief had to be organized forthwith. The Marwaris, as is their wont, were first in the field with distribution of grains, and government servants of all grades came rushing in. The law is now going through its tortuous channels of identification, attestation, application, evaluation and the rest. In these matters, I am happy to say, the government officials are willingly taking our help.

It is to be hoped that ultimately substantial relief will be granted, for the villagers have been the helpless victims of gross mismanagement and confusion of government departments, civil and military. But who is to blame? Both the Collector (Indian) and the Flying Corps Officer (British) in command at the aerodrome, are good, sincere

people, from whom I have received immediate sympathy and help in all matters connected with the villagers. It is the system, the foreign system, the foreign language, the foreign rule in all its ugliness, bound up in prestige and red-tape and giving shelter to all sorts of imprincipled, time-serving officials, contractors and other hangers-on.

In the midst of this tragedy the evacuation problem had to be immediately settled as the rains are upon us, and I am thankful to say that, thanks to the sympathetic attitude of the Collector and the military officer in command, the evacuation has been postponed for the duration of the rains, and the question of compensation will be reconsidered in detail. At the same time it has been agreed that as much local labour as possible should be employed, at 12 annas per day (instead of 6), that the outside labourers should be reduced to a minimum, and that those, if any, that remain shall now be removed to an isolated camp, out of direct touch with any of the villages.

The cause of the looting and arson is still under investigation, but one fact alone, which has come to light, makes matters sufficiently clear. A number of these coolies, especially those from Travancore, are criminals released from jail for sending out in labour corps. Many of them have tough records of crime to their account. To put such men in the company of hundreds of rough labourers, pay them Re. 1/- and food per day, and station them in an open camp by the side of a large village with a well stocked bazar, was to invite certain trouble.

And now the village is a pitiable sight. The burnt houses stand gaunt and roofless, with nothing left but the blackened mud walls. Inside not a burnable thing remains. Furniture, grain, clothes, everything except iron fittings, tool heads and utensils, have vanished into smoke and ashes.

From house to house, from quarter to quarter I went, seeing the same heart-rending destruction. In one little home the owner, with shaking hands and trembling voice, showed me the burnt out room where his child had been born only the day before the attack. The next morning the young mother had to rise up and fly as best she could with the baby in her arms. "And there," he said, pointing to a corner in the yard, "our goat was burnt to death. The cow escaped, but what has happened to the calf we do not know. It is lost or killed." Then he showed me the black heaps of smouldering rice and pulses—his precious little stocks of food to see him and his family through these hard times—all gone.

Such is the ruin and sorrow that administrative mismanagement and muddle can bring upon innocent people in the twinkling of an eye!

20-6-'42

Mira

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## "FOR WHITES ONLY"

[Pearl Buck is the only American woman to win the Nobel Prize for literature, awarded for her great novels forming a kind of Chinese saga — *The Good Earth* and others. She lived for seventeen years in Nanking, and has now written a novel *Dragon Seed* describing the fall and rape of the city after the Japanese assault. She is one of the editors of *Asia* which may be said to be devoted exclusively to the cause of democracy for all peoples — white, black or yellow. Her appeal to Americans to put their own house in order in the following article condensed from the March number of *Asia* is timely and applies to Britain as well. The caption of her article is *Tinder for Tomorrow*, meaning thereby that unless the Allies give visible evidence of their fight being not only for the white people but for all the races they have suppressed, that fact in itself will supply enough material for a fiercer conflagration tomorrow. The extracts are reproduced here to show that Gandhiji's demand for withdrawal has the support of the best mind of America. M. D.]

### Worse than Folly

.....Race prejudice continues unabated among white people today, the Japanese are saying. Tokyo radio programs daily send their broadcast over Asia in their campaign to drive out the white man. They dwell upon white exploitation of colored troops and cite mistreatment of Filipinos by the American military and similar treatment of Indian troops by the English.

.....The truth is that the white man in the Far East has too often behaved without wisdom or justice to his fellow man. It is worse than folly — it is dangerous today — not to recognise the truth, for in it lies the tinder for tomorrow. Who of us can doubt it who has seen a white policeman beat a Chinese coolie in Shanghai, a white sailor kick a Japanese in Kobe, an English captain lash out with his whip at an Indian vender — who of us, having seen such oriental sights or heard the common contemptuous talk of the white man in any colored country, can forget the fearful bitter hatred in the colored face and the blaze in the dark eyes? Who of us can be so stupid as not to see the future written there? The most dangerous human stupidity has been that of the white race in the baseless prejudice through which even the meanest of white creatures has felt he could despise a king if his skin were dark. Yet, if this stupidity were limited to the mean, how easily it might be cured! But among us even some who are able, even some who are good, are sometimes so blind.

The effect therefore of this Japanese propaganda cannot be lightly dismissed. It lies uneasy in the minds and memories of many at this moment who are loyally allied with Britain and the United States, in the minds and memories of colored peoples of Asia. Yes, and it lies uneasy, too, in the minds and memories of many colored citizens of the United States who cannot deny the charge and must remain loyal in spite of it. For such minds realize that, though Nazism may give them nothing but death, yet the United States and Britain have given them too little for life in the past and not even promises

for the future. Our colored allies proceed to war against the Axis not deceived or in ignorance. They know that it may not be the end of the war for them even when Hitler has gone down and Nazism is crushed and Japan returned to her isles again. The colored peoples know that for them the war for freedom may have to go on against the very white men at whose side they are now fighting.

### Fulfil Conditions Today

We must realize, we citizens of the United States, and this whether Britain realizes it or not, that a world based on former principles of empire and imperial behavior is now impossible. It cannot exist. We must make clear our determination for real democracy for all peoples with mutual responsibility demanded of all to fulfil its conditions. Nor can we postpone such decision for democracy by saying, "Let's win this war first." We cannot even win this war without convincing our colored allies — who are most of our allies — that we are not fighting for ourselves as continuing superior over colored peoples. The deep patience of colored peoples is at an end. Everywhere among them there is the same resolve for freedom and equality that white Americans and British have, but it is a grimmer resolve, for it includes the determination to be rid of white rule and exploitation and white race prejudice, and nothing will weaken this will.

.....But if they are not soon convinced, and by unmistakable means, of the sincere democratic determination of the English and Americans, if they fear that they must be reduced one day to fighting for themselves, there will be many thoughtful men and women who will declare openly what they are now thinking and saying secretly, "Will it not be better for us to come to terms, not with Hitler, who is after all a white man of the most arrogant type, but with Japan, and utilize the military and modern resources of that country to free us from white rule?"

It takes no great practical sense for any colored people to see that even if Japan took the position over them of conqueror it would be easier to get rid of one victor than of several. There could have been nothing reassuring or comforting to our Asiatic allies in the closing words of Churchill's first speech in Washington, "The British and American peoples will, for their own safety and the good of all, walk together side by side in majesty, justice and peace." An England, a United States, "walking together in majesty", can only mean to the colored peoples a formidable white imperialism more dangerous to them than anything even a victorious Japan can threaten.

### Disprove Japan's Charges

The United States and England are at a very critical moment in this War. Our allies, India, China, the Philippines and Malaya, are waiting for us, whether they tell us so publicly or not, to make clear the stand of the white peoples toward them. Are we all-out for democracy, for total justice, for total peace based on human equality, or are the blessings of democracy to be limited to white people only? The answer must be made clearly and quickly.



To evade the question, to delay the answer, is to reply in the negative, and the United States must now take the lead.

For we cannot now trust to English minds however we admire them, nor to English leadership, however strong. We must think and act for ourselves. If our allies cannot be assured, America may find herself deserted in the Pacific when she supremely needs allies there. It is only natural that England should think first and most of Hitler, the wolf at the door. It is to be expected that English minds cannot take seriously enough the full threat of Japan also to us. Why should they when Americans themselves have not taken Japan seriously enough and do not now take any Asiatic people seriously enough? Pearl Harbor and Manila are today awful witnesses of our ignorance. There will be other witnesses as stern before we are done with this war. If England cannot understand fully our danger in the Pacific, let us not ourselves be misled. We Americans face the Orient as well as Europe, and we face it not as the ruler of a great subject people held under military power. We face an Asia in which we have no long-established power. It is too dangerous for us to accept any estimate of the Pacific except our own. We must for our own sakes give our allies in the Far East confidence in our leadership toward full democracy.

But can the United States provide such leadership? This also the Far Eastern allies are asking. Japan is busily declaring that we cannot. She is declaring in the Philippines, in China, in India, Malaya and even Russia that there is no basis for hope that colored peoples can expect any justice from the people who rule in the United States, namely, the white people. For specific proof the Japanese point to our treatment of our own colored people, citizens of generations in the United States. Every lynching, every race riot, gives joy to Japan. The discriminations of the American army and navy and the air forces against colored soldiers and sailors, the exclusion of colored labor in our defense industries and trade unions, all our social discriminations, are of the greatest aid today to our enemy in Asia, Japan. "Look at America," Japan is saying to millions of listening ears. "Will white Americans give you equality?"

Who can reply with a clear affirmative? The persistent refusal of Americans to see the connection between the colored American and the colored peoples abroad, the continued, and it seems even wilful, ignorance which will not investigate the connection, are agony to those loyal and anxious Americans who know all too well the dangerous possibilities.

#### Declare for Democracy Today

..... Our ignorance of how they feel is dangerous as the ignorance of England is dangerous, as the ignorance of France was dangerous even to destruction. But ours is a peculiar danger, for one tenth of our own nation is colored. Our relation to the colored peoples and democracy does not

even lie so far off as Africa or India. It is just outside our doors, it is inside our homes. The deepest loyalties today are not national.

But even if Americans realize our danger, our responsibility, our peculiar position, can we produce the necessary leadership for democracy? What is this division between our belief in democracy for all and our practice of democracy only for some? It is not hypocrisy. We Americans are not hypocritical except in small, amusing ways. Talk to any dirt American and he honestly believes in equality and justice and in giving everybody democratic rights. But mention to him the colored man and you will not believe your own ears. This cannot be the same man talking, you will say. No, the colored man cannot have the same treatment as the white man, it seems. "Why?" you inquire. The white American scratches his head. "Well, it just don't work that way," he says, and thereby gives huge comfort to our present enemies, the Japanese.

What is the matter with this American? It is clear enough. He suffers from what is called in psychology a split personality. He is two distinct Americans. One of him is a benevolent, liberty-loving, just man. The other one of him is a creature who may or may not be benevolent but who is certainly undemocratic in his race attitudes, and who, on this subject, throws justice and human equality to the winds as completely as any Fascist.

..... Russia is justly proud of her freedom from race prejudices. But let Americans be sure of this — unless we can declare ourselves whole for total democracy now, we shall lose our chance to make the world what we want it to be, we shall lose even our place in the world, whatever our military victories are. For most of the people in the world today are colored.

How can we integrate ourselves for democracy? The first step toward unifying a split personality is to realize that there is the split. The next step is to reject the undesired self. We must be willing to see that our inner division has the gravest relation now to other events, to the success of this war for us, to world events which will shape an entirely new era. Whether it will be a golden age of democracy depends entirely on whether we choose democracy now.

We know this better than we are willing to acknowledge. It must be sternly said that it is the white peoples who have the deepest race prejudices. This is in itself a sign of insecurity and fear. And we do well to be afraid if we intend to persist blindly in our prejudices. If we plan to persist as we are, then we are fighting on the wrong side in this war. We belong with Hitler. For the white man can no longer rule in this world unless he rules by totalitarian military force. Democracy cannot so rule. Democracy, if it is to prevail at this solemn moment in human history, can do so only if it purges itself of that which denies democracy, if it dares to act as it believes.

Pearl Buck



## CASUAL NOTES

## More War Effort

If the Cripps proposals can be described as the British Government's special contribution in India to their tremendous war-effort, the latest announcement of the new members of the expanded Viceroy's Council and of the new names to fill departed men's posts must be considered to be another contribution of a piece with the previous one.

A Council expanded to ten times its size with similar names cannot turn it into a Council of Free India. And whether one thinks in terms of violence or non-violence none but a Free India can win the war. Mr. Hore-Belisha writing as long ago as the 'occupation of the Andamans by the Japanese—the situation has very considerably worsened for the British since then—uttered the barest truth in these words: "With the authentic voice of a true leader, General Mac Arthur has proclaimed that 'one cannot wage war under present conditions without the support of public opinion...Men will not fight and die without knowing what they are fighting and dying for. In democracies it is essential that the public should know the truth.'

The enemy will be beaten, not by the military sword alone, but by that invincible weapon which is made out of the strong will and resolute spirit of free peoples. Let not censorship blunt that weapon!"

## The Terrible Lesson of Burma

But the British character, if it has a toughness that has served them well frequently in history, has a denseness that is impervious to all warnings. We saw the other day how General Alexander gave the lie direct to the Burma Governor's statement about Burma. But even he had to make a guarded statement after what the Governor of Burma had said. The fact would seem to be much worse than General Alexander would let us know. This is what Mr. W. M. Towler wrote in the *Daily Herald* about the "Quislings in Burma:"

"Burmese guerilla bands are fighting for Japan against us. Burmese snipers are picking off British soldiers. Burmese guides are leading Japanese patrols through the jungle. Burmese spies are giving away to enemy information about our military dispositions. This should make us think. Perhaps we are to blame."

That this was not an exaggerated picture is proved by other non-British sources. This was the news flashed from American Western Group Headquarters, South-Western China:

"An American volunteer pilot, returning here from Burma, said today that native Burmese are killing unarmed British citizens. Natives in many districts have rebelled and are killing unarmed Britishers, he said. The Burmese are assisting the advancing Japanese in every possible way. Some armed Burmese forces have joined the Japanese. All over Burma it is dangerous for foreigners to move around unless they are armed, and in some

districts the Burmese have even attacked armed Britishers, he continued. Meanwhile the British are feverishly evacuating all large Burma towns, including Prome and Mandalay. Some are leaving by planes, some by automobile and some are forced to walk. I am unable to estimate the number of British killed, but I believe it is not few."

Mr. Towler attributed this to the many years' policy of bungling in Burma. "After the last war—in which Burmese troops fought gallantly with us—movements began in Burma for constitutional reform, separation of Burma from India, Dominion Status, complete independence. Instead of this we gave them years of wrangling and all the rigmarole of a Round Table Conference. . . . Administration by a governor with carefully chosen counsellors and a hand picked senate to curb the House of Representatives was still regarded by Burma as an insult. . . . Even with war in the heart of Burma today, it may not be too late to admit our faults and remedy our lethargy. It is certainly not too late to learn the lesson of Burma and apply it to other countries—India above all—whose loyalty might still be made as firm as that of the free nations of our commonwealth."

That was on March 25th. In the same month wrote the *Philadelphia Record*:

"The British did not have enough confidence in their hold over the natives at Hongkong or Malay to arm them. And from Burma come eye-witness accounts of Burmese picking this moment to settle old scores with the British by killing Europeans and rioting while the Japs advance. India may be next. . . . Steps can be taken even at this eleventh hour, to erase the memory of past bungling, to make India a full partner in the struggle. The cure will take boldness and imagination. But nothing less will do the job." And the paper added a line about the policy at home (America): "Are we striving, at home, to avoid those mistakes of discrimination, prejudice, inequality and stupidity that may haunt us in the time of trial?"

But the British reply was the Cripps proposals and two months after India's rejection of them comes the expansion of the Viceroy's Council. When Sir Stafford was in India, he said, in reply to a question by journalists, that Britain was lacking in man-power. She certainly seems to be essentially lacking in brain-power and woefully lacking in boldness and imagination to cure past "bunglings". They seem, on the contrary, to delight in piling bungling upon bungling and insult upon insult.

## Forced Labour

In fact, there is no improvement anywhere in the traditional policy of Britain to which Mr. Churchill is wedded. Look at this paragraph from 'A London Diary' in the *New Statesman and Nation* for March 14: "Forced labour in Kenya, now passed by the Colonial Office, creates an acute moral dilemma for those people who want to conscribe the native races of the Empire in return for a charter of self-government after the war. I discussed it with an honest-minded member of this group: 'Do you believe that Kenya natives



are needed for war production and not to supply slave labour for employers too bad and farmers too incompetent to attract or pay workers?' 'No.' 'Do you suppose that the Government will offer them—or the natives of Southern Rhodesia, where forced labour threatens also—adequate land, equality of economic opportunity, the abolition of the colour-bar?' 'No.' "Do you consider it possible that self-government will be offered to the Kenya peoples?' 'No.'"

### The Common Man

The same writer says that the British "Man-in-the-street" is now seriously discussing the British Empire. He describes his talk with a clerk in a big wholesale business. "Weeks ago, when the Japanese were still only at Kuala Lumpur, we talked about the future of India. George was dubious. 'Give them their freedom, and what happens to our money? That's what you have to look at. What happens to our investments if they get free?' Last week I saw him again. Said George; 'We'll have to give freedom to the Indians. We'll have to give it to the whole blooming Empire. I don't blame the Empire. Wanted to make our money like every one else. But the point is, they've rumbled us. They've got wise to us. And what I say is, it is never any use going on with a game like that once you've been rumbled.' His chief anxiety now is as to whether the Government is 'smart' enough to see, as he does, that 'they've seen through the trick, and the quicker we drop it the better.'"

But Mr. Churchill and Co. are too big to learn anything from the British "man-in-the-street", as they are too arrogant to learn anything from the lesson of Burma.

### A Desperate Game

Let us understand the distinction between 'a National Government' and the Government of a 'Free India' that Gandhiji has been asking for. Of course there is no 'Free India' and no national Government, but a national Government even when it comes into being becomes part of the British war-machine, whereas Free India is free to decide the kind of help she can give as an ally, and free even to negotiate honourable terms of peace and stop further carnage. The national Government at best would carry round its neck the halter of the British-war methods and the British war-policy. In an article written about two months ago I tried to show that such a national Government, however satisfactory it might be, was incapable of fighting a successful military war against the Nazis and the Japanese. There is evidence accumulating in favour of this contention every day. Apart from the disloyalty of the Burmans in Burma there was superior military knowledge and strategy on the part of the Japanese, there was utter unreadiness in Singapore, and now spacious grounds are being given for the terrible disaster in Libya. There were tanks we are told—the strength being 7 to 5—there was full military equipment, superior air power, and at least equal man-power; and even Mr. Churchill has failed to explain why then the

British failed. The *New Statesman* almost anticipated the disaster months ago and gave the reasons too: "Round this matter of tanks revolve our own fortunes in Libya. Rommel has swept us out of Bengazi and far beyond it (1) because he was reinforced by sea, (2) because he can repair his damaged tanks in the field, and (3) because his tanks are superior to ours. Our forces were (1) originally inferior in numbers to his and do not seem to have been reinforced; it looks (2) as if we were no better able to refit an injured tank than we were in the last campaign; (3) finally, the guns of our tanks, to say nothing of other defects, are inferior in calibre and range to those of the Germans. The bravery of our men cannot compensate for such defects. The mismanagement of this campaign ought to lead to a searching inquiry into its causes. Are we even now attending to the business of refitting tanks at the front, and to improvement of their armament and the modification of their types? It seems that Lord Beaverbrook has concentrated on quantity to the neglect of quality." The Londoner wrote in his diary the same week: "One reason for Rommel's success in Libya is the efficiency of his organisation for tank repair. While British tanks are often abandoned when temporarily knocked out, Rommel has a special device for hoisting damaged tanks on to the lorries in the night, rushing them to the repair shop, and getting them hastily refitted. British tanks only occasionally have more than one life, German tanks seem to have nine. This may be explained by the fact that Rommel is himself an engineer and mechanic. An American magazine not long ago gave a fascinating account of Rommel refusing to accept any one as an officer under him who could not build a whole tank with his own hands. The article describes the astonishment of a Prussian officer of the old-fashioned monocled type searching for General Rommel and finally discovering him in a tank repair shop, stripped to the waist, working like a mechanic somewhere in the intestines of a tank."

And let it be remembered that Mr. Eden said that Singapore was lost by choice, because they had to concentrate their best equipment in Libya. And we now know the best equipment that they had. When we think of this, can a national Government ever get militarily ready to fight the Japanese and the Nazis?

It is a desperate game. Instead why not leave India to her own resources and thereby gain a moral victory before the world, and be saved the ignominy of a very probable disaster?

Sevagram, 5-7-'42

M. D.

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## HARIJANS AND SAVARNAS

These notes on the relations between Harijans and Savarnas, like similar ones made a few weeks ago, are a blend of bitters and sweets.

The question of the District Board school in Napa, a village in Kaira District, had been hanging fire for a long time. The Savarnas would not allow Harijan children to attend the school, and the school had to be closed down according to the Government Resolution made in this behalf. There was plenty of bad blood in consequence, the School Board had to be dragged into a court of law, and so on—facts which happily are now a thing of the past and with which the reader need not be bothered. Wiser counsels have at last prevailed, and the whole dispute has been amicably settled. A few leading men of the village and members of the local Panchayat have made it up with the School Board, by giving a written undertaking to admit Harijan children to the school, and five Harijan children were admitted as soon as the school was opened.

\* \* \*

A Harijan hostel was opened the other day by Shri Morarji Desai at Surat. This will serve the Harijan students attending schools and colleges in Surat and hailing from villages in the District. There is accommodation, for the time being, for 20 students, but it is hoped that with more applicants desiring accommodation the citizens of Surat and the public workers there will not find it difficult to provide additional accommodation.

\* \* \*

A vexatious and sorry chapter is that of the crematorium at Vile Parle, a Bombay suburb. Among Harijans, as amongst Savarnas, there are certain sections of people who bury their dead and some who cremate them. The crematorium at Vile Parle was sought to be used last year by some Harijans; the orthodox people who believed they were in charge of it objected; in heavy rains the poor people could not carry the dead to any other place; they broke open the lock and burnt the dead there. A fierce controversy arose, and the matter is now before a court of law—the men who claim to be members of the committee in charge of the crematorium having lodged a criminal complaint against the Harijans. This was done months ago, but we know the law's delays. Death however knows no delay. Neither should Religion or Duty know any. So even whilst the case is pending, Harijan Sevaks have dared to help the Harijans who have been cremating their dead, taking whatever risk may be in store for them.

When this matter was referred to Gandhiji last year, he had not the least hesitation in advising Harijan Sevaks to take the lead and give what help they could to the Harijans. There is room for patience and education of public opinion in the matter of temples, less in the matter of wells, but practically none in this matter. Harijans themselves may not be ready to take risks, but Gandhiji advised that it was the duty of the Harijan Sevaks to lead them and be ready to receive the first blows

on their heads—if that was to be their lot—or receive the heaviest punishment.

It is a matter of gratification therefore that reckless of the law's delays some of the Harijan Sevaks and Congress workers of the place have been unremitting in their help of the Harijans who, only a fortnight ago, cremated their dead in this public crematorium. *Quidquid multis peccatur inultum est.* (An offence that is committed by many is no offence.)

It may be possible to find some plausible ground for excluding Harijans from the use of private wells, or from one's private house or temple. But it is impossible to find any such ground for excluding Harijans from a crematorium. There should be no private crematoriums save such as may be owned by Rajas or Maharajas, though one cannot conceive even these being polluted by cremation. All who carry the dead are supposed to be polluted and have to have a purificatory bath after the cremation is over. Where then is the difference between a Harijan and a Savarna? And so far as the dead are concerned, Fire consumes all impurities without caring for caste or creed. To exclude Harijans from a crematorium is not only to disgrace one's religion but to insult the dead and insult the all-purifying Fire. One wonders if even Fire can purify such intolerant exclusion.

\* \* \*

A fire broke out in a village in the Nagpur district on the 22nd May and most of the houses of the Harijans and the *Kotha* of the Brahmana part proprietor of the village were completely gutted. A number of people from the surrounding villages collected to render what help they could. A Harijan entered the compound of the other part proprietor—a Kunbi and Lambardar and Mukadam of the village—and picked up a brass pot for fetching water to quench the fire. On this the said Lambardar and his son and other members of the family including women belaboured the Harijan mercilessly. It is said that strongly resenting this the crowd took the law into their own hands and retaliated by beating the Lambardar and his people. The Lambardar would give no help or facility to the people and would not allow people to draw water from the well which did not belong to him but to the other part proprietor who was a Brahman and then absent from the village. Luckily a female member of the latter's family arrived and invited every one to use the well. Had it not been for this timely help, the fire would have taken long to get under control.

The Lambardar who received a beating from the crowd filed a complaint against the Mahar, charging him with theft. The police investigated the case and found the charge to be unfounded. The Harijan is still said to be suffering from the injuries he received at the hands of the Lambardar.

It is difficult to withhold one's sympathy from the Harijan and the crowd who belaboured the Lambardar in retaliation.

Sevagram, 5-7-'42 M. D.



## QUESTION BOX

(By M. K. Gandhi)

## The Conflagration

Q.—What is the difference between Nero and yourself? Nero was fiddling when Rome was burning. Will you be also fiddling in Sevagram after you have ignited the fire which you will not be able to quench?

A.—The difference will be known if match, if I have ever to light it, does not prove a 'damp quib'. Instead of fiddling in Sevagram you may expect to find me perishing in the flames of my own starting if I cannot regulate or restrain them. But I have a grouse against you. Why should you shove all the blame on to me for all that may happen by reason of my taking action for the discharge of an overdue debt and that, too, just when the discharge has become the necessary condition of my life?

In their schools the rulers teach us to sing "Britons never shall be slaves." How can the refrain enthuse their slaves? The British are pouring blood like water and squandering gold like dust in order to preserve their liberty. Or, is it their right to enslave India and Africa? Why should Indians do less to free themselves from bondage? It is misuse of language to liken to the action of Nero that of a man who, in order to escape living death, lights his own funeral pyre to end the agony.

## Andhra Separation

Q. You have, no doubt unintentionally, rather adversely affected Maharaja Kumar Sir Vijaya Anand's popularity in Andhra by your ridiculing a part of Sir Vijaya's letter on Andhra separation; and do you regard Andhra separation in the same light as Pakistan, as some people in Andhra fear you do?

A. You are right in saying that I ridiculed Sir Vijaya's letter. I could take that liberty with him. But nothing could be further from my thought than to discredit him in any way. What reflection there was was meant for his informants. As his letter showed, he had given me the impressions of his informants. Everyone of us is liable to be misled by our informants. He is among the very few zamindars who have taken up the popular cause. It will be pity if the Andhras, by putting a wrong construction on my letter to him, fail to avail themselves of his services.

As to the second question, there can be no comparison between Pakistan and Andhra separation. The Andhra separation is a redistribution on a linguistic basis. The Andhras do not claim to be a separate nation having nothing in common with the rest of India. Pakistan on the other hand is a demand for carving out of India a portion to be treated as a wholly independent sovereign state. Thus there seems to be nothing common between the two.

Sevagram, 5-7-'42

## An Omission

At the Goseva Sangh Conference of 1st February last held at Wardha I said: "Chaunde Maharaj... whilst he accepts my facts and even arguments..... says, 'what about the public sentiment? They somehow want to save the cow from the butcher.'" And again, "But the good Chaunde Maharaj wonders if people can be persuaded to believe that dead cow's hide is sacred."

Shri Chaunde Maharaj of Govardhan Sanstha, who was present at the meeting, came to me and told me that the remark could not be applied to him as he did not favour the purchase of cows from butchers and did not discard the use of dead cattle hide. I told him that I would mention his assurance in *Harijan*. He reminds me that the report has appeared without the mention and it is likely to harm the Institution. I am sorry I forgot to mention the conversation in *Harijan* and that my omission caused grief to the Maharaj. As to the use of dead cattle hide, I may point out that it is not enough not to discard the use of dead cattle hide, it is necessary to discard the use of slaughter hide and insist on the use of dead cattle hide where slaughter hide was used. Probably that is what his letter means but has failed to convey.

Sevagram, 3-7-'42

M. K. G.

## Notice

Readers will please note that a branch of the Navajivan Karyalaya has been recently opened at Surat (Kanpith Bazar) and at Rajkot (Savani Buildings, Sadar). Copies of the three weeklies, *Harijan* (English), *Harijanbandhu* (Gujarati) and *Harijansevak* (Hindustani), and of our Gujarati monthly, *Shikshana ane Sahitya*, as also our publications, will be available there. The subscriptions for the weeklies and the monthly will also be received there.

Manager

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# HARIJAN

Editor : MAHADEV DESAI

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AHMEDABAD — SUNDAY, JULY 19, 1942

[ FIVE PICE

## IF 'HARIJAN' IS SUPPRESSED

( By M. K. Gandhi )

Anxious inquiries are being made as to what I would do if *Harijan* was suppressed. Rumours are afloat that orders are on their way. I would ask inquirers not to be agitated if *Harijan* is suppressed. The paper may be suppressed. The manager has been instructed to stop the paper immediately orders are served on him. It is no part of the movement to publish *Harijan* in defiance of orders. But *Harijan* may be suppressed, its message cannot be, so long as I live. Indeed, the spirit will survive the dissolution of the body and somehow speak through the millions. For, with due apologies to Veer Saverkar and Quaid-e-Azam Jinnah, I claim to represent the joint spirit of millions of Hindus and Mussalmans, and other non-Hindus who call themselves children of Hindustan. I am living, and hope to have the strength to die, for the freedom of every inhabitant of this land.

Let us see what *Harijan* is today. It is being published in English, Hindi, Urdu (2 places), Tamil, Telugu (2 places), Oriya, Marathi, Gujarati, Kanaree (2 places). It is ready to be published in Bengali only awaiting legal permission. Applications have come from Assam, Kerala and Sindh. All but one edition have a large circulation compared to the other weeklies. I suggest that it is no small matter to suppress such a paper. The loss will be more Government's than the people's. They will incur much ill-will by suppressing a popular paper.

Let it be known too that *Harijan* is a views-paper as distinguished from a newspaper. People buy and read it not for amusement but instruction and regulating their daily conduct. They literally take their weekly lessons in non-violence. It cannot pay the authorities to deprive the people of their weekly food.

And *Harijan* is not an anti-British paper. It is pro-British from head to foot. It wishes well to the British people. It tells them in the friendliest manner where in its opinion they err.

The Anglo-Indian papers I know are Government favourites. They represent a dying Imperialism. Whether Britain wins or loses, Imperialism has to die. It is certainly of no use now to the British people whatever it may have been in the past. In that sense therefore Anglo-Indian papers are really anti-British as *Harijan* is pro-British. The former are disseminating hatred day by day by hiding the reality and bolstering Imperialism which is ruining Britain. It is in order to arrest the progress of that ruin that, frail as I am, I have put my whole

soul into a movement which, if it is designed to free India from the imperial yoke, is equally intended to contribute the mightiest war-effort in their behalf. If they suppress *Harijan* let them know what they will seek to suppress.

Let me add too that without needing any pressure from outside, I am using the greatest restraint in the choice of printing matter. Nothing is being consciously published that would give any clue to the 'enemy' as to military objectives or dispositions. Care is being exercised to avoid all exaggeration or sensational matter. Adjectives and adverbs are well-weighed before being used. And they know that I am ever ready to acknowledge errors and mend them.

Sevagram, 12-7-'42

## Notes

### In Case of Illness

Some one tells me that B. B. C. have been asking how I can hope to lead the impending non-violent movement if I am ill and bed-ridden. Well, the doctors have not pronounced me such. I am fatigued and they advise rest and a change to a cooler place for a fortnight. I am struggling to give myself rest. But sometimes duty, may be passion or infatuation, forbids it. But the relevant fact is that so long as the reason is unimpaired, physical illness is no bar to the conduct of a non-violent struggle. The peremptory belief in non-violent conduct is that all urge comes from God—the Unseen, even Unfelt save through unconquerable faith. Nevertheless as a seeker and experimenter I know that even physical illness, even fatigue is counted as a defect in a non-violent person. *Mens sana in corpore sano* is literally accepted by votaries of truth and non-violence. But that is said of perfect men. Alas I am far from the perfection I am aiming at.

### Timely Action

Numerous inquiries have been made as to what should be done by evacuees and others who find it difficult and even impossible to comply with orders. The comprehensive instructions of the Working Committee in the matter are quite timely. The persons affected should know that these instructions are no part of the impending movement. They are necessary in every case for the very existence of the persons affected. Therefore, as the Working Committee very properly say, every precaution should be taken for obtaining relief through negotiation. Disregard of orders should be resorted to only when it becomes peremptory. Needless to say there is no room here for profiteering or exorbitant demands.

Sevagram, 12-7-'42



### Congress and War Contracts

Q. Is it proper for Congressmen, especially members of Congress Committees, to accept war contracts?

A. This question should be properly addressed to the Working Committee. Personally however I think that Congressmen cannot accept war contracts.

Sevagram, 10-7-'42

M. K. G.

### WORKING COMMITTEE'S RESOLUTIONS

#### 1

Resolution passed by the Working Committee at Wardha on July 14, 1942:

Events happening from day to day, and the experience that the people of India are passing through, confirm the opinion of Congressmen that British rule in India must end immediately, not merely because foreign domination, even at its best, is an evil in itself and a continuing injury to the subject people, but because India in bondage can play no effective part in defending herself and in affecting the fortunes of the war that is desolating humanity. The freedom of India is thus necessary not only in the interest of India but also for the safety of the world and for the ending of nazism, fascism, militarism and other forms of imperialism, and the aggression of one nation over another.

Ever since the outbreak of the world war, the Congress has studiously pursued a policy of non-embarrassment. Even at the risk of making its satyagraha ineffective, it deliberately gave it a symbolic character, in the hope that this policy of non-embarrassment, carried to its logical extreme, would be duly appreciated and that real power would be transferred to popular representatives, so as to enable the nation to make its fullest contribution towards the realisation of human freedom throughout the world, which is in danger of being crushed. It had also hoped that negatively nothing would be done which was calculated to tighten Britain's strangle-hold on India.

These hopes have, however, been dashed to pieces. The abortive Cripps proposals showed in the clearest possible manner that there was no change in the British Government's attitude towards India and that the British hold on India was in no way to be relaxed. In the negotiations with Sir Stafford Cripps, Congress representatives tried their utmost to achieve a minimum, consistent with the national demand, but to no avail. This frustration has resulted in a rapid and widespread increase of ill-will against Britain and a growing satisfaction at the success of Japanese arms. The Working Committee view this development with grave apprehension as this, unless checked, will inevitably lead to a passive acceptance of aggression. The Committee hold that all aggression must be resisted, for any submission to it must mean the degradation of the Indian people and the continuation of their subjection. The Congress is anxious to avoid the experience of Malaya, Singapore, and Burma and desires to build up resistance to any aggression on or invasion of India by the Japanese or any foreign power.

The Congress would change the present ill-will against Britain into good-will and make India a willing partner in a joint enterprise of securing freedom for the nations and peoples of the world and in the trials and tribulations which accompany it. This is only possible if India feels the glow of freedom.

The Congress representatives have tried their utmost to bring about a solution of the communal tangle. But this has been made impossible by the presence of the foreign Power whose long record has been to pursue relentlessly the policy of divide and rule. Only after the ending of foreign domination and intervention, can the present unreality give place to reality, and the people of India, belonging to all groups and parties, face India's problems and solve them on a mutually agreed basis. The present political parties, formed chiefly with a view to attract the attention of and influence the British Power, will then probably cease to function. For the first time in India's history, realisation will come home that princes, jagirdars, zamindars, and propertied and monied classes, derive their wealth and property from the workers in the fields and factories and elsewhere, to whom essentially power and authority must belong. On the withdrawal of British Rule in India, responsible men and women of the country will come together to form a Provisional Government, representative of all important sections of the people of India, which will later evolve a scheme whereby a Constituent Assembly can be convened in order to prepare a constitution for the government of India acceptable to all sections of the people. Representatives of Free India and representatives of Great Britain will confer together for the adjustment of future relations and for the cooperation of the two countries as allies in the common task of meeting aggression. It is the earnest desire of the Congress to enable India to resist aggression effectively with the people's united will and strength behind it.

In making the proposal for the withdrawal of British Rule from India, the Congress has no desire whatsoever to embarrass Great Britain or the Allied Powers in their prosecution of the war, or in any way to encourage aggression on India or increased pressure on China by the Japanese or any other Power associated with the Axis group. Nor does the Congress intend to jeopardise the defensive capacity of the Allied Powers. The Congress is therefore agreeable to the stationing of the armed forces of the Allies in India, should they so desire, in order to ward off and resist Japanese or other aggression, and to protect and help China.

The proposal of withdrawal of the British Power from India was never intended to mean the physical withdrawal of all Britishers from India, and certainly not of those who would make India their home and live there as citizens and as equals with the others. If such withdrawal takes place with goodwill, it would result in establishing a stable Provisional Government in India and co-operation between this Government and the United Nations in resisting aggression and helping China.

The Congress realises that there may be risks involved in such a course. Such risks, however, have to be faced by any country in order to achieve freedom



and; more especially at the present critical juncture, in order to save the country and the larger cause of freedom the world over from far greater risks and perils.

While, therefore, the Congress is impatient to achieve the national purpose, it wishes to take no hasty step and would like to avoid, in so far as is possible, any course of action that might embarrass the United Nations. The Congress would plead with the British Power to accept the very reasonable and just proposal herein made, not only in the interest of India but also that of Britain and of the cause of freedom to which the United Nations proclaim their adherence.

Should however this appeal fail, the Congress cannot view without the gravest apprehension the continuation of the present state of affairs, involving a progressive deterioration in the situation and weakening of India's will and power to resist aggression. The Congress will then be reluctantly compelled to utilise all the non-violent strength it might have gathered since 1920, when it adopted Non-violence as part of its policy for the vindication of political rights and liberty. Such a widespread struggle would inevitably be under the leadership of Gandhiji. As the issues raised are of the most vital and far-reaching importance to the people of India as well as to the peoples of the United Nations, the Working Committee refer them to the All India Congress Committee for final decision. For this purpose the A. I. C. C. will meet in Bombay on the seventh of August, 1942.

## 2

### Re : Evacuation and Other Orders

Whereas complaints have been received from various places regarding Government orders for evacuation of villages, lands and buildings without due notice and proper compensation, seizure and destruction of country-boats, even where life is impossible without them, requisition of cycles, motor vehicles and carts without proper compensation and without regard for the needs of the civil population;

The Working Committee deem it necessary to issue the following instructions for the guidance of the people concerned and hope that the Government will take immediate and necessary steps to remove the grievances and that the people will carry out their instructions as circumstances demand, provided that in all cases before the final decision to disobey an order or resist any measure is taken, all possible avenues of negotiation and relief through negotiation shall be thoroughly explored.

With regard to evacuation and other orders involving loss, either temporary or permanent, of landed property of any kind, full compensation should be demanded. In fixing the compensation the factors to be taken into consideration are the value of the land and the crops, the inconvenience and expense likely to be caused to the holder of the land by having to move to another place, and the difficulty and delay likely to be involved in obtaining other land where the dispossessed landholder could settle.

Wherever possible, arrangement should be made for providing other land to agriculturists where their agricultural land is acquired. Where this is impossible, compensation in money should be paid.

Value of trees, water-channels, and wells etc. taken over or destroyed should be included in the compensation.

In case of temporary acquisition of agricultural land the full value of the crop plus 15% of it should be paid for each crop lost and when the occupation by Government terminates compensation should be paid for restoring the land to its previous conditions for agricultural purposes.

Where the bulk of the land of an agriculturist is acquired and the balance left over is so small that it may not be worth cultivating, the balance too should be acquired.

Houses where acquired should be fully paid for. Where the whole or bulk of the agricultural land of an agriculturist is acquired and only his house is left over, the house should also be acquired by paying full compensation if the agriculturist so desires.

Where a house is to be occupied temporarily for Government purposes fair rent should be paid and the owner compensated for the inconvenience and discomfort caused.

No one should be required to vacate his house without arrangement being made elsewhere for his residence, and full compensation should be paid for transport of the evacuee's belongings and for his maintenance for a reasonable period to enable him to find suitable occupation in his new surroundings.

Compensation should in all cases be paid promptly and on the spot by a responsible officer and not at the head-quarters of a District. In case no agreement is reached between the authorities and the evacuee regarding the amount of compensation and the matter has to be referred to a tribunal for decision, the amount of compensation proposed by the authorities should be paid forthwith and should not be withheld pending the adjudication of the claim.

There should be no interference with the use or disposal of private property except with the consent of the owner or on payment of adequate compensation.

In case of requisition of boats full compensation should be demanded and no boats should be surrendered till the question of compensation is settled. In areas surrounded by water where boats are indispensable for normal everyday life they should not be surrendered at all.

Fishermen who depend upon their boats for earning their livelihood should be compensated for loss of their employment in addition to the price of their boat.

In case of requisition of cycles, motor vehicles, carts etc. full compensation should be demanded and until the question of compensation is settled they should not be parted with.

In view of scarcity of salt and apprehended famine of it due to war conditions, facilities should be provided for collection, preparation and transport of salt on the sea-coast and in inland areas, free of duty, by individuals. People may manufacture salt for their own consumption and that of their cattle.

With regard to restrictions on organisations for self-protection, the Committee is of opinion that it is the inherent right of all to protect their own life and property and those of their neighbours and therefore all restrictions on them should be disregarded.



# HARIJAN

July 19

1942

## PERTINENT QUESTIONS

(By M. K. Gandhi)

1. If non-violent activity is neutralized by and cannot go along with armed violence in the same area, will there remain any scope for non-violent resistance to aggression in the event of India allowing foreign troops to remain on her soil and operate from here?

2. If the maintenance of India's freedom is allowed to be made dependent upon arms which, in the existing circumstances, will be led and controlled by Britain and America, can there be a feeling of real freedom experienced by the people of India, at any rate, during the duration of the war?

3. Whatever may be the terms of the 'treaty', if the Anglo-American military machine is allowed to operate for the 'defence' of India, can Indians play anything but a minor and subordinate role in the defence of this country?

4. Supposing the British, not from any moral motive but only to gain a political and strategical advantage for the time being, agree to a 'treaty' under which they are allowed to maintain and increase their military forces in India, how can they be dislodged afterwards if they prefer to remain in possession?

5. Is not the position postulated in the preceeding question comparable to the position that would arise if, for instance, Subhas Babu made a treaty with Germany and Japan under which India would be declared 'independent' and the Axis forces would enter India to drive the British out?

6. If the Congress, as Maulana Saheb has just stated, 'considers defence as armed defence only', is there any prospect of real independence for India, in view of the fact that India simply has not got the resources 'independently' to offer effective armed resistance to a formidable aggressor? If we are to think in terms of armed defence only, can India, to mention only one thing, expect to remain independent with her 4000 miles of coast-line and no navy and ship-building industry?

7. What material aid could India send to China today, even if she were declared 'independent' by the British?

A. (1) The flaw pointed out in the first question cannot be denied. I have admitted it before now. The tolerance of Allied troops by Free India is an admission of the nation's limitations. The nation as a whole has never been and never been claimed to be non-violent. What part is cannot be said with any accuracy. And what is decisive is that India has not yet demonstrated non-violence of the strong such as would be required to withstand a powerful army of invasion. If we had developed that strength we would have acquired our freedom long ago and there would be no question of any troops being stationed in India. The novelty of the demand should not be missed. It is a demand

not for a transference of power from Great Britain to a Free India. For there is no party to which Britain would transfer such power. We lack the unity that gives strength. The demand therefore is not based on our demonstrable strength. It is a demand made upon Britain to do the right irrespective of the capacity of the party wronged to bear the consequences of Britain's right act. Will Britain restore seized property to the victim merely because the seizure was wrong? It is none of her concern to weigh whether the victim will be able to hold possession of the restored property. Hence it is that I have been obliged to make use of the word anarchy in this connection. This great moral act must give Britain moral status which should ensure victory. Whether without India Britain would have any reason to fight is a question I need not consider. If India is the stake and not British honour we should know. My demand then loses force but not justness.

Such being the case my honesty and honour require me to provide for the flaw. If to ask for the withdrawal of the Allied forces means their certain defeat, my demand must be ruled out as dishonest. Force of circumstances has given rise to the demand and also to its limitations. It must be admitted therefore that there will be little scope for non-violent resistance of aggression, with the Allied troops operating in India, as there is practically none now. For the troops are there today enjoying full mastery over us. Under my demand they will operate under the nation's terms.

2. If Britain's declaration is honest I see no reason why the presence of the troops should, in any shape or form, affect the feeling of real freedom. Did the French feel differently when during the last war the English troops were operating in France? When my master of yesterday becomes my equal and lives in my house on my terms, surely his presence cannot detract from my freedom. Nay, I may profit by his presence which I have permitted.

3. The conception in my scheme is that we do not want these troops for our defence or protection. If they left these shores we expect to manage somehow. We may put up non-violent defence. If luck favours us, the Japanese may see no reason to hold the country after the Allies have withdrawn, if they discover that they are not wanted. It is all speculation as to what can happen after withdrawal, voluntary and orderly or forced.

4. We assume their or rather British honesty. It would be not a matter of dislodging them, it is one of their fulfilling their plighted word. If they commit breach of faith, we must have strength enough non-violent or violent to enforce fulfilment.

5. Surely there is as much difference between the South Pole and the North as there is between the imagined conditions. My demand deals with the possessor; Subhas Babu will bring German troops to oust the possessor. Germany is under no obligation to deliver India from bondage. Therefore Subhas Babu's performance can only fling India from the frying pan into the fire. I hope the distinction is clear.



6. Maulana Saheb, it is well known, does not hold my view that any country can defend itself without force of arms. My demand is based on the view that it is possible to defend one's country non-violently.

7. India at present gives such indifferent and ill-conceived aid as the Allies think desirable. Free India can send men and material that China may need. India has affinities with China being part of Asia which the Allies cannot possibly possess and exploit. Who knows that Free India may not even succeed in persuading Japan to do the right by China?

Sevagram, 12-7-'42

### THE WARDHA INTERVIEW

Soon after the final meeting of the Working Committee on Tuesday, the 14th July, Gandhiji met the various representatives of the press—Indian and foreign—and gave them a joint interview. To take up the last question first, Gandhiji made it clear that the Working Committee had worked on his own draft, there had been a lot of give and take, and accommodation. "Of course, if the resolution had not met with my approval," he added, "it would not have been passed. Whether it wholly meets with my approval or not is a difficult question to answer. It is not humanly possible for a group of people to agree on every sentence and every word. There always is room for accommodation, but I must say that the Working Committee has been most considerate to me."

#### A Mass Movement

"Is it possible," asked the A. P. (America) representative, "for you to tell us the things you might do after the All India Congress Committee meets and adopts the W. C. Resolution?"

"Is not that question a little premature? Supposing the A. I. C. C. vetoes the resolution, the whole thing wears a different aspect. But you may know that it will be a mass movement of a strictly non-violent character and then you can fill in the details. It will include all that a mass movement can include."

"Will you include closing of liquor shops and foreign cloth shops?"

"It will depend on the circumstances. I don't want rioting as a direct result. If inspite of all precautions rioting does take place, it cannot be helped." This question was not fully developed. It could not be, in the nature of things. The questioner meant perhaps picketing and peaceful persuasion. Gandhiji had in mind perhaps looting of cloth shops—as there has been looting of grain shops—and so on. If these things take place, they will be the direct product of the economic situation and not of the movement.

#### If Imprisoned?

"Will you court imprisonment?"

"I am not going to court imprisonment. The struggle does not involve courting imprisonment. It is too soft a thing. We had, no doubt, made it a business to court imprisonment up to now, but there will be no such thing this time. My intention is to make the thing as short and swift as possible."

Quick came another question: "Will you resort to fasting if sent to jail?"

"It is not my desire this time, as I have said, to court imprisonment. But if I am dragged into jail, it is difficult to say what I may do. But I can fast, as I have fasted before now, though I should try to avoid such an extreme step so far as possible."

"Do you hope that negotiations may be opened by the British Government?"

#### Negotiations?

"They may, but with whom they will do it I do not know. For it is not a question of placating one party or other. For it is the unconditional withdrawal of the British Power without reference to the wishes of any party that is our demand. The demand is therefore based on its justice. Of course it is possible that the British may negotiate a withdrawal. If they do, it will be a feather in their cap. Then it will cease to be a case for withdrawal. If the British see, however late, the wisdom of recognising the Independence of India, without reference to the various parties, all things are possible. But the point I want to stress is this: viz. that there is no room left for negotiations in the proposal for withdrawal. Either they recognise Independence or they don't. After that recognition many things can follow. For by that one single act the British representatives will have altered the face of the whole landscape and revived the hope of the people which has been frustrated times without number. Therefore whenever that great act is performed, on behalf of the British people, it will be a red letter day in the history of India and the world. And, as I have said, it can materially affect the fortunes of war."

"After the recognition of Free India it starts to function at once?"

"Yes, from the very next moment. For, independence will be not on paper, but in action. But your next legitimate question would be—'How will Free India function?' And because there was that knot, I said 'Leave India to God or anarchy.' But in practice what will happen is this—If withdrawal takes place in perfect good-will, the change will be effected without the slightest disturbance. People would have to come to their own without disturbance. Wise people from among the responsible sections will come together and will evolve a Provisional Government. Then there will be no anarchy, no interruption, and a crowning glory."

#### Shape of Things to Come

"Can you visualise the composition of the Provisional Government?"

"I do not need to do so. But I am clear that it won't be a party government. All parties—including the Congress—will automatically dissolve. They may function later and when they do they may function complementary to one another, each looking to the other in order to grow. Then, as I have said, all unreality disappears like mist before the morning sun—we don't know how, though we witness the phenomenon every day."



"But" asked two of the Indian correspondents rather impatiently, "looking to all their past record will the British have the sense to come to terms?"

"Why not? They are human beings and I have never discounted the possibility of human nature's upward growth, and no other nation had ever had to face a freedom movement based not principally but wholly on non-violence."

"But there is an apparent contradiction in your resolution," persisted the friends. "The first paragraphs recount the fact that there is no intention on the part of the British to part with power. Then suddenly you postulate such a desire on their part!"

"There is nothing inconsistent. The facts are narrated in order to justify the suddenness of the demand for withdrawal. The other paragraphs refer to possibilities. Many things may happen and they may be altogether creditable to the British."

"May not your movement hamper the efforts of the Allies in China?"

"No, since the movement is intended to make common cause with the Allies, it should not hamper the Allied effort."

"But if there is no withdrawal, then disturbances are bound to happen?"

"You see ill-will is already there. It will grow apace. Immediately the movement is started, the ill-will may be changed into good-will if the British people respond. But even if they don't respond, when people make an effort to free themselves from a foreign yoke, ill-will needs no other opening. It takes a healthy turn instead of the bad turn that it has today."

"But only last week Mr. Amery reminded us that nothing is going to be done?"

"I am very much afraid that we shall have the misfortune to listen to a repetition of that language in stronger terms if possible. But it can't change the will of a group of people who are determined to go their way."

#### Free India's Contribution

"You desire to have India's freedom in order to help the Allies", was Mr. Edgar Snow's question, and the last question. "Will Free India carry out total mobilisation and adopt methods of total war?"

"That question", said Gandhiji, "is legitimate but it is beyond me. I can only say Free India will make common cause with the Allies. I cannot say that Free India will take part in militarism or choose to go the non-violent way. But I can say without hesitation that if I can turn India to non-violence I will certainly do so. If I succeed in converting 40 crores of people to non-violence, it will be a tremendous thing, a wonderful transformation."

"But you won't oppose a militarist effort by civil disobedience?" Mr. Snow pertinently asked.

"I have no such desire. I cannot oppose Free India's will with civil disobedience, it would be wrong."

M D.

## A TWO MINUTES' INTERVIEW

The number of Indian and foreign correspondents in Wardha at the present moment is unprecedentedly large, but it is quite natural looking to the momentous issues that the Working Committee have got to decide. But it makes it difficult for one in Gandhiji's health and with his preoccupations to meet them all. I have had to ask them to wait until the end of the Working Committee deliberations when Gandhiji might meet them all at a single interview. But the correspondent of the *Daily Express* (London) who was among the first to arrive and who was not staying until the end said he would be content with just a couple of minutes' interview, and Gandhiji acceded to his request. He had made up his mind that if the demand for withdrawal which seemed to gather strength every day was rejected, there would be some kind of a movement. So he asked:

"Would you say that your movement will make it more difficult or less difficult for us to keep the Japanese out of India?"

"Our movement," said Gandhiji, "will make it more difficult for the Japanese to come in. But of course if there is no cooperation from Britain and the Allies, I cannot say."

"But", said Mr. Young, "think of the war as a whole. Do you think that your new movement will help the Allied nations towards victory, which you have said you also desire?"

"Yes, if my submission is accepted."

"What do you mean by your submission?—That Britain should offer non-violent battle?"

"No, no. My submission that British rule in India should end. If that is accepted victory for the Allied powers is assured. Then India will become an independent power, and thus a real ally, while now she is only a slave. The result of my movement, if it is sympathetically responded to, is bound to be speedy victory. But if it is misunderstood by the British and they take up the attitude that they would like to crush it, then they would be responsible for the result, not I."

This was far from convincing Mr. Young. He would not think of any movement with equanimity. So he made an appeal to Gandhiji's sentiment—a sentiment he had more than once expressed:

"Mr. Gandhi, you have been in London yourself. Have you no comment to make on the heavy bombings which the British people have sustained?"

"Oh yes. I know every nook and corner of London where I lived for three years so many years ago, and somewhat of Oxford and Cambridge and Manchester too; but it is London I specially feel for. I used to read in the Inner Temple Library, and would often attend Dr. Parker's sermons in the Temple Church. My heart goes out to the people, and when I heard that the Temple Church was bombed I bled. And the bombing of the Westminster Abbey and other ancient edifices affected me deeply."

"Then don't you think," said Mr. Young, "it would be wiser to postpone your movement until we



have settled with the Germans and the Japanese?"

"No, because I know you will not settle with the Germans without us. If we were free, we could give you cent per cent cooperation in our own manner. It is curious that such a simple thing is not understood. Britain has today no contribution from a free India. Tomorrow as soon as India is free, she gains moral strength and a powerful ally in a free nation—powerful morally. This raises England's power to the nth degree. This is surely self-proved."

Sevagram, 11-7-'42

M. D.

## CASUAL NOTES

### Indian News in England

Excerpts from British newspapers just received give one a fair idea of the kind of news from India on which Britain is fed. Thus the Calcutta correspondent of the *Star* writing towards the end of April asserted that "Gandhi has become a lone voice crying in the wilderness of non-violence," that it meant "definitely the end of the Mahatma as an Indian political leader." That however represents his views. As for news this is what he has to say:

"I was present at Allahabad over the week-end, when Nehru was badly heckled and almost assaulted. The taunts hurled at Nehru, coupled with the obvious annoyance at the inability of the Congress leaders to give a lead to the Congress, showed me more plainly than I have seen before how easy it would be for a real Indian leader, with a policy of practical value and general compromise, to stride on to the stage and hold his position as the man of the hour. True, I would not be so bold as to state that there is such a man in the offing. The Madras Congress leader, Mr. Rajagopalachariar may turn out just the man."

The correspondent visualises "a trial of strength between Pandit Nehru and Mr. Rajagopalachariar", of which I am sure both are equally unaware.

Another Calcutta correspondent—the representative of the *Observer*, gave this wonderful evidence of his capacity to understand what Gandhiji says and writes:

"He (Gandhiji) has also made clear that whereas men must on no account fight, women are expected to defend their honour themselves, since 'God has given them nails and teeth.' Naturally, these teachings affront the manhood and commonsense of the majority of the Indian public and also Indian women, who in some parts of Bengal are organising themselves and asking for arms to defend themselves."

### At The Old Game

That however may be dismissed as arising out of ignorance or of stupidity. What is far more subtle and insidious is Sir Stanley Reed's analysis of the breakdown of the Cripps proposals. He writes in the *Spectator*:-

"Far deeper was the eleventh-hour demand that the executive authority should be forthwith transferred to a cabinet of Indian leaders, untrammelled by any control of the Viceroy or the British Cabinet. Sir Stafford's analysis of that proposal is conclusive; it would vest sole authority in a nominated, non-responsible irremovable body, dominant over the minorities, and

free to keep or break the pledges to which the British Government stands irrevocably committed.

"Were these the basic reasons for the rejection of the Declaration? I suggest not. Behind this facade lie deep-rooted forces—on the one hand, the refusal of the Congress to compromise on any solution which does not leave it in entire command of the destinies of India, without qualification or reserve; on the other, with the minorities, the tremendous but intangible influence of fear. The great body of Moslems, with the Scheduled Castes, the Hindu Mahasabha and the Sikhs, fear that their political, social and economic rights will be insecure under a government entirely dominated by Congress or, in other words, caste-Hindus. When we speak of minorities let us be clear what we mean. During the Second Round Table Conference figures were produced, and not challenged, showing that the "minorities" represent fifty-two per cent. of the Indian people. Until there is some abatement of Congress pretensions, and a genuine appeasement of minority fears, no final settlement is possible."

For one thing the demand for cabinet responsibility was not an eleventh hour demand, but the demand for the written implementation of a verbal promise that Sir Stafford had been throughout the negotiations making. That the Cabinet, if it had been created, was not to be a Congress Cabinet but a mixed one, every one knew. And that the proposals would have no meaning without a genuine cabinet is conceded even by Edward Thompson:

"The break clearly came over the matter of cabinet government. Most people will agree that the division of defence functions finally offered covered all that could be fairly asked in war-time—if the Government had been a genuine Cabinet."

The reference to the Second Round Table Conference and the "Minorities" Pact is mischievous in the extreme. The statement that the clever figures were not challenged is an astonishing statement. Sir Stanley knows very well indeed that the 'minorities' do not represent fifty-two per cent. of the Indian people, and that the Congress is not synonymous with caste-Hindus. But having backed the Muslims, they must adopt their argument, however absurd it may be.

But we simply refuse to enter into this controversy now. The Congress demand for the withdrawal of the British rule is the rebellion of an anguished people against the diabolical game of divide and rule, and the refusal to allow the Britisher any longer to arbitrate between different sections of Indians. Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru would weigh his words fifty times before he uttered them, and when he said he would not reconcile himself to "dictator Amery's" dictation, he meant more than he said. The expanded Council wherewith an attempt is being made to bamboozle America—all the British papers make no secret of the fact that the Cripps proposals were made in order to appease America—is neither national nor Indian. What India wants is not a Council nominated by Britain but by a Free India after the British have made their exit from the Indian stage.



### A Dictatorship

That today it is a dictatorship—whether it is of Lord Linlithgow or Mr. Amery makes not the slightest difference—is not denied even by the Britishers themselves. Sir Lionel Haworth, writing in a British journal, thus describes the limitless powers of the Viceroy:—

"While in fact the Viceroy works through the established system in India, he can at any time assume powers which equal, if they do not exceed, the powers which are held by the President of the United States of America.

"These powers are in hereditary descent from Clive and Warren Hastings, limited only by the necessary changes which have come from the march of time.

"Let us take a few concrete examples. Could the Viceroy introduce conscription into India? The answer is 'yes', . . .

"Could he take over factories and devote them to Government work as we have done in England? Again the answer is yes. But all factories are already working overtime in Government work. In both circumstances he has only to promulgate an ordinance signed by himself and his order would become law.

"He can take over land that is necessary for defence, under powers which are already in existence. He can build new forts and take any other defence measures that are necessary. He can build aerodromes or he can improve ports and harbours. He can move troops and evacuate civilians, as indeed has already been done at Madras. . . .

"Thus it will be seen that there is no limit to what the Viceroy can and may do, and a refusal of the Congress to take part has little effect on the actual war-work."

It is from this dictatorship that the nation wants to get free and would not hesitate to launch a struggle for it.

### An Englishman's Analysis

That it is impossible to fool all people at all times is apparent from a largely attended meeting of the Richmond Labour Party which was addressed by George Phippen. Having referred to Britain's broken promises after the last war, he traced the history of the nationalist movement and analysed the causes of Sir Stafford Cripps' failure. The *Thames Valley Times* gives a long report of his speech from which I take the following extract:

"Sir Stafford Cripps' mission had failed because the Indian leadership was not satisfied that the Government set up during the war would be truly national, representing free India; that the suggestions meant an extension of the power of the Viceroy or his council, and did not give India sufficient initiative to win the war. According to his statement his own view did not differ widely from that expressed by Amery that India could get her freedom only to the extent that she was completely united. Only Fascist countries could get near that because they were able to smash opposition. We were

united to wage war, but we knew that the moment war ended, there would be a good deal of disagreement in Great Britain. So with India. South Africa had only shown a bare majority for entering the war, but no one suggested taking away self-government from South Africa. One was driven to the conclusion that Indians had not received freedom because they had not been prepared to fight for it.

"Reasons advanced for the British control of India were the same as those advanced by Japan for the control of China—that it was a big country, full of internal dissensions, backward economically and politically, and that it was our duty to take charge.

"Indian people would eventually get their freedom, and it was very much better if they got it, as the result of a decent deal between the two countries than as the result of a violent quarrel; we saw legacies of bitterness in Ireland, where we could not use the naval bases in the west.

"In answer to questions, the speaker said that the Soviet Union had created harmony in 20 years, in spite of differences of race, language and standards of living. It seemed marvellous that the Indians had not exploited the present situation to the extent they might have; the British Government had exploited the fact that they were anti-Fascist and did not want to hinder the war.

"Asked if there would be civil war if we cleared out, the speaker said the implication was that they were a violent people; this came from Christendom, which was at war for the second time in 20 years."

Sevagram, 11-7-'42

M. D.

### Notice

Readers will please note that a branch of the Navajivan Karyalaya has been recently opened at Surat (Kanpith Bazar) and at Rajkot (Savani Buildings, Sadar). Copies of the three weeklies, *Harijan* (English), *Harijanbandhu* (Gujarati) and *Harijansevak* (Hindustani), and of our Gujarati monthly, *Shikshana ane Sahitya*, as also our publications, will be available there. The subscriptions for the weeklies and the monthly will also be received there.

Manager

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# HARIJAN

12 Pages

Editor : MAHADEV DESAI

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AHMEDABAD — SUNDAY, JULY 26, 1942

[ TWO ANNAS

## FOR MUSLIM FRIENDS

(By M. K. Gandhi)

I have read with attention Quaid-e-Azam's reply to my article in *Harijan*. "Pakistan" according to him "in a nutshell" "is a demand for carving out of India a portion to be wholly treated as an independent and Sovereign State." This Sovereign State can conceivably go to war against the one of which it was but yesterday a part. It can also equally conceivably make treaties with other States. All this can certainly be had, but surely not by the willing consent of the rest.

But it seems he does not want it by consent. For he says, "Pakistan is an article of faith with Muslim India and we depend upon nobody except ourselves for the achievement of our goal." How is one to offer one's service in these circumstances?

But later he gives me hope, for he says: "Show your sincerity and frankness for an honourable settlement." In order to show both, I wrote the article to which the Quaid-e-Azam has objected. How else is one to show sincerity and frankness except through one's action and speech or pen?

Let me state my limitations. I cannot speak as a mere Hindu, for my Hinduism includes all religions. I can speak only as an Indian. If Pakistan as defined above is an article of faith with him, indivisible India is equally an article of faith with me. Hence there is a stalemate.

But today there is neither Pakistan nor Hindustan. It is Englistan. So I say to all India, let us first convert it into the original Hindustan and then adjust all rival claims. This is surely clear. After the restoration of India to the nation, there will be no Central Government. The representatives will have to construct it. It may be one Hindustan or many Pakistans.

If the Quaid-e-Azam really wants a settlement, I am more than willing and so is the Congress. He will forgive me for suggesting that his reply leaves on one the impression that he does not want a settlement. If he wants one, why not accept the Congress President's offer that Congress and League representatives should put their heads together and never part until they have reached a settlement. Is there any flaw or want of sincerity in this offer?

Sevagram, 20-7-42

## TO MY CRITICS

(By M. K. Gandhi)

The critics who impute motives to the Working Committee or to me harm the cause they profess to serve. The members of the Working Committee are all seasoned servants of the nation with full sense of their responsibility. It is no use damning me as a dictator like Herr Hitler. He does not argue with his coworkers if he may be said to have any. He merely issues orders which can only be disobeyed on pain of death or worse. I argue with my friends for days. I argued at the last meeting for eight days. The members agreed when their reason was satisfied. My sanction with my friends as well as self-styled enemies has ever been reason and love. It is a travesty of truth therefore to compare me with Hitler or to call me a dictator in any current sense of the term. It is an equal travesty of truth to abuse the Congress by calling it a Hindu or communal organisation. It is national in the fullest sense of the term. It is a purely political organisation with which can undoubtedly be compared the Liberal Party which is without the slightest communal taint. Unfortunately today although it has politicians who have a record of distinguished service, it has admittedly little or no following in the country by reason of its members holding unpopular views. Thus the Congress remains the sole representative national organisation in India with a mass following. Its gains belong not merely to itself but to the whole nation, irrespective of caste or creed or race. It is mischievous and misleading to discredit this organisation in America and Great Britain as a communal or pro-Axis or a purely Hindu organisation. If it was a pro-Axis organisation, it has courage and influence enough to make a public declaration to that effect in disregard of the consequences that might overtake it. It is not, and has never been, a secret or a violent organisation. If it had been either, it would have been suppressed long ago.

So much about some manifest misrepresentations.

Now about suppression of relevant Congress position.

Nobody has contended that the demand for withdrawal of British Power is not an inherent



right of the nation, irrespective of the demand to the contrary by those who by centuries of habit have lost the sense of freedom. It is said that it is wrong not intrinsically, but because of the Congress declaration of non-embarrassment to ask for such withdrawal at this moment.

The critics conveniently omit to mention the fact that in order to prove its bona fides and to prevent the Japanese attack the Congress has agreed that, in spite of the withdrawal of the British, the Allied troops should remain in India, naturally under a treaty with the Free India Government to be. So long as that Government, provisional or otherwise, has not come into being, there will be no authority to check their operations save their honour. For by declaring India free they will have absolved themselves from consulting anybody formally as they have to consult today members of their nomination. In this sense the declaration of Independence leaves them freer to adopt the military measures they may consider necessary. I know that this is an anomalous position for a free country to be in. But honesty dictates the course. As I have said and repeat here the Congress demand is fool-proof. Critics who are anxious to serve the Allies would do well to examine the Congress position and point out flaws, if there are any. Let me inform them that those who have come to me to understand my demand and who had serious misgivings went away convinced that it was wholly just and that if justice was not done the Congress would be right in taking action to vindicate its position.

Sevagram, 19-7-'42

### QUESTION BOX

(By M. K. Gandhi)

#### Village Swaraj

**Q.** In view of the situation that may arise at any moment in India, would you give an outline or skeleton of a Village Swaraj Committee, which could function in all village matters in the absence of, and without relying upon an over-head Government or other organisation? In particular, how would you ensure that the Committee should be fully representative and that it would act impartially, efficiently and without favour or fear? What should be the scope of authority and the machinery to enforce its commands? And what should be the manner in which a committee or an individual member of it could be removed for corruption, inefficiency or other unfitness?

**A.** My idea of village Swaraj is that it is a complete republic, independent of its neighbours for its own vital wants, and yet interdependent for many others in which dependence is a necessity. Thus every village's first concern will be to grow its own food crops and cotton for its cloth. It should have a reserve for its cattle, recreation and playground for adults and children. Then if there is more land available, it will grow useful money crops, thus excluding ganja, tobacco, opium and the like. The village will maintain a village theatre, school and public hall. It will have its

own waterworks ensuring clean water supply. This can be done through controlled wells or tanks. Education will be compulsory up to the final basic course. As far as possible every activity will be conducted on the cooperative basis. There will be no castes such as we have today with their graded untouchability. Non-violence with its technique of Satyagraha and non-cooperation will be the sanction of the village community. There will be a compulsory service of village guards who will be selected by rotation from the register maintained by the village. The Government of the village will be conducted by the Panchayat of five persons annually elected by the adult villagers, male and female, possessing minimum prescribed qualifications. These will have all the authority and jurisdiction required. Since there will be no system of punishments in the accepted sense, this Panchayat will be the legislature, judiciary and executive combined to operate for its year of office. Any village can become such a republic today without much interference, even from the present Government whose sole effective connection with the villages is the exaction of the village revenue. I have not examined here the question of relations with the neighbouring villages and the centre if any. My purpose is to present an outline of village government. Here there is perfect democracy based upon individual freedom. The individual is the architect of his own government. The law of non-violence rules him and his government. He and his village are able to defy the might of a world. For the law governing every villager is that he will suffer death in the defence of his and his village's honour.

The reader may well ask me, as I am asking myself while penning these lines, as to why I have not been able to model Sevagram after the picture here drawn. My answer is, I am making the attempt. I can see dim traces of success though I can show nothing visible. But there is nothing inherently impossible in the picture drawn here. To model such a village may be the work of a lifetime. Any lover of true democracy and village life can take up a village, treat it as his world and sole work, and he will find good results. He begins by being the village scavenger, spinner, watchman, medicine man and school-master all at once. If nobody comes near him, he will be satisfied with scavenging and spinning.

Sevagram, 18-7-'42

#### Honourable Means of Dying

**Q.** Will you please explain more fully your dictum that "a person who would die rather than go through inhuman tortures would find honourable means of dying"? Do you endorse suicide in such cases? Or do you suggest that mere intense will to die will result in death?

**A.** I would not rule out suicide in such cases as a means of escape from torture—not for the pain of it, but for showing the tyrant that his torture would not bend the suicide. Tyrants have prevented suicide for the purpose of the pleasure tortures give them. But I do not regard suicide as necessarily



an honourable means of dying. Of course, the most honourable means would be the intense longing to die, so intense as to induce death for the mere will. But this is given to one in a billion. What I had in mind when I wrote the paragraph was a variety of struggles of the prisoners with the warders in which resistance though non-violent must end in death. Thus supposing that A compels B to crawl on his belly, resistance can be carried to the breaking point. Every form of such resistance unto death I would count as honourable. This resistance can be offered by the weakest as well as the strongest—by the weakest perhaps more effectively, certainly more expeditiously. The indispensable condition is the possession of a stout heart and an iron will. I am not writing theory. My opinion is based on personal experience and that of others who have been under my observation. A very weak woman could not be bent under the cruel will of her imperious husband. Youngsters frail in body have successfully defied the orders of hard schoolmasters or heartless parents. The crux of the question is whether there is real readiness, nay will to die. The will will most assuredly point the way.

#### Ineffective Sympathy

Q. Why should not the Congress declare that as long as India is herself in bondage, she can be neither a friend nor an enemy of any country? What is the value of her sympathies with China, Russia etc., when she has no freedom to assist them in her own way? Has Russia thought of India?

A. You are right. India's sympathy can give no effective help as her enmity can do no harm to any person or nation so long as India is herself not free. Nevertheless Pandit Jawaharlal with his international outlook and generosity has accustomed us to express our sympathy to nations in distress without expectation of like return. We lose nothing by expressing sympathy even though we realise that it can cut no ice. If Russia has no thought of India today, in the long run she is bound to recognise the utterly unselfish character of our sympathy. It should not be forgotten that sympathy without ability to render effective help has its own moral value. We receive with appreciation sympathy from those who we know are unable to render us effective help in our struggle.

Your question is itself an additional justification for our demand for the immediate withdrawal of the British power. Having learnt to show sympathy to nations in distress the knowledge of our helplessness and the knowledge that if we are free we can render much effective help makes us or should make us specially anxious and oblige us to realise our ambition even during the war.

Sevagram, 10-7-'42

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## HARIJANS AND SAVARNAS

I have received several letters regarding my note in the *Harijan* with respect to the Vile Parle Crematorium, correcting one or two of my statements and asking me to state Gandhiji's views on two or three concrete questions. I do so without delay.

The crematorium is being used for several years by Harijans, and the exclusion of Harijans from the use thereof by locking it by a certain individual was wrong.

My note would leave no one in doubt about the indefeasible right of the Harijans to use the crematorium, and the Harijan and Congress workers who are helping them to use it are simply fulfilling a sacred duty. No Satyagraha is involved in this, for the simple reason that there is no order or law that is being disobeyed. That there is a case pending in this connection is beside the point. Therefore no office-bearer of the Harijan Sevak Sangh or of the Congress Committees concerned may shirk his duty in this behalf on the ground that there is no resolution of the Congress or the Harijan Sevak Sangh in this behalf. A resolution for starting Satyagraha would be necessary when the Magistrate gives a decision in favour of the complainant.

I have therefore no hesitation in saying that Gandhiji would regard indifference or neglect in this behalf by Hindu office-bearers of the Congress Committees and by the office-bearers of the Harijan Sevak Sangh concerned as a dereliction of duty. I know that individual workers are helping the Harijans and thus fulfilling an obvious duty that Savarnas owe to the Harijans. But those responsible must not stay aside.

\* \* \*

There is no limit to the mercilessness to which irreligion masking as religion will go. The Civil Surgeon here was telling me of a pathetic case he noticed when he was on tour last week. There is cholera in this district, and he found during his inspection that in a Harijan's house five members had already died of cholera. They were all drinking contaminated water from the river, because the Savarnas would not let them use the village well which had been disinfected. The Civil Surgeon, who is a Hindu, with another responsible official, took the heartless Savarnas to task, and invited the Harijans to go and draw water from the well in their presence. This they did and it is hoped that the Harijans will now be allowed to use the well without let or hindrance. But one is painfully astonished that people who can be so heartless have the hardihood to call themselves Hindus.

Sevagram, 18-7-'42

M. D.

By R. B. Gregg

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# HARIJAN

July 26

1942

## TO EVERY JAPANESE

I must confess at the outset that though I have no ill will against you, I intensely dislike your attack upon China. From your lofty height you have descended to imperial ambition. You will fail to realise that ambition and may become the authors of the dismemberment of Asia, thus unwittingly preventing World Federation and brotherhood without which there can be no hope for humanity.

Ever since I was a lad of eighteen studying in London over fifty years ago, I learnt, through the writings of the late Sir Edwin Arnold, to prize the many excellent qualities of your nation. I was thrilled when in South Africa I learnt of your brilliant victory over Russian arms. After my return to India from South Africa in 1915, I came in close touch with Japanese monks who lived as members of our Ashram from time to time. One of them became a valuable member of the Ashram in Sevagram, and his application to duty, his dignified bearing, his unfailing devotion to daily worship, affability, unruffledness under varying circumstances, and his natural smile which, was positive evidence of his inner peace had endeared him to all of us. And now that owing to your declaration of war against Great Britain he has been taken away from us, we miss him as a dear co-worker. He has left behind him as a memory his daily prayer and his little drum, to the accompaniment of which we open our morning and evening prayers.

In the background of these pleasant recollections I grieve deeply as I contemplate what appears to me to be your unprovoked attack against China and, if reports are to be believed, your merciless devastation of that great and ancient land.

It was a worthy ambition of yours to take equal rank with the great Powers of the world. Your aggression against China and your alliance with the Axis Powers was surely an unwarranted excess of that ambition.

I should have thought that you would be proud of the fact that that great and ancient people, whose old classical literature you have adopted as your own, are your neighbours. Your understanding of one another's history, tradition, literature should bind you as friends rather than make you the enemies you are today.

If I was a free man, and if you allowed me to come to your country, frail though I am, I would not mind risking my health, may be my life, to come to your country to plead with you to desist from the wrong you are doing to China and the world and therefore to yourself.

But I enjoy no such freedom. And we are in the unique position of having to resist an imperialism that we detest no less than yours and Nazism. Our resistance to it does not mean harm to the British people. We seek to convert them. Ours is an unarmed revolt against British rule. An important party in the country is engaged in a deadly but friendly quarrel with the foreign rulers.

But in this they need no aid from foreign Powers. You have been gravely misinformed, as I know you are, that we have chosen this particular moment to embarrass the Allies when your attack against India is imminent. If we wanted to turn Britain's difficulty into our opportunity we should have done it as soon as the War broke out nearly three years ago.

Our movement demanding the withdrawal of the British Power from India should in no way be misunderstood. In fact if we are to believe your reported anxiety for the Independence of India, a recognition of that Independence by Britain, should leave you no excuse for any attack on India. Moreover the reported profession sorts ill with your ruthless aggression against China.

I would ask you to make no mistake about the fact that you will be sadly disillusioned if you believe that you will receive a willing welcome from India. The end and aim of the movement for British withdrawal is to prepare India, by making her free for resisting all militarist and imperialist ambition, whether it is called British Imperialism, German Nazism, or your pattern. If we do not, we shall have been ignoble spectators of the militarisation of the world in spite of our belief that in non-violence we have the only solvent of the militarist spirit and ambition. Personally I fear that without declaring the Independence of India the Allied Powers will not be able to beat the Axis combination which has raised violence to the dignity of a religion. The Allies cannot beat you and your partners unless they beat you in your ruthless and skilled warfare. If they copy it their declaration that they will save the world for democracy and individual freedom must come to naught. I feel that they can only gain strength to avoid copying your ruthlessness by declaring and recognising *now* the freedom of India, and turning sullen India's forced cooperation into freed India's voluntary cooperation.

To Britain and the Allies we have appealed in the name of justice, in proof of their professions, and in their own self-interest. To you I appeal in the name of humanity. It is a marvel to me that you do not see that ruthless warfare is nobody's monopoly. If not the Allies some other Power will certainly improve upon your method and beat you with your own weapon. Even if you win you will leave no legacy to your people of which they would feel proud. They cannot take pride in a recital of cruel deeds however skillfully achieved.

Even if you win it will not prove that you were in the right, it will only prove that your power of



destruction was greater. This applies obviously to the Allies too, unless they perform *now* the just and righteous act of freeing India as an earnest and promise of similarly freeing all other subject peoples in Asia and Africa.

Our appeal to Britain is coupled with the offer of Free India's willingness to let the Allies retain their troops in India. The offer is made in order to prove that we do not in any way mean to harm the Allied cause, and in order to prevent you from being misled into feeling that you have but to step into the country that Britain has vacated. Needless to repeat that if you cherish any such idea and will carry it out, we will not fail in resisting you with all the might that our country can muster. I address this appeal to you in the hope that our movement may even influence you and your partners in the right direction and deflect you and them from the course which is bound to end in your moral ruin and the reduction of human beings to robots.

The hope of your response to my appeal is much fainter than that of response from Britain. I know that the British are not devoid of a sense of justice and they know me. I do not know you enough to be able to judge. All I have read tells me that you listen to no appeal but to the sword. How I wish that you are cruelly misrepresented and that I shall touch the right chord in your heart! Any way I have an undying faith in the responsiveness of human nature. On the strength of that faith I have conceived the impending movement in India, and it is that faith which has prompted this appeal to you. Sevagram, 18-7-'42

I am

Your friend and well-wisher  
M. K. Gandhi

### WITH THREE PRESS CORRESPONDENTS

Three press correspondents stayed after the Working Committee in order to have a leisurely interview with Gandhiji for a full clarification of certain questions. They had already been present at the general press interview the day before, but they thought their countries would be specially interested in certain questions, and they tried to represent the mind of the average man in their respective countries. Mr. Steele represented the *Chicago Daily News*, Mr. Stuart Emeny the *News Chronicle*, and Mr. Richard Jen the *Central News Agency of China*.

#### The Programme

Mr. Emeny was full of doubts and fears—at any rate he represented the doubts and fear of the average Englishman. "Could you give me an idea of the plans of your movement? Would it include breach of the Salt Laws, calling out Government servants and labour?"

Gandhiji made a full reply to the question: "As I said yesterday the programme covers every activity of a strictly non-violent character included in a mass movement. Therefore undoubtedly the things you have mentioned are included. But it is not my intention to undertake at once any over-whelming programme. I want to watch and see, because whatever may be said to the contrary, even in

conducting the movement I want to guard against a sudden outburst of anarchy or a state of things which may be calculated to invite Japanese aggression. I believe that India's demand is fundamental, it is indispensable for national existence as I conceive it to be. Therefore I shall take every precaution I can to handle the movement gently, but I would not hesitate to go to the extremest limit, if I find that no impression is produced on the British Government or the Allied Powers. I hold it to be legitimate to make the Allied Powers responsible for all that may happen in India, because it is open to them in the interests of the common cause to prevent the happening of anything that might disturb the even course of the war. I think I have sufficiently answered your very pertinent question. I am unable to give you a more detailed answer, not because I want to suppress or shirk it, but I am not ready with a planned programme as yet."

"It will be your biggest movement?"

"Yes, my biggest movement."

#### Time Limit?

"But if there is no response," asked Mr. Emeny, "what time limit would you set before launching your campaign?"

"Assuming that the A. I. C. C. confirms the resolution, there will be some time—but not very long—taken. As far as I can see just now it may be a week or two."

"But you will give time?"

"Of course—as I have always done before launching on every struggle."

"If the Viceroy asks you to go to Delhi, will you accept his invitation?"

"Oh, yes. And then you forget that the Viceroy and I have become personal friends, if a public man and a Viceroy may be so called."

Knowing what the Government has always done Mr. Emeny put a plain blunt question: "Will your campaign collapse if Government sent you and thousands of your followers to jail?"

"I hope not," said Gandhiji laughing heartily, "on the contrary it should gain strength if it has any vitality."

#### Why not a Truce?

And now Mr. Emeny pleaded, "With the enemy at the gates, what is your objection to calling a truce?"

"This struggle has been conceived", said Gandhiji, "in order to avert a catastrophe. At the critical moment an un-free India is likely to become a hindrance rather than a help. The Congress resolution itself hints at the possibility of a large number of Indians going over to the Japanese side—if they effected a landing on the Indian shores—as we now know happened in Burma, Malay and for aught I know Singapore too. I am of the opinion that this might have been prevented at least so far as Burma is concerned, if she had been made independent. But it was not done. We know the result. We are determined so far as it is humanly possible to secure our Independence, so that no Indian worth the name would then think of going over to the Japanese side. It would then become as much



India's interest, as the Allies' interest, to resist Japanese aggression with all her might."

#### Moral Duty

"But with time so short don't you think you have a moral duty to stand beside the Russians and the Chinese?" was Mr. Emeny's next question. If Gandhiji was keen on winning a dialectical advantage over his questioner, he might simply have said, "whose moral duty is greater — that of the Allies to make India Free or that of an un-free India to help the Allies?" But, no. He calmly replied: "Don't you see if it was a purely personal question, what you say would have been perfectly possible. But even with the combined influence of every member of the Working Committee, it would have been impossible to enthuse the masses in favour of the Allied cause, which they do not understand, cannot understand."

"But," said Mr. Emeny. "I have the feeling myself that you could, if you would, with your tremendous authority with the masses, do anything. They are sure to listen to you."

"You credit me with an influence which I wish I had, but I assure you, I do not possess. And in proof of this I shall give you two solid facts. If I had that influence you will agree that we would already have won our Independence without causing any trouble to anybody. But, as you know, I have no influence, nor has the Working Committee with the Muslim League and the Princes. That is one solid fact. Then, there is another thing. During the last war as you perhaps know, I had thrown myself heart and soul into it. I had become a voluntary recruiting agent for the British. And I began my agency in the district in which I had just been leading a campaign for agricultural relief with fair success. I should have made great headway there. But I tell you I did not do so. I used to walk miles in the hot burning sun in order to collect recruits and to make an impression on the people about the urgency of it. But I could not. You will see, therefore, that my influence great as it may appear to outsiders, is strictly limited. I may have considerable influence to conduct a campaign for redress of popular grievances because people are ready and need a helper. But I have no influence to direct people's energy in a channel in which they have no interest."

"Then, what part of the people, you think, will believe in your movement?" put in Mr. Steele.

"I wish I could tell you definitely. It is all problematical. I simply trade on the absolute purity of the cause and the equal purity of the means which are non-violent."

#### American Opinion May Be Antagonised

"Are you not apprehensive," added Mr. Steele, "that the Working Committee's resolution will antagonise American opinion?"

"Of course it may. But I have never embarked upon any campaign in the belief that I would have world sympathy at my back. On the contrary, the odds, almost in every case, have been against me. And in the very first Satyagraha struggle which started in South Africa, every outward element was

hostile to me. I had stated then, — though I had no experience of the working of Satyagraha that I have now — that a handful though we were in the midst of millions who had no sympathy for us, we had to rely upon our own inner strength and the absolute justice of our cause. And that sustained us through the long-drawn-out agony lasting eight years. I do not know why I should lose the sympathy of the American people, or the British people, for that matter. And why should they fight shy of a just demand for absolute freedom?"

"Speaking as an American," said Mr. Steele, "I can say that the reaction of many Americans would be that a movement for freedom may be unwise at this moment for it would lead to complications in India which may be prejudicial to the efficient prosecution of the war."

"This belief is born of ignorance," replied Gandhiji. "What possible internal complication can take place if the British Government declare to-day that India is absolutely independent? It would be in my opinion the least risk the Allies could take on behalf of the war effort. I am open to conviction. If anybody could convince me that in the midst of war, the British Government cannot declare India free without jeopardizing the war effort, I should like to hear the argument. I have not as yet heard any cogent one."

#### Open to Conviction

"If you were convinced, would you call off the campaign?"

"Of course. My complaint is that all these good critics talk at me, swear at me, but never condescend to talk to me."

#### China

The Chinese friend now took his turn. He said, "You have implicit faith in non-violence. But we have seen that armed resistance alone can succeed against the Japanese?"

"China never tried any experiment in non-violence. That the Chinese remained passive for some time is no proof that it was a non-violent attitude. For the first time in history non-violence instead of being confined to individuals, religious enthusiasts and mystics, has been brought down to the political field and been experimented on by vast masses of mankind. Just imagine, that instead of a few Indians, or even a million or so, all 400,000,000 Indians were non-violent, would Japan make any headway in India, unless they were intent upon exterminating all the four hundred million?"

"If India were made of four hundred million Gandhis —" interrupted Mr. Steele.

"Here," said Gandhiji, "we come to brass tacks. That means India is not sufficiently non-violent. If we had been, there would have been no parties, and there would be no Japanese attack. I know non-violence is limited in both numbers and quality, but deficient as it is in both these respects, it has made a great impression and infused life into the people which was absent before. The awakening that showed itself on April 6, 1919, was a matter of surprise to every Indian. I cannot today account for the response we then had from every nook and corner of the country where no public worker had



ever been. We had not then gone among the masses, we did not know we could go and speak to them."

"What can Free India do for China?" was Mr. Jen's question.

"If India were to listen to me, she would give non-violent help to China. But I know that will not be. Free India would want to be militarist. She will then get all the materials and men she needs—although it appears that China with her vast populations will not need men. Today unfree India cannot send a single person to China. I go further—Free India can even plead with Japan and Japan will have to listen."

#### Provisional Government

"Can you give me an idea who would take the lead in forming a Provisional Government—you, Congress, or the Muslim League?"

"The Muslim League certainly can; the Congress can. If everything went right, it would be a combined leadership. No one party would take the lead."

"Would it be within the present constitutional structure?"

"The constitution will be dead" said Gandhiji. "The Government of India Act of 1935 is dead. The I. C. S. would have to go and it might be anarchy but there *need* be no anarchy, if the British withdraw with goodwill. *Free India Government* would set up a constitution suited to Indian genius, evolved without dictation from outside. But whether India would be cut up into autonomous provinces or not, I do not know. The permanent structure may take time—all the time the war may require. But the Provisional Government may continue to function. It may be somewhat after the pattern of the present government, but with great modifications. The two communities will certainly work in hearty combination. It would be a combination not superimposed, but brought about by internal effort. The dictating factor will not be an outside one, but wisdom. And I believe there will be abundant wisdom among us."

"Would the Viceroy cease to exist as such?"

"We shall be friends *even* then, but on a par, and I have no doubt that Lord Linlithgow will welcome the day when he will be one of the people."

#### Why Not Today?

"Why can't all this be done today, without the British withdrawal," said Mr. Emèny returning to the charge.

"The answer is simple. Why can't a prisoner do a thing which a free man can do? You may not have been behind prison bars, but I have been and I know. Imprisonment means civil death, and I suggest to you that the whole of India is civilly dead. The very breath is controlled by British power. Then there is another experience that you lack. You have not been a member of a nation that has been under subjection for several centuries. Our *habit* has been that we can never be free. You know the case of Shri Subhas Bose, a man of great self-sacrifice who might have had a distinguished career in the Indian Civil Service, but who is now an exile because he cannot possibly tolerate this helpless condition and feels that he must seek the help of Germany and Japan."

"You have said there is no more room for negotiation. Does it mean that you would ignore any conciliatory gesture if it was made?" was the final question put on behalf of all the three.

#### Negotiations?

"So far as we are concerned, we have closed our hearts. As we have said in our resolution all hopes have been dashed to pieces. The burden is shifted. But it is open to America, to Britain, to China and even to Russia to plead for India which is pining for freedom. And if an acceptable proposal is made, it would certainly be open to the Congress or any other party to entertain and accept it. It would be churlish on our part if we said 'we don't want to talk to anybody and we will by our own strong hearts expel the British.' Then the Congress Committee won't be meeting; there would be no resolutions; and I should not be seeing press representatives."

Sevagram, 16-7-'42

M. D.

#### THE MILLSTONE

Some time ago Sir Stafford Cripps wrote that it was not possible for him to read the history of the British Empire without a sense of shame. But Mr. Amery has declared that the British have "every right to be proud of what we have done in India. We have every right to be even more proud of what we are attempting to do in India." (Foreword to the volume of his speeches.)

Mr. Edgar Snow in his latest book *The Battle for Asia* has casually examined this claim, in trying to show what a losing political battle the so-called democracies are fighting. India he calls "an enormous millstone round the neck of oriental emancipation and the progress of the whole world," and says:

"Americans may not realise that British India is a generation older than the United States. After 180 years of British rule, 93 per cent of the Indian population is still illiterate. In 40 years of American rule in the Philippines illiteracy was cut down from 98 per cent to 45 per cent, while in 20 years the Soviet Union reduced illiteracy from 78 per cent to 8 per cent. In the Soviet Union in a single year (1937) there were 45,900 graduates of industrial and agricultural schools. In India, with twice Russia's population, 960 engineers were graduated. India has generous reserves of coal, but produces only about one-sixth as much as Russia and even less than China. Although India has the third largest iron reserves in the world (surpassed only by the United States and France) her production of steel increased in ten years only to 879,000 tons where it stood in 1935. In the same period in the Soviet Union steel production rose from a million and a half tons to 16 million tons. Little Japan, one-seventh the size of India and with extremely meagre iron resources, produced seven times as much steel. India's water-power resources are second only to those of the United States, yet she has developed only 3 per cent of them as against the latter's roughly 40 per cent. Russia increased her electric power output in 20 years from 1900 million kilowatt hours to 36,500 million in 1937, when India's output stood at 2500 million hours."



"...India suffers from the double incubus of British imperialism buttressed by a string of 563 feudal princes fastened upon masses of men who live in a social darkness unimaginable to a western mind. The princes' territories covering a third of the nation's 1,800,000 square miles, constitute the social waste lands of the East, the regions of "permanent decay". Purely parasitic the princes contribute nothing to Indian society but oppression for the people and glamour for the tourist, while they exact astounding tributes for their personal amusement and luxury. The King of England receives from Parliament a bounty of about one in 1600 from the taxation of his subjects. Some of the Indian princes collect as high as one in two; the least backward (the Maharani of Travancore) gets one in 17. The Prince of Bikaner retained from his annual budget 2,24,000 rupees or more than he spent on education for all his subjects. The royal family, the royal weddings, the royal palaces and the royal retainers absorbed two-thirds of Bikaner's entire budget. Contrasts between the vast wealth and plunder of the richest princes and the British officials and merchants with the poverty and degradation of the Indian people is the measure of the inadequacy of 180 years of rule by the British Raj."

This is a bare statement of non-controversial facts, not made with a view to a study of India, but in order to demonstrate "Britain's political weakness in India", "otherwise there should be no necessity for American aid to hold her position in Asia. India is a nation of nearly 400 millions, with a war potential far richer than Japan and China combined. If the British are unable to defend India and its frontiers at Singapore and Burma without American help it is a significant commentary."

The book was written before America's entry into war, and so then the author wrote, "It is not America's business to decide the destiny of India or any other British colonies." But he added, "It may become inescapably our business if we identify our own fate with that of the British colonial empire." But he was not oblivious of the fact that "democracy in England in particular needs to reinforce itself with something no less than a new charter of human liberty, a new declaration of the rights of man. . . . Britain and the Dominions need to proclaim a programme of emancipation of the colonies as the basis of a world commonwealth of democracies. . . . It will be suggested that the emancipation of India would mean the end of British 'unity'. It may be the only way in fact to create it. The strongest allies democratic England has today are Canada, Australia and New Zealand, and without the help of a certain former colony south of Canada she might not survive at all. A free India could become as valuable an asset to England as a free America. As a matter of fact India is so crucial in the whole imperialist structure that once it were liberated the rest of Britain's colonial problem would be simple to solve."

Mr. Snow proceeds further to point out that it is easy for Britain to throw away this millstone round her neck:

"India's population constitutes four-fifths of the overseas population of the Empire, and nearly nine-tenths of Britain's subject colonial population. Two-thirds of the British capital investment in the colonies, or 438 million pounds, is in India; but on the other hand this is only 12 per cent of the total British capital invested abroad. The colonial empire means little to the British people as a whole. What does it mean to the British investors? The whole thing brings them an income of about 38 million pounds a year, which is less than one-fifth of the total overseas investment income, and less than one-hundredth of Britain's total national income. India's importance in Britain's trade is also often exaggerated. Nine-tenths of Britain's production is sold at home and more than half of the tenth which goes abroad is sold outside the Empire. India takes only about two per cent. Jobs? All the imperial colonies combined employ at most less than half of one per cent of the British population and nearly all belong to the upper-bracket income group which constitute but five per cent of Britain's people. Thus if Britain lost India altogether it would mean the sacrifice of only about four pounds per capita in her national investment income and a two per cent reduction in her total market. The loss in income would in fact be felt by a small group of Britain's monopoly capitalists. Such an item is infinitesimal compared to the terrific levy now being exacted by war and what is yet to be paid in the future."

As against that slight material loss, put the tremendous moral and political gain. Mr. Snow does not use the terms "justice" and "equity". He simply says: "A dynamic strategy is the first political necessity." The Axis powers are making capital of the present anomaly. Britain is fighting, they say, in order to keep her ill-gotten gains, and America is bolstering her up. But when the democracies, says Mr. Snow, "have divested themselves of hypocrisy, they would have seized the initiative in vitalizing men's minds with a new promise and hope, in its period unassailable from any new quarter. The democracies would win not only the war but the peace." "Britain offers her allies behind enemy lines little to fight for, and in this transitional world, it is not enough to have something to fight against."

All this, as I said, was written before America threw herself on the side of Britain. It is all the more imperative now for America to help herself and Britain to throw off the hypocrisy. "The world is today divided between 'ruler' peoples fighting each other for control of subject peoples", sums up Mr. Snow, "and there is no peace until subject peoples become free." Slave India is a millstone dragging Britain down, and may make victory impossible. Free India means the emancipation of all, including Britain. There cannot be a better case for the immediate emancipation of India.

Sevagram, 13-7-'42

M. D.



## CASUAL NOTES

## American Propaganda

The New York *Sun* informed America that the latest expansion of the Viceroy's Council had a hearty reception in India, and a sobering effect on the extremists, Gandhiji having even agreed to the stationing of the Allied troops! Well, Gandhiji had expressed his view about the stationing of the Allied troops at least two weeks before the announcement of the expansion.

Now comes the American *Life*, said to have a circulation of three million, giving numerous photographs of the Generalissimo's meeting with Gandhiji, with mischievous comments under them. "Chiang Kai Shek", it says "is the fighting leader of Free China. Mohandas Gandhi is the talking leader of subject India." How wretchedly unimportant from the point of view of war purposes India is, *Life* proceeds to point out in this picturesque way: "Actually India ceased being productive of important order and the efficient prosecution of War."

"With a view to prevent the said Dwarkanath Kachru from so acting, the Government of Jodhpur, in exercise of its powers conferred by Rule 26 (1) (a) of the Defence of India Rules as applied to the Jodhpur State territory is pleased to order that the said Dwarkanath Kachru shall remove himself from Marwar in railway train 1 up of 6-7-42 (manner) which leaves Jodhpur at 7-15 a. m. (via Marwar Junction) and further that the said Dwarkanath Kachru shall not return to Marwar for a period of one year from the date of this order."

"The Inspector General of Police, Jodhpur, is hereby directed to see that the above order is promptly carried out."

The important question arising is how long will the States regard people from outside their jurisdiction as foreigners and deal with them summarily as the Jodhpur authorities have done? And how long must they allow themselves to be treated as such? The Congress has exercised the greatest self-restraint in this matter. Its men deserve a better treatment. If the authorities have justification for their order, they should publicly state it. It is not a matter that can be forgotten. Pundit Kachru ought to be able to return unless satisfactory explanation is offered for his externment.

Sevagram, 12-7-'42

Since the foregoing was written, much is reported to have happened in Jodhpur. Fortunately the fast has satisfactorily ended. But repression is said to be going on merrily. I refrain from giving the details. I understand that the State has made a generous use of my last note for it contains certain statements crediting them with what appeared to be praiseworthy. Now I have angry letters repudiating principally the admission made by Shri Sriprakash that Balmukund Bisa's death was not due to any ill-treatment by the State. My correspondents say that Shri Sriprakash having not had much time was misled. I have asked the correspondents for proofs and if I get them I hope to submit them to the authorities, instead of publishing

a man willing to do business with anybody", and a parting kick at Gandhiji, where Birla's money is described as coming from the manufactured cotton goods that Gandhi crusades against."

But that is American 'Life'!

## Unworthy of Their Salt

How some ex-satraps, who are still enjoying fat pensions from India's treasury for "services" rendered to India, are continuing to do those "services" may be judged from pronouncements by two of these. In a lecture on conditions in Orissa delivered before the East India Association in London, Sir John Hubback, is reported (*Times of India*, July 13) to have said that "the unrest which had resulted in the outrage"—Major Bazalgette's murder—"had without question been organised by the Congress party's 'High Command,' as part of their campaign to compel the Rulers of all States to agree to the election of State representatives to the Federal Legislature with a view to securing we an ~~in~~ <sup>ination</sup> at the centre." Apart from referred to above, but the disposal the huge sterling balances which are steadily mounting up, and also the effect on India of the Lease-Lend Agreement with the United States.

Now without entering into the details of the intricacies of these problems, it should be obvious to the meanest understanding that these questions cannot be discussed in the interests of India by one who in no way represents India. We know the scandalous way in which India has been made to take over the millions of pounds of debts incurred by the East India Company for the conquest of India, and we can well imagine how a Britisher who must always think in terms of British interests will help in making the various deals in the interest of Britain and Britain alone. The object of the Military Financial settlement was to "limit India's financial liability in connection with the war to such measures as are within her financial capacity and have clearly been or will be taken for the local defence of India." But the term "local defence of India" can be made to cover a multitude of sins, according to the sweet will of the Finance Member who owes no responsibility to India. He is equally incompetent to determine the way in which the utilisation of the sterling resources will be made for the economic and financial benefit of India.

The Federation of the Indian Chambers of Commerce and Industry have lodged its emphatic protest against the manner in which these problems are being dealt with. But theirs is bound to be a cry in the wilderness, while the British Government can bomboozle an ignorant world into believing that the Government of India executive is predominantly Indian, and while these "Indian" members will not be able to move their little finger in protest against a procedure which is wholly detrimental to the interests of the country they are professing to serve. But the procedure adds strength to the Congress demand.

Sevagram, 20-7-'42

M. D.



in my book entitled 'The Turn of the Tide', describing the worsening of the Hindu-Muslim situation, followed by Gandhiji's 21 days' fast, the Unity Conference in Delhi and so on. Then these two paragraphs follow:

"But neither the fast nor the resolutions of the Unity Conference solved the problem of Hindu-Muslim Unity. The Conference was attended by most of the prominent leaders, but they had not come as representatives of their communities, and none had the strength to get the warring groups to listen to them or act upon the resolutions. Almost immediately after the Fast riots broke out in Jubbulpore and Allahabad. In 1925 the sad tale was repeated at various places in the country, so much so that in May of that year Gandhiji had to declare at a public meeting in sheer exasperation and almost in desperation:

"I have admitted my incompetence. I have admitted that I have been found wanting as a physician prescribing a cure for this malady. I do not find that either Hindus or Muslims are ready to accept my cure two-thirds of Britain's entire budget. Contrasts between the vast wealth and plunder of the richest princes and the British officials and merchants with the poverty and degradation of the Indian people is the measure of the inadequacy of 180 years of rule by the British Raj."

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The book was written before America's entry into war, and so then the author wrote, "It is not America's business to decide the destiny of India or any other British colonies." But he added, "It may become inescapably our business if we identify our own fate with that of the British colonial empire." But he was not oblivious of the fact that "democracy in England in particular needs to reinforce itself with something no less than a new charter of human liberty, a new declaration of the rights of man. . . . Britain and the Dominions need to proclaim a programme of emancipation of the colonies as the basis of a world commonwealth of democracies. . . . It will be suggested that the emancipation of India would mean the end of British 'unity'. It may be the only way in fact to create it. The strongest allies democratic England has today are Canada, Australia and New Zealand, and without the help of a certain former colony south of Canada she might not survive at all. A free India could become as valuable an asset to England as a free America. As a matter of fact India is so crucial in the whole imperialist structure that once it were liberated the rest of Britain's colonial problem would be simple to solve."

Press said about Sir Stafford Cripps' visit to India. It hoped—alas vainly—"that Cripps, a personal friend of the Indian people's leaders, will offer them nothing less than complete equality with Britain," but wisely added,

"Whatever her status, it is obvious that India does not want to be invaded, nor is it likely that even pacifist Gandhi's followers would want to talk "peace" with Japan.

"As a nation with its own rulers, India could fight on the same terms as any other of our allies.

"Like any other country, she could form a war-time alliance for strategic reasons without the slightest reference to the internal politics of either ally.

"Well, to conquer nearly 400,000,000 people is not easy. And if only a proportion carried out Gandhi's non-cooperation ideas, it would be virtually impossible."

What India wants today is to be "a nation with its own rulers", and yet as the paper rightly says "whatever her status India does not want to be invaded."

outside "Negligible takes" per cent. Jobs? All the imperial colonies combined employ at most less than half of one per cent of the British population and nearly all belong to the upper-bracket income group which constitute but five per cent of Britain's people. Thus if Britain lost India altogether it would mean the sacrifice of only about four pounds per capita in her national investment income and a two per cent reduction in her total market. The loss in income would in fact be felt by a small group of Britain's monopoly capitalists. Such an item is infinitesimal compared to the terrific levy now being exacted by war and what is yet to be paid in the future."

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Sevagram, 13-7-'42

M. D.



## PUNDIT KACHRU EXTERNEED

(By M. K. Gandhi)

Pundit Kachru is a well known public worker attached to the States People Conference. When Shri Jainarayan Vyas went on hunger strike at Jodhpur, he was deputed by the President Pundit Jawaharlal Nehru to proceed to Jodhpur and watch events and report to me. For reasons known to the authorities and unknown to Pundit Kachru he was served with an externment order on the 5th inst., at 11.40 p. m., to depart from Jodhpur the next morning by 7-15 a. m., train. He telephoned to me for instructions and Mahadev Desai who answered the phone advised him in the first instance to obey the order and report. He is now in Wardha trying to finish his report to the point he was able to reach in Jodhpur.

Here is the order:

"From information received the Government of Jodhpur is satisfied that Dwarkanath Kachru (name) is acting in a manner prejudicial to the maintenance of public order and the efficient prosecution of War.

"With a view to prevent the said Dwarkanath Kachru from so acting, the Government of Jodhpur, in exercise of its powers conferred by Rule 26 (1) (a) of the Defence of India Rules as applied to the Jodhpur State territory is pleased to order that the said Dwarkanath Kachru shall remove himself from Marwar in railway train 1 up of 6-7-42 (manner) which leaves Jodhpur at 7-15 a. m. (via Marwar Junction) and further that the said Dwarkanath Kachru shall not return to Marwar for a period of one year from the date of this order.

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The important question arising is how long will the States regard people from outside their jurisdiction as foreigners and deal with them summarily as the Jodhpur authorities have done? And how long must they allow themselves to be treated as such? The Congress has exercised the greatest self-restraint in this matter. Its men deserve a better treatment. If the authorities have justification for their order, they should publicly state it. It is not a matter that can be forgotten. Pundit Kachru ought to be able to return unless satisfactory explanation is offered for his externment.

Sevagram, 12-7-42

Since the foregoing was written, much is reported to have happened in Jodhpur. Fortunately the fast has satisfactorily ended. But repression is said to be going on merrily. I refrain from giving the details. I understand that the State has made a generous use of my last note for it contains certain statements crediting them with what appeared to be praiseworthy. Now I have angry letters repudiating principally the admission made by Shri Sriprakash that Balmukund Bisa's death was not due to any ill-treatment by the State. My correspondents say that Shri Sriprakash having not had much time was misled. I have asked the correspondents for proofs and if I get them I hope to submit them to the authorities, instead of publishing

them straightway. I can only hope that the favourable impression created on Shri Sriprakash will not be belied by any action of the authorities. I hope next week to deal with the simple demands of the Lok Parishad.

Sevagram, 20-7-42

## REPUDIATION

One wonders if the good men who ask us to wait for Independence which, as the *Manchester Guardian* says, "will in any case be India's within a few years," realise that that Independence will not be worth having whilst fresh commitments are being made and fresh burdens are being imposed every day on India. Sir Jeremy Raisman is now on his way to England to discuss with the War Office on the allocation, of the war expenditure incurred in India, or on behalf of India, as between India and England. All kinds of conjectures are being made as regards the questions which will form the subject-matter of the discussion. These we are told may include not only the allocation referred to above, but the disposal of the huge sterling balances which are steadily mounting up, and also the effect on India of the Lease-Lend Agreement with the United States.

Now without entering into the details of the intricacies of these problems, it should be obvious to the meanest understanding that these questions cannot be discussed in the interests of India by one who in no way represents India. We know the scandalous way in which India has been made to take over the millions of pounds of debts incurred by the East India Company for the conquest of India, and we can well imagine how a Britisher who must always think in terms of British interests will help in making the various deals in the interest of Britain and Britain alone. The object of the Military Financial settlement was to "limit India's financial liability in connection with the war to such measures as are within her financial capacity and have clearly been or will be taken for the local defence of India." But the term "local defence of India" can be made to cover a multitude of sins, according to the sweet will of the Finance Member who owes no responsibility to India. He is equally incompetent to determine the way in which the utilisation of the sterling resources will be made for the economic and financial benefit of India.

The Federation of the Indian Chambers of Commerce and Industry have lodged its emphatic protest against the manner in which these problems are being dealt with. But theirs is bound to be a cry in the wilderness, while the British Government can bomboozle an ignorant world into believing that the Government of India executive is predominantly Indian, and while these "Indian" members will not be able to move their little finger in protest against a procedure which is wholly detrimental to the interests of the country they are professing to serve. But the procedure adds strength to the Congress demand.

Sevagram, 20-7-42

M. D.



## FASTING IN NON-VIOLENT ACTION

(By M. K. Gandhi)

If the struggle which we are seeking to avoid with all our might has to come, and if it is to remain non-violent as it must in order to succeed, fasting is likely to play an important part in it. It has its place in the tussle with authority and with our own people in the event of wanton acts of violence and obstinate riots for instance.

There is a natural prejudice against it as part of a political struggle. It has a recognised place in religious practice. But it is considered a vulgar interpolation in politics by the ordinary politician though it has always been resorted to by prisoners in a haphazard way with more or less success. By fasting however, they have always succeeded in drawing public attention and disturbing the peace of jail authorities.

My own fasts have always, as I hold, been strictly according to the law of Satyagraha. Fellow Satyagrahis too in South Africa fasted partially or wholly. My fasts have been varied. There was the Hindu-Muslim Unity fast of 21 days in 1924 started under the late Maulana Mahomed Ali's roof in Delhi. The indeterminate fast against the MacDonald Award was taken in the Yerawada Prison in 1932. The 21 days' purificatory fast was begun in the Yerawada Prison and was finished at Lady Thackersey's, as the Government would not take the burden of my being in the Prison in that condition. Then followed another fast in the Yerawada Prison in 1933 against the Government refusal to let me carry on anti-untouchability work through *Harijan* (issued from prison) on the same basis as facilities had been allowed me four months before. They would not yield, but they discharged me when their medical advisers thought I could not live many days if the fast was not given up. Then followed the illfated Rajkot fast in 1939. A false step taken by me thoughtlessly during that fast thwarted the brilliant result that would otherwise certainly have been achieved. In spite of all these fasts, fasting has not been accepted as a recognised part of Satyagraha. It has only been tolerated by the politicians. I have however been driven to the conclusion that fasting unto death is an integral part of Satyagraha programme, and it is the greatest and most effective weapon in its armoury under given circumstances. Not every one is qualified for undertaking it without a proper course of training.

I may not burden this note with an examination of the circumstances under which fasting may be resorted to and the training required for it. Non-violence in its positive aspect as benevolence (I do not use the word love as it has fallen into disrepute.) is the greatest force because of the limitless scope it affords for self-suffering without causing or intending any physical or material injury to the wrong-doer. The object always is to evoke the best in him. Self-suffering is an appeal to his better nature, as retaliation is to his baser. Fasting

under proper circumstances is such an appeal *par excellence*. If the politician does not perceive its propriety in political matters, it is because it is a novel use of this very fine weapon.

To practise non-violence in mundane matters is to know its true value. It is to bring heaven upon earth. There is no such thing as the other world. All worlds are one. There is no 'here' and no 'there'. As Jeans has demonstrated, the whole universe including the most distant stars, invisible even through the most powerful telescope in the world, is compressed in an atom. I hold it therefore to be wrong to limit the use of non-violence to cave dwellers and for acquiring merit for a favoured position in the other world. All virtue ceases to have use if it serves no purpose in every walk of life. I would therefore plead with the purely political-minded people to study non-violence and fasting as its extreme manifestation with sympathy and understanding.

Sevagram, 20-7-'42

## If Japanese Come?

The British United Press has cabled the following questions for Gandhiji's reply. They are couched in evidently angry language. But Gandhiji had no hesitation in sending straight replies to them.

Q. 1. Whether Gandhiji is willing to see British go while Japanese on the Frontier.

A. This question should not occur to anybody who has read my writings for they contemplate Allied arms operating in India during war.

Q. 2. Whether he would urge non-cooperation with Japanese after Japanese occupation.

A. Japanese occupation is inconceivable while Allied arms are operating on the Indian soil. If Japanese inflict defeat on Allied arms and succeed in occupying India I would most decidedly advise full non-cooperation.

Q. 3. Whether he would persist in urging (non-cooperation) if Japs shot non-cooperators;

Q. 4. Whether he would rather be shot than cooperate himself.

A. to 3. & 4. Non-cooperation worth the name must invite shooting. In any case I would rather be shot than submit to Japanese or any other Power.

Sevagram, 21-7-'42

M. D.

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# MARIJAN

Editor: PYARELAL

VOL. X, No. 1]

AHMEDABAD — SUNDAY, FEBRUARY 10, 1946

[ TWO ANNAS

## CURIOUS

(By M. K. Gandhi)

On my return journey from Palni someone gave me at one of the halts a letter reviling Shri Rajaji and Shri Gopalswami and informing me that they would not allow any one against them to come near me. Now I know to the contrary. No one who wanted to say anything worthwhile could be prevented from seeing me or writing to me. The delivery of the very letter disproves the allegation. Shri Kamaraj Nadar was with me on the same special. He was with me in the temple on the Palni Hill. But there is no doubt that both Rajaji and Gopalswami were closest to me during the journey. They had arranged it. Rajaji is one of my oldest friends and was known to be the best exponent in word and deed of all I stand for. That in 1942 he differed from me I know. All honour for the boldness with which he publicly avowed the difference. He is a great social reformer, never afraid to act according to his belief. His political wisdom and integrity are beyond question. I was therefore pained to find a clique against him. It is a clique that evidently counts in the official Congress in Madras. But the masses are devoted to Rajaji. I am neither vain nor foolish enough to feel that I could have had the huge public demonstrations all along the route of the pilgrimage if he had no influence with the masses in Tamil Nad. Congressmen in the South will act as they think best. But I would be less than loyal to the organization if I did not warn them against losing the valuable services which no one can shoulder as Rajaji can at the present moment.

En route to Wardha, 5-2-'46

The foregoing was written before Bezwada was reached at 5-30 in the morning. At Bezwada a note in Hindustani from Shri A. Subrahmanyam was delivered, the gist of which is given below:

"There is a belief spread in Andhradesh that you have come to Madras with a view to make Rajaji premier. Several Congressmen have been carrying on such propaganda. Taking up the theme, some Telugu newspapers have been writing even against Hindustani. Please give your opinion on this."

I felt bound, therefore, to give my reply. I said that my journey was purely for the purpose of celebrating the Silver Jubilee of the Dakshin Bharat Hindi Prachar Sabha — now Hindustani Prachar Sabha — and incidentally for Madura and Palni temples. The visit was conceived soon after my premature discharge and before the Congress resumption of Parliamentary

work was even conceived. My visit has nothing to do with Rajaji being the Premier. My life had no secrecy about it. If I wanted to give an opinion, I was in the habit of giving it openly. But I had rejected the advances of friends to guide them for I was not interested in elections and offices. But since I was challenged I had no hesitation in saying that Rajaji was by far the best man for the purpose in the Southern Presidency and if I had the disposal in my hands I would call Rajaji to office, if I did not give it to myself. But the disposal was with the Provincial Congress Committee and finally with the Working Committee. My opinion was only that of an individual, to be taken for what it was worth.

After Bezwada, En route to Wardha,  
5-2-'46

## A POINTER FOR THE FUTURE

"How is the cutting of telegraphic wires contrary to the principle of Ahimsa," a friend asked Gandhiji some time back.

The question is typical of many that have been put to Gandhiji since his release. Another friend who saw him some time after he left the Aga Khan Palace posed to him the problem thus: "There are two schools of thought amongst our youth today. One school holds and openly says that as a programme of action Ahimsa is played out. It has done its work which was to awaken the masses and has set the stage for the final struggle for independence. In this struggle force of arms cannot be excluded. The other school while professing belief in Ahimsa says that there is room for modification and further elaboration in its technique. They aver that the next phase of our struggle would be characterized by organized sabotage on an extensive scale." Gandhiji questioned the statement that sabotage could be part of the non-violent programme or that it was derivable from the principle of Ahimsa as he understood it. The friend however persisted that sabotage had come to stay whether one liked it or not. "Irresponsible prophesying leads to nowhere," cut short Gandhiji. "The real question is where we stand, what our attitude towards it is going to be."

The friend put before Gandhiji some of his doubts. Was destruction of Government property violence? "You say that nobody has a right to destroy any property not his own. If so, is not Government property mine? I hold it is mine and I may destroy it."

"There is a double fallacy involved in your argument," replied Gandhiji. In the first place,



conceding that Government property is national property—which today it is not—I may not destroy it because I am dissatisfied with the Government. But even a national Government will be unable to carry on for a day if everybody claimed the right to destroy bridges, communications, roads, etc., because he disapproved of some of its activities. Moreover, the evil resides not in bridges, roads, etc., which are inanimate objects but in men. It is the latter who need to be tackled. The destruction of bridges, etc., by means of explosives does not touch this evil but only provokes a worse evil in the place of the one it seeks to end. "I agree," rejoined the friend, "that the evil is within ourselves, not in the bridge which can be used for a good purpose as well as an evil one. I also agree that its blowing up provokes counter violence of a worse type. But it may be necessary from a strategic point of view for the success of the movement and in order to prevent demoralization."

"It is an old argument," replied Gandhiji. "One used to hear it in old days in defence of terrorism. Sabotage is a form of violence. People have realized the futility of physical violence but some people apparently think that it may be successfully practised in its modified form as sabotage. It is my conviction that the whole mass of people would not have risen to the height of courage and fearlessness that they have but for the working of full non-violence. How it works we do not yet fully know. But the fact remains that under non-violence we have progressed from strength to strength even through our apparent failures and setbacks. On the other hand terrorism resulted in demoralization. Haste leads to waste."

"We have found," rejoined the friend, "that a person who has had a schooling in violent activity comes nearer to true non-violence than one who has had no such experience."

"That can be true only in the sense that having tried violence again and again he has realized its futility. That is all. Would you maintain also that a person who has had a taste of vice is nearer to virtue than the one who had none? For, that is what your argument amounts to."

The discussion then turned upon secrecy. The friend in question argued that whilst individual secrecy created a fear complex and was therefore an evil, organized secrecy might be useful. "It is no secrecy if the person concerned is boldly prepared to face the consequences of his action. He resorts to secrecy in order to achieve his object. He can refuse to take any part in subsequent interrogations during his trial. He need not make a false statement."

But Gandhiji was adamant. "No secret organization, however big, could do any good. "Secrecy aims at building a wall of protection round you. Ahimsa disdains all such protection. It functions in the open and in the face of odds, the heaviest conceivable. We have to organize for action a vast people that have been crushed under the heel of unspeakable tyranny for centuries. They cannot be organized by any other than open truthful means. I have grown up from youth to 76 years in abhorrence

of secrecy. There must be no watering down of the ideal. Unless we cling to the formula in its fulness, we shall not make any headway."

"I know we have not always lived up to our ideal. There have been grave lapses. Had our instruments been less imperfect, we would have been nearer our goal. But in spite of our temporizing with our ideal, non-violence has worked like a silent leaven among the dumb millions. That does not mean that we can afford to go on like this for ever. We cannot remain static. We must move forward or we shall slide back."

"Are you of opinion then," asked the friend, "that the August revolution caused a setback in the struggle for independence; that all the heroism and courage which our people showed in the course of it was useless?"

"No," replied Gandhiji. "I do not say that. In the historical process, the country will be found to have advanced towards freedom through every form of struggle, even through the August upheaval. All that I have said is that the progress would have been much greater if we had shown the non-violent bravery of my conception. In this sense the sabotage activity has retarded the country's freedom. I have the highest admiration for the courage, patriotism and spirit of self-sacrifice of people, say, like Jaiprakash Narain. But Jaiprakash cannot be my ideal. If I had to give a medal for heroism, it would go not to him but to his wife who, though simple and unlearned in politics, typifies in her person the power of Satyagraha in its purest form before which even Jaiprakash has to bow. What I have said about the August upheaval is not by way of judgment upon the past—I have consistently refused to condemn it—but as a guidance for the future."

"Our people," said the friend finally, "have faith in non-violence but they do not know how to make it dynamic. What is the reason for this failure?"

"By hammering away at it through painful years," replied Gandhiji, "people have begun to see that there is a potency in non-violence, but they have not seen it in all its fulness and beauty. If they had responded to all the steps that had to be taken for the effective organization of non-violence and carried out in their fulness the various items of the eighteen-fold constructive programme, our movement would have taken us to our goal. But today our minds are confused because our faith in constructive work is so weak. I know, one must push forth undaunted by difficulties."

On the train to Madura,  
Saturday, 2-2-'46

PYARELAL

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## HARIJAN TITBITS

(By A. V. Thakkar)

1. True to tradition and policy the Harijan Sevak Sangh has, in spite of requests from friends, steadily refused to have any hand in recommending candidates to the Congress Parliamentary Board for seats reserved for the Scheduled Castes. The Sangh feels that by dabbling in politics it would only add to the existing caste rivalry. Constructive work including educational progress and the removal of all social disabilities is the Sangh's sole concern.

2. The wholly unjustifiable prejudice against allowing Harijans of Garhwal to carry their brides and bridegrooms on public roads in "Dola-Palki" still exists. It is gratifying, however, to note that recently magistrates have punished Caste Hindus for looting a Harijan marriage party by sentencing them in one case to six to eight months' R. I. and fine and in another to a fine of Rs. 61/- each.

When cholera breaks out in Kathiawad villages, sweepers are often accused of causing it by using evil 'mantras' and roughly handled. Sometimes they have even to migrate to other villages until the epidemic subsides.

In contrast to the above cruelty came the heartening news from there of interdining between Harijans and non-Harijans on the last Gandhi Jayanti.

4. It is a pity that sweepers even in large towns are unorganized as a class and, therefore, exploited by the corporations. Going on strike is the only way by which they can get improvement in wages. It was only recently after a good deal of trouble in Calcutta that the pay of the sweepers was raised to Rs. 15/- p. m. In small towns and municipalities the wages are miserable: only Rs. 7/- in some places with a dearness allowance of from Rs. 2/- to Rs. 5/- p. m. As for housing conditions, even in towns like Calcutta and Madras, 'disgraceful' is not a strong enough word. Inasmuch as a city deserves a contented army of sanitary workers, the proper and rent-free housing of its servants should be the first charge on municipal finances, just as drainage.

5. The Baghelkhand States are a part of India that is very little known. They are far from any railway line and inhabited by very backward sections of the people. It was not until a year ago that any work of Harijan uplift was begun there by Professor R. K. Yarday of Indore with the help of Sjt. Avadh Bihari of Rewa. The Rulers of Nagand Mihir and Ajai Ghad have thrown open State temples to the Harijans and earmarked funds for uplift work among them. This is a welcome move in these backward areas.

6. The education of Harijan girls being of primary importance, the starting of girls' hostels everywhere is very necessary. Such exist in Dhulia (Maharashtra), Sabarmati (Gujarat), Madura and two other places in Tamil Nad, Davakottai and Trichy, Allahabad, Delhi, Bazwada, Ellore and Guntur (Andhra), Calicut (Malabar) and in a few other places. All these get grants-in-aid from the centre. One such is being run by a Harijan girl herself in Guntur

against heavy odds. In order to make both ends meet this brave girl even sold a part of her own land. She needs the help of friends in Guntur in her endeavour.

On the train to Madura, 2-2-'46

## ARE WE GOING DOWN?

(By M. K. Gandhi)

"Personal likes and dislikes, ambitions and jealousies should have no place in our organization. What therefore distresses me greatly is that dislike, hatred and vindictiveness in private life and even public speeches are becoming common among Congressmen and consequently indiscipline and hooliganism are increasing." This extract is taken from a long letter from a friend. She even quotes instances and elaborates her thesis. But I have reproduced sufficient for my purpose. I wholeheartedly endorse every word of what she says. Though I do not read newspapers diligently, I feel that there is truth in her experience. Now that it seems that we are coming into our own, the evils complained of ought to go and calmness, rigid discipline, co-operation and goodwill must take the place of passion, indiscipline and jealousies, public and private. Or else Swaraj machinery will crack and go to pieces and our future state may very well become worse than the present, bad and insufferable as it is. As I said in Mahishadal, the glow of Swaraj in action must be felt by the illiterate millions of India. They must feel the vital difference between the present autocratic and ordinance regime and the orderly democratic non-violent regime under Swaraj. I hug the hope that when real responsibility comes to the people and the dead weight of a foreign army of occupation is removed, we shall be natural, dignified and restrained. We are living just now in a state that is highly artificial and unnatural. The sooner we get out of it the better for us, the ruling power and the world. I can therefore only suggest to my friends and those who think like her, that they should rigidly carry out in practice what they think even though they be a handful.

On the train to Madras,

4-2-'46

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A specimen copy will be supplied on receipt of postal stamps worth three annas. **MANAGER**



# HARIJAN

Feb. 10

1946

## ITS IMPLICATIONS

(By M. K. Gandhi)

The vast meeting at Palni under the shadow of the Temple was perfectly silent; there were no noises. I seized the occasion to give the audience the implications of removal of untouchability. It began with touch but it would be a wooden thing, if it merely ended there. A Brahmin may be a depraved man in spite of his learning. It would be preposterous to call him one. A Brahmin is he who knows *Brahma*. It is character, not occupation, that determines the man. The Bhangi is or should be on a par with the Brahmin in all social relations. There is no reason why he should not, other things being equal, occupy the chair which Maulana Abul Kalam Azad occupies with distinction. I would be happy to see the day when a Bhangi, working as such, is in the Presidential chair.

The ulcer of untouchability has gone so deep down that it seems to pervade our life. Hence the unreal differences: Brahmin and Non-Brahmin, provinces and provinces, religion and religion. Why should there be all this poison smelling of untouchability? Why should we not all be children of one Indian family and, further, of one human family? Are we not like branches of the same tree?

When untouchability is rooted out, these distinctions will vanish and no one will consider himself superior to any other. Naturally, exploitation too will cease and co-operation will be the order of the day.

Having dealt with untouchability, I turned to the pilgrimage. There was fear of my being unable to negotiate the flight of over six hundred steps on a chair, if crowds of people insisted on accompanying me up the hill which was too small to accommodate them. I would be satisfied with doing *darshan* at the foot of the hill. Let not the people, however, think that I was guided by any belief in the potency of images of clay or precious metal. Idols became what the devotees made of or imputed to them. For me they had no potency whilst Harijans were prohibited from entering temples. I had passed by the famous Minakshi Temple in Madura more than once before and never cared to go inside it whilst the prohibition against the Harijans lasted. How could I, who claim to be a Bhangi, care to enter such temples? Then, I was sure that the God of India was God living in the plains where the millions lived. How many could reach the Himalayas? Many have gone and more could certainly go to Palni, but the crores could not. I would be, as I am, one of them.

I was sure too that my prayer at the foot of the hill would be heard more than that of some devotees in the temple itself. God knew and cared for the hearts of men. Outward appearance

was nothing to Him if it was not an expression of the inner. It was enough for me that the Harijans were as free as any other Hindu to enter the Palni temple for the purpose of worship.

Nevertheless the millions who were assured that I would have *darshan* of the image itself would not understand this message and might feel that some calamity would descend upon the country, if I could not go up the hill. Their silence at the meeting encouraged the hope that I might be able to go through the advertised programme.

The speech was delivered at nearly 6 p. m.. But at 8 p. m. I found that I was able to negotiate the hill, and though there was a large crowd at the entrance none insisted on joining while Rajaji and I were being taken up the hill in chairs. Thus happily did the pilgrimage come to a successful end.

One swallow does not make summer. No legitimate inference can be drawn from this incident. However, I cannot help cherishing the fond hope that it augurs well for India under Swaraj, Home Rule or Independence, by whatever name one may choose to call the thing.

Perhaps this article is the proper place for recording my thanks to the South Indian Railway and the staff for their considering no trouble too great for making the journey as little tiresome as it was possible for it to be under the circumstances.

On the train to Madras from Palni,  
4-2-'46

## HOMAGE

"Oh! for the touch of a vanished hand,  
And the sound of a voice that is still."

I can well understand how hard it will be for readers of "Harijan" to reconcile themselves to the absence of columns penned weekly by its late beloved Editor. But to those of us who had seen at close quarters with what single-eyed devotion he served his master's cause, the absence of M. D., always keenly felt, is today a most poignant grief.

My close contact with him began when circumstances at long last permitted me to throw in my lot with Bapu. The memory of work with him, of lessons learnt from him and the firm friendship formed will ever be a priceless treasure. Noble of mien, noble in bearing and nobler still in character is the bare truth about Mahadev. A man of irresistible charm, with a highly sensitive nature he was quick to respond to affection, full of sympathy and understanding and of superb generosity. But what drew one to him and elicited one's admiration even more than his lovable nature and outstanding ability was his utter humility. No wonder that early in life a man of his calibre was drawn to lay his all at the feet of one whom he served with unflinching loyalty to the end.

May we, who try to help Bapu, be granted, in however small measure, the deep understanding and unerring interpretation of his way of life that was Mahadev's priceless possession and which added so much to the world-wide appreciation of and love for 'Harijan'.

On the train to Madura,  
2nd February, '46

A. K.



## HINDUSTANI

(By M. K. Gandhi)

How can any Indian really be averse to Hindustani? Lovers of Sanskritised Hindi are, however, afraid that Hindustani will hurt Hindi and likewise lovers of Persianised Urdu fear hurt to Urdu. These fears are futile. No language can spread through mere propaganda. If it had been so "Esperanto" would have found a place amongst the populace in the West. They failed because in such a matter the enthusiasm of only a few cannot succeed. The language of a people who produce hard workers, literary experts, businessmen and enterprising persons spreads and is enriched. It is ours to make the effort in that direction.

Only that language which the people of a country will themselves adopt can become national. However virile the English language may be, it can never become the language of the masses of India. If the British regime were to be permanent it would continue to be the official language of their Indian officials and because education would be in their hands provincial languages would suffer. The late Lokamanya once said that the British had done a service to the provincial languages. This is true to some extent. But it was not their business to encourage them nor could they in reality do so. That work belongs to the people and their leaders. If the English-educated neglect as they have done and even now continue, as some do, to be ignorant of their mother tongue, linguistic starvation will abide.

We are today certain that the British Raj cannot remain for ever. They say and we believe that it will go even this year. Then there can be no national language for us other than Hindustani. Today there are two forms of this language, Hindi and Urdu, the former written in Nagari and the latter in Urdu script. One is fed by Sanskrit, the other by Persian and Arabic. Today, therefore, both must remain. But Hindustani will be a mixture of these. What shape it will take in the future none can say nor need we know. Twenty three crores out of thirty speak Hindustani. This number must have increased *pari passu* with the population. Obviously in this lies the national language.

There ought to be no quarrel between the two sisters Hindi and Urdu. The rivalry is with English. This struggle itself means much labour. The rise of Hindustani will also give an impetus to the provincial languages because it is the language of the masses, not of a handful of officials.

It was for the propaganda of the national language that I went recently to the South. The name Hindi used there up-till-now has been changed to Hindustani. During the last few months several persons have been learning both the scripts and have obtained certificates. In the South too the difficulty is not about the two scripts but in regard to English. We may not blame the official world for this. The fault lies in us. It is we who are infatuated with English. I found this disease even in Hindustani Nagar. But I hope that the illusion will now disappear. A good deal has been done in

the South but much still remains if we have to reach the desired goal.

5-2-'46

## THE LESSON OF MADURA

(By M. K. Gandhi)

The crowd in Madura could not have been less than five lacs and may have been even six. Human faces were to be seen as far as the horizon. It was a veritable sea of human faces. The long route to the race course was lined by people who were all to swell the crowd in the prayer ground. They must push on as much as they could. I doubt if the people on the fringe could even see me, much less hear me or any one else, even though loud speaker arrangements were good and the rostrum high enough. The volunteers were not used to manage such vast crowds. People had come from distant villages where the Congressmen had not worked habitually, if at all. Such being the case the din and noise and jostle were unavoidable. And then the crowd had to deal with a Satyagrahi in me. But my Satyagraha for the first time failed. The people's was bound to fail. They showed the greatest forbearance whilst I was passive. The vast multitude in front of me and on either side sat noiseless and motionless, inspite of the pressure from behind. But the jostling and noise from behind the rostrum continued unabated. I therefore cleared the dais and asked the women members of my party to go. Only Rajaji, Kanu Gandhi and Ramkrishna Bajaj remained. The latter said the way was clear, but as I appeared the people became restive. I addressed the people in front and at the sides and pleaded with them to go away as I did not propose to speak. They remained silent but would not leave. So I thought I would rest where I was for the night till the crowd had either dispersed or made a way for me. Kanu Gandhi the tempter came again and said the people would make a passage and let me go. The car would wait for me at a distance from the crowd. In a weak moment I yielded. I went down the few steps of the improvised strong ladder only to meet the same pressing and noisy crowd as before, though considerably thinned. It was not a safe passage through a noiseless, disciplined crowd for which I was pleading and waiting. It was neither a mischievous crowd. Making noise and pressing forward towards the idol was the only way of expressing their love towards it. Here was a living idol made of the same clay as they. And this idol could not and would not appreciate their loud demonstration. But I proved an impatient and inefficient teacher. Had I waited, I believe this particular crowd would have learnt the value of silent and knowing love, probably of discipline requisite for Swaraj. I shall know much better next time if such ever comes. Any way it is legitimate to ask whether the exemplary behaviour at Palni was a result of the imperfect lesson of the previous night at Madura. In any case, no blame attaches to anybody in the drama and nobody has any cause for shame.

En route to Wardha, 5-2-'46



## GANDHIJI'S IDEAL OF A PRIVATE SECRETARY

I

The term 'Private Secretary' in connection with Gandhiji is somewhat of a misnomer as he has nothing private nor secret from which indeed the word 'Secretary' is derived. Private Secretaryship under him is, in a sense, *sui generis*. In the popular imagination 'Private Secretary', especially in its political association, carries with it a glamour, a suggestion of prestige and influence. Permanent under-secretaries of departments, for instance, are known to wield power which makes them a force to be reckoned with, while secretaryship to powerful political chiefs is often coveted as a stepping stone to a public career and office, maybe in succession to the Chief himself. In the case of Gandhiji, however, all this is reversed. His ideal secretary must have no interest save how best to serve his master's ideals. He must turn his back on name and fame and all those glittering prizes of life which the average man covets. He must efface himself completely, merge himself in the master without, however, losing his personality. He must become, in short, his *alter ego*—autonomous but in perfect unison with him. This is the central requirement; all others flow from it as corollaries.

During the Second Round Table Conference in London a young secretary in India Office, who had come very close to us, once assured us in a confiding mood of his good offices with the then Under Secretary of State Lord Peel whenever necessary. "You know the influence private secretaries wield," he added with a wink. We told him that we were an exception, we were only *hammals* (coolies). "I am another", he quickly parried, and we all had a hearty laugh.

Gandhiji has variously described himself as a scavenger, spinner, weaver and agriculturist. His secretary has therefore to be an understudy in all these. Gandhiji claims to be only the first servant of the nation. He expects his secretary to consider himself to be the servant of the least. Mere intellectual brilliance counts for very little in his eyes, but passion for truth, rectitude and a sincere striving for the ideals for which he stands means everything to him. Work of any kind under him is a discipline and apprenticeship in life and secretaryship is no exception. His secretary must be ready to perform the meanest task that may come his way with as much willingness, diligence, concentration and care as the biggest. The tasks may range from cooking, washing of clothes, cleaning of latrines or tending the sick to running a big daily newspaper, answering awkward questions from none too friendly and persistent correspondents, reproducing from memory notes of an important conversation or interview or negotiating an interview with the Viceroy or his officials. The late Shri Desai acquitted himself equally creditably in each and all of them. But it was in the former that his apprenticeship with Gandhiji really began and Gandhiji used often to remark in later years that his brilliant success in the latter was due to his schooling in the former.

The first thing that a secretary of Gandhiji has to learn is the importance of being punctilious and exact in little things. Nothing must be done in a slipshod or slovenly manner, be it ever so insignificant. Even in a hastily scribbled note all the t's must be crossed and i's dotted. To post even an ordinary postcard without revision he regards as inexcusable. To try to excuse yourself on the score of pressure of work or lack of time is only to accuse yourself, and heaven help the unfortunate who lands himself in that unenviable position! He insists upon thoroughness and precision in everything. Even a short reply to a casual correspondent must show a close study and grasp of the matter dealt with.

His secretary must not await instructions, he must be able to anticipate them. In other words, he must be able to think and act independently of him, and in a measure to replace him. In 1921, the late Pt. Motilal Nehru asked Gandhiji to send some one, preferably Shri Desai, to take charge of the 'Independent' after the late Shri George Joseph whose arrest was expected. It was a great wrench for Shri Desai to be away from Gandhiji. "Why can't you send P.?", he pleaded. "Don't you see, I can't deprive Lalaji (Lala Lajpatrai) of P.'s services? He is his right hand man", replied Gandhiji. "And I?", protested Shri Desai. "You, I want to cultivate as my brain", rejoined Gandhiji and worthily did Shri Desai answer that expectation.

Assisting in correspondence or other desk work, as I have already remarked, occupies a very small space in Gandhiji's conception of secretarial work. His secretary must be able to interpret him and propagate his ideals and this demands that he should have realized those ideals in his own person. Take, for instance, the multitude of activities which Gandhiji is conducting e. g. Khadi, Village Industries, Harijan service, basic education, cow service and, last but not the least, the Ashram. In order to be of real help to him, his secretary must not only have theoretical knowledge of all these but must in a measure identify himself with these in practice. Thus, the late Shri Mahadev Desai had a passion for spinning, particularly spinning on takli and the stamp of his interest could be seen in the columns of 'Young India' and 'Harijan'. Those who saw him issue forth at the head of the bucket-and-broom brigade from Maganwadi, day after day and week after week, in the midst of heavy pressure of work, could understand his passionate advocacy of the cause of Harijans and Village uplift in Gandhiji's weeklies. Not only did it enable him to present Gandhiji's ideas on these subjects with force and conviction through his writings, but his personal example fired workers with a passion for these branches of Gandhiji's activities.

Gandhiji is a very exacting task-master. "Therein fail not" is his motto. Whenever he has assigned a task to you, difficulties in the way are never accepted as an excuse for failing to perform it. You have to foresee and be prepared for all emergencies.



Thus, the late Shri Desai often carried candles with him during railway journeys to enable him to work at night in case there were no lights in the compartment (as at times it happened in those early days in Bihar), or the lights failed. Once he actually had to do the writing for 'Young India' by getting into the lavatory of Gandhiji's second class compartment. Lights in Gandhiji's compartment had to be put out at bed time to enable Gandhiji to go to sleep and the balance of the matter had to be made up and posted by a particular time. When Gandhiji visited the lavatory in the middle of the night, he was surprised to find the two of us already in possession — our papers spread out on the floor. We got a scolding but the writing was finished and posted at the right station so as to reach Ahmedabad in time for the next weekly issue of 'Young India'. During the twentythree years that he was associated with Gandhiji, in conducting his various weeklies (and this included visits to Burma, Ceylon, and England), I do not remember a single occasion when the publication of any of them was held up or delayed owing to late arrival of matter.

(To be Continued)

P.

#### A Model

[Shri Thakkar Bapa sends the following account of Dr. Gurubatham's work in Shantipuram, Chittur District. P.]

"Dr. Gurubatham is a medical man who has specialized in eye diseases. Up till a few months ago he was practising in Coimbatore and Vellore and has a reputation for cataract operations. He has, however, given up his lucrative practice and decided to settle down in a rural area. His estate of 60 acres is on the banks of the Palar river and he is now popularly known as the "Palar Doctor". He and his family are Christians in the best sense of the term. The eldest son is a graduate in agriculture. In spite of being a landlord, he tills the soil and works in the fields with the labourers. The doctor too has taken to farming. In addition he is a carpenter and blacksmith. He has sheep and poultry as well as a good dairy. In fact there is no aspect of village life in which he does not take interest.

He has built a simple home for himself and his wife. There is a guest-house too which is, at the moment, being used for in-patients. In addition to dispensing medicines he performs urgent operations. But his main object is to serve the villagers in every way. Both his second son and daughter are studying medicine and Dr. Gurubatham hopes they will step into his shoes. He has a school where 30 children are receiving instruction. He is anxious to turn this into a basic school. He is fighting against untouchability. He will not allow his date palms to be tapped in the sure hope that when the new government comes there will be prohibition and the trees will yield 'gur' instead of toddy. Labourers and artisans are being paid a higher wage by him than the 3 or 4 annas which they usually earn.

Dr. Gurubatham has been working in villages off and on for six years. He has found it an uphill task but is certain of success. He hopes to make Shantipuram the

Sevagram of the South where workers may be trained to build up village life in his province."

#### NON-VIOLENCE AND MOLESTATION OF WOMEN

On the night of 29th December 1945, Gandhiji met about 200 men and women of Mahishadal and the nearabout villages. They included local workers and victims of police and military atrocities during the 1942 upheaval. Gandhiji invited questions. The first question was whether they were expected to remain non-violent even in the face of their women being dishonoured. They believed in suffering for Swaraj. They believed that any departure from non-violence would delay the coming of Swaraj. Then, what could they do in cases of molestation of their womenfolk?

Gandhiji replied that he had been asked the same question in 1920 and 1921 and he could only repeat the reply which he gave then. The question betrayed ignorance of non-violence and also of Swaraj of his conception. He did not want Swaraj at the cost of women's honour. If what passed as non-violence did not enable them to protect the honour of women or if it did not enable the women to protect their own honour, it was not non-violence. "Believe me, it is something quite different," and he described what he had written in "Hind Swaraj" in 1909. The reader should read the argument on pages 44 to 51 of the Navajivan Press edition. Gandhiji observed that experience had added force to the argument. "After all who protected Sita from Ravan? The Poet tells us that her purity was such that Ravan dared not compass his end without her consent."

He warned them in the end that if anybody came to him with the plea that they could not protect the honour of their womenfolk because they had taken the vow of non-violence, he would give them no quarter. Non-violence should never be used as a shield for cowardice. It was a weapon of the brave. He would rather they died fighting violently than became helpless witnesses to such atrocities. A truly non-violent man would never live to tell the tale of such atrocities. He would have laid down his life on the spot in non-violent resistance.

In this connection I am reminded of Gandhiji's Frontier tour where the Khudai Khidmatgars had asked him the same question. "What if the miscreant does not kill you but ties you up instead and gags you so that you are forced to be a silent witness of his misdeed," they had asked after hearing his reply which was practically the same as he gave to the people at Mahishadal. "I will struggle," he had replied, "so that I will either break the bonds or break myself in the effort. In no case will I remain a helpless witness. When that intensity of feeling is there God will come to your aid, and somehow or other spare you the agony of being a living witness to such a deed."

Mahishadal,  
Saturday, 29-12-45

S. N.



## Notes

### 'Harijan' Revived

Why is "Harijan" revived? This question may have occurred to many as it has to me. I may tell the reader that no special effort was made for its revival. An application for the removal of the ban was made on 3-12-'45 and the ban was removed on 10-1-'46. Many readers, including English and American, had all along felt a void and they began to feel it more after the defeat of the Fascist Powers. The reason for the feeling was obvious. They wanted my reaction, in terms of Truth and Non-violence, to the various events happening in India, if not in the world. I wished to satisfy this desire.

There have been cataclysmic changes in the world. Do I still adhere to my faith in truth and non-violence? Has not the atom bomb exploded that faith? Not only has it not done so but it has clearly demonstrated to me that the twins constitute the mightiest force in the world. Before it the atom bomb is of no effect. The two opposing forces are wholly different in kind, the one moral and spiritual, the other physical and material. The one is infinitely superior to the other which by its very nature has an end. The force of the spirit is ever progressive and endless. Its full expression makes it unconquerable in the world. In saying this I know that I have said nothing new. I merely bear witness to the fact. What is more, that force resides in everybody, man, woman and child, irrespective of the colour of the skin. Only in many it lies dormant, but it is capable of being awakened by judicious training.

It is further to be observed that without the recognition of this truth and due effort to realize it, there is no escape from self-destruction. The remedy lies in every individual training himself for self-expression in every walk of life, irrespective of response by the neighbours. "Harijan" will attempt from week to week to stand up for this truth and illustrate it.

On way to Madura,  
2-2-'46

M. K. G.

### Nature Cure Clinic

Readers are aware that I have become co-trustees with Shree Jehangir Patel and with Dr. Dinshah Mehta in his clinic at Poona. A condition of the trust is that from January 1st. this year the clinic should become a clinic for the poor instead of for the rich. The conception was mine but owing to my absence on tour the condition has not been wholly fulfilled. I am hoping to go to Poona this month, however, and trust I shall be able to do some work in this connection. My fervent hope is that rich patients will, if they come, pay to their fullest capacity and yet live in the same wards as the poor. I believe that by doing so they will derive more benefit from henceforth. Those unwilling to abide by this condition need not trouble to go to the clinic. This rule is necessary.

In addition to treatment for their ailments, poor patients will also be taught how to live healthy lives. It is a common belief today that nature cure is expensive, more so than Ayurvedic or allopathic. If this is proved to be true I shall have to admit failure. But I believe that the opposite is true and my experience also bears out the belief. It is the duty of a nature cure doctor not only to look after the body but also pay attention to and prescribe for the soul of a patient. The best prescription for the soul is of course *Ramanama* (God's name). I cannot today go into the meaning of and method of applying *Ramanama*. I will only say that the poor do not stand in need of much medicine. They die uncared for as it is. Their ignorance makes them blind to what nature teaches us. If the Poona experiment succeeds, Dr. Dinshah Mehta's dream of a nature cure university will come true.

Help of India's true nature cure doctors is needed in this great work for the country. There can be no question of making money in it. The need is for those who are filled with the spirit of service to the poor and only with a sufficient number of such doctors can the work progress. The mere title of a doctor is no criterion; a real doctor is he who is a true servant. Those who have experience and knowledge and are anxious to serve may write with a list of their qualifications. No replies will be given to those whose qualifications are not upto standard.

Readers will please note that work has increased with the revival of 'Harijan'. There will, therefore, be very little scope for replying to individual letters.

On train to Wardha,

M. K. G.

5-2-'46

(Translated from Hindustani)

### For Past Subscribers

Those subscribers who did not ask for a refund of the balance of their subscriptions on the suspension of 'Harijan' have a right to the delivery of 'Harijan' for the balance due to them, provided their present addresses are traceable. Those, therefore, who have changed their addresses should notify the change to the Manager.

J. DESAI

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# HARIJAN

Editor: PYARELAL

VOL. X, No. 2]

AHMEDABAD — SUNDAY, FEBRUARY 17, 1946

[TWO ANNAS

## SOME LABOUR QUESTIONS

(By M. K. Gandhi) —

During the pilgrimage to Madras and Palni the following document signed by 259 persons was handed to me at a tremendously large meeting of labourers at Golden Rock:

"We the workers of the S. I. Ry. beg to place before you some of our major problems with a view to get your support.

"Nearly 264,000 workers are going to be retrenched all over the Railways. In S. I. Ry. alone 10,000 will be retrenched and till now more than 2,000 have been discharged. The Government contemplate absorption of ex-service men in place of Railwaymen, thus putting us against the ex-soldiers.

"We have been demanding a minimum living wage of Rs. 30/- per mensem. At present the lowest wage is Rs. 8/- to Rs. 15/- and a majority of us receive less than Rs. 18/- per mensem.

"Out of 42,000 Railway employees only 8,000 are provided with quarters, of which the majority are infested with insanitary conditions, and are without proper ventilation.

"You may be aware of the decision of the All India Railwaymen's Federation demanding adjudication or a court of enquiry if they refuse to redress our grievances and accept the suggestions. The suggestions were intended for improvements in the Railway system and the condition of the employees. For your reference we are giving below the sixteen suggestions forwarded to the Railway Board and the Government by the Federation.

1. Reduction of work to 40 hours per week as a first step and further to 40 hours per week for all the staff including running staff without fall in wages.

2. Introduction of weekly calendar days off for all the Railwaymen.

3. Leave reserves to be increased to 25%.

4. Reduction of rail length for Engineering gangmen.

5. Extension of leave facilities to daily rated and inferior service staff on a par with subordinates.

6. All the work now done through contract labour should be taken over departmentally.

7. Reduction of mileage for overhaul of locomotives, wagons and carriages.

8. Expansion of workshop production namely construction of boilers, engine parts etc..

9. Manufacture of locomotives, carriages and wagons in the Indian Railway workshops.

10. Rebuilding of third class carriages so as to provide better facilities for passengers such as bath rooms, fans, and sleeping accommodation for long distance travel etc..

11. Reopening all the lines that were closed and the restoration of all the trains stopped during the 'period' of war and further expansion of services to meet the needs of the public.

12. A programme of house building with a view to provide decent houses for all Railwaymen.

13. Construction of new lines to suit the needs of the country.

14. Laying down of double tracks wherever necessary.

15. Introduction of Rail Motor transport to the distant towns and villages where railways cannot reach.

16. R. A. F. workshops now controlled by Railways to be maintained and extended to serve the needs of aviation.

"In the demand of ours for full work, living wages, proper housing facilities etc., we request you to support us and give a lead in the matter to the country and force the Railway Board to accept the same and save thousands of Railwaymen and others from unemployment, misery and poverty."

If the workers are to be retrenched in order to make room, as alleged in the letter, for ex-soldiers, it is, in my opinion, doubly wrong. Wrong for the ex-soldiers in that they will be favoured and a soldier who accepts favoured treatment is no soldier. The second wrong will be to the men to be retrenched who, for no fault of their own, will be thrown out of employment. It will not do to say they were temporary hands. The State has to find work for all unemployed persons.

Coming to the Railwaymen's demands, items Nos. 1-9 and No. 12 fall, in my opinion, within the sphere of labour, but whether they are reasonable or not cannot be said without hearing the Railway Authorities' side. They should be referred to arbitration. They cannot be made a subject of strike before the process of arbitration has been gone through. Any lightning strike is a form of dictation which is dangerous.

Items Nos. 10, 11 and 13-16 cannot legitimately be demanded by labourers. They are passengers' grievances and passengers, i. e. the public, can take them up.

Item No. 10, I would consider quite extravagant. By far the largest number of passengers belong to the 3rd class and I have no doubt they deserve progressively better treatment, not the 1st and 2nd



class. Railway cars of the not distant future will have no classes. Classless society is the ideal; not merely to be aimed at but to be worked for and, in such society, there is no room for classes or communities. Until that time is arrived at, 1st and 2nd class comforts should be standardized and lowered where necessary and all attention bestowed upon 3rd class passengers. But I cannot visualize a time when 3rd class carriages, no matter how distant the journey may be, can carry bathing accommodation for tens of thousands of travellers. What is required is proper bathing arrangements for 3rd class passengers at railway stations. 3rd class passengers are the most neglected in India. Railway cars and railway stations should be utilized for proper education of the public in sanitation and cleanliness. This is not the case today. And the quicker Hindu and Mohammedan tea or water distinctions disappear the better. Why should the State recognize these unnatural and irreligious distinctions? Those who consider themselves defiled by service rendered by persons not belonging to their own persuasion may well be left to their own resources.

The Association for Railway Passengers' relief should certainly ventilate grievances before the authorities. Their main work should be to conduct sustained education among the passengers as to their own duty towards one another and about observing laws of cleanliness and hygiene.

Sevagram, 8-2-'46

### AND SO IT CAME OUT

Despatching of matter for the 'Harijan' weeklies always used to be a bit of an exciting adventure when Gandhiji used to be constantly on the move. It involved pouring over railway maps and endless columns of Bradshaw and the Indian Post and Telegraph Guide, checking up of train timings and train connections, not to mention the exigencies of late arrivals and erratic habits of certain trains. It made some of Gandhiji's staff fair experts in the arcana of Indian postal lore. For instance, Gandhiji could tell with exact precision the time the post would take to be delivered at a particular place by the various alternative routes. Once in the course of Gandhi-Irwin negotiations a question arose as to whether a particular letter which Lord Irwin had addressed to Gandhiji had been despatched in time. Lord Irwin maintained that it must have been. "Then it ought to have reached me before I left Bardoli," replied Gandhiji. "You better make an inquiry in your office. There is bound to have been some despatching delay." And so in the end it proved to be.

But all his precision availed nothing this time before the vagaries of the 'special' which brought us to Wardha from Madras. It was the European member from Madras, I think, who once, in the course of a debate in the Central Assembly, compared the "speed and steadiness" of the 'Grand Trunk Express' to that of a "drunken caterpillar in the final stages of inebriety". Well, Gandhiji's special train outdid the record of Mr. F. E. James' Grand Express. It was scheduled to reach Wardha at 5 p. m.

The Bombay Mail left Wardha at 6.10 p. m.. From Madras to Madura and Palni and back was a giddy whirl of distractions for Gandhiji and he did the bulk of his writing during the train journey to Wardha. We had counted upon posting part of the copy from Wardha. All of a sudden on the morning of the 5th Gandhiji called me. "Are we running to time?", he asked. "There was an unnecessary forty minutes' delay at Bezwada and another at Kazipet."

"It is true," I said. "We are already two hours behind time. The delay I am told was owing to the difficulty in clearing the crowds at the stations named."

"Let me have a list of train stoppages at once," he remarked. "Let us see whether we cannot eliminate some of them to make up for the lost time." I ran to the guard and explained to him the situation.

"Sorry," he replied. "Only two more stoppages. One is the reversing station, the other the watering station."

"Then speed up till the boiler bursts," I said laughing rather ruefully.

"Track restrictions within the Nizam's Dominions don't permit it," he replied.

All the same when he came to report to Gandhiji a few minutes later he solemnly promised to 'try' to take the train to Wardha in time. It was however clear that his offer was to be taken only in the Pickwickian sense. There were 238 miles yet to be covered and even at the rate of 40 m. p. h. and without any stoppage it would need six hours. By that time it would be 8 p. m.. So we gave up all further striving. Apparently the train staff took the cue from us and, what with the "watering requirements" of the everthirsty engine and with other causes too abstruse for a layman to follow, the train arrived at Wardha at 11.45 at night.

What was to be done? Get the matter sent by air from Bombay? But the plane takes off from Bombay before the arrival of the Bombay Mail these days. "Let us send copies of all the articles to Bombay and get the first issue of the 'Harijan' weeklies printed there," Gandhiji suggested. "I once did like that in Phoenix in the case of 'Indian Opinion'."

"But what about despatch? We have not got the subscribers' registers." So that was that.

"Let us try to send all articles including Hindustani and Gujarati by wire," I suggested.

"Then put the Hindustani and Gujarati articles in Roman script."

I spent the whole of the morning at this thankless task. (When will our news agencies begin to transmit press messages in Rashtrabhasha over the wires?) But, in the meantime Kanu Gandhi had a brainwave. "Send English articles by wire and the rest by a special messenger. He will reach there one day late but if the Harijan work begins earlier, the press will be able to catch up with the rest. And so a special messenger was sent and the first issue of the three weeklies was once more brought out in time after all the misadventures.

Sevagram, 9-2-'46

PYARELAL



### GANDEHIJI'S STATEMENT

Gandhiji has issued the following statement to the press:

The food situation brought the Private Secretary to H. E. the Viceroy to me. I had many meetings and appointments up to a fairly long time. These I could not disregard and I do not know how to fly and hope I may never have to do so. Therefore, in reply to an imperative invitation from His Excellency, I asked that he should send me someone who could speak for him and so the P. S. V. came yesterday. Food situation alone brought him to me. Could I say something in order to lift the question out of the political arena and out of the general distrust of Government intentions and policy? As the matter brooks no delay I give here the purport of what I said. So far as the Congress policy is concerned His Excellency should invite Maulana Sahib and if he cannot come ask him to name his deputy. I personally feel that the present irresponsible executive should be immediately replaced by a responsible one chosen from the elected members of the Central Legislature. I also personally feel that this responsibility should be shouldered by the elected members of the Central Legislature irrespective of parties, for famine of cloth and food is common to the millions of India. Whether the Government can accept the suggestion and whether the different political parties that compose the Central Legislature consider it practicable or not is more than I can say. But this much I can say without fear of contradiction. I have little doubt that if the mercantile community and the official world become honest, if only in face of the impending calamity, we are such a vast country that we can just tide over the difficulty even if no help comes from the outside world, which is itself groaning. Grain and cloth dealers must not hoard, must not speculate. Food should be grown on all cultivable areas wherever water is or is made available. Flower gardens should be used for growing food crops. This has been done during the period of war. The present is, in some respects, worse than the war period. Before we have eaten up the grain we have in stock we must economize like misers. All ceremonial functions should be stopped. Women can play the highest part in the alleviation of the present distress by economizing in their households. In nine tenths of our activity we can manage our daily affairs without the aid of the Government, whatever its colour may be, if only it will refrain from interfering with the people. Panic must be avoided at all costs. We must refuse to die before death actually takes toll and think of the skeletons of India and the least little thing we may do to help, and all will be well with India. Let us not hypnotize ourselves into the belief that because we can indulge ourselves, our next-door neighbour can do likewise. Cloth famine, I know, is a mockery for, if only the Government and millowners will act honestly and intelligently, no one need go naked for want of cloth. We have cotton enough and idle hands enough

and skill enough to make in our villages all the cloth we need.

Note: Readers will realize that as it was Gandhiji's silence day his replies could only be given in writing.

EDITOR

### PRESERVATION OF CATTLE

(By M. K. Gandhi)

The Goseva Sangh which has its headquarters in Wardha was the late Shri Jamnalalji's last creation. He served the public cause in a variety of ways. For years money-making had ceased to be his main occupation. If he cared for money it was only with the object of financing public activities. Eleventh day of February was the fifth anniversary of his death, and his followers and comrades decided to celebrate this anniversary by holding a meeting of friends and workers of the Goseva Sangh.

An hour before he died he was working for this cause. Gopuri where the meeting took place is his creation. His ashes rest there and the first meeting of the Sangh was also held there. The name *Goseva* was chosen after careful thought. The sense of patronage contained in *Goraksha* was eliminated by the substitution of the word *Seva*. The Hindu believes in the cow as mother and indeed she is so. An American has described her as the "Mother of Prosperity" and the description is correct. It is another matter that they eat beef in the West. They believe, at the same time, that the cow occupies the highest place amongst those animals which contribute to man's comfort and happiness. It is difficult, if not impossible, for an Indian to think of man as being able to live without cow's milk.

Preservation of cattle is a vital part of *Goseva*. It is a vital question for India. And it is a tragedy that the country which worships the cow pays scant attention to her and her progeny. While we may not kill the cow we definitely torture her. Matters have reached such a sorry pass that today cattle seem to have become a burden and people talk of killing them off in order to lighten this load. What could one Jamnalalji do to battle against such odds? And now, even he is not among us.

Speeches are not going to solve the problem. There is urgent need for deep study and the spirit of sacrifice. To amass money and dole out charity does not connote real business capacity. To know how to preserve cattle, to impart this knowledge to the millions, to live up to the ideal oneself and to spend money on this endeavour is real business. Today the opposite obtains. The rich amass wealth somehow and salve their consciences by giving a paltry sum out of it towards the upkeep of *Goshalas* by untrained persons and fancy that they have acquired merit. Jamnalalji was well aware of these shortcomings and was working out a scheme to overcome them. In the meanwhile, death claimed him. Perhaps even greater capacity is needed to solve this immensely difficult problem than to obtain Swaraj.

(From the Hindustani)

Sevagram, 9-2-46



# HARIJAN

Feb. 17

1946

## FAMINE OF GRAIN AND CLOTH

(By M. K. Gandhi)

During my wanderings in Bengal, Assam and Madras I heard tales of distress due to shortage of food and cloth. Reports come to me from other parts of India. They support the same tale. Dr. Rajendraprasad tells me that the Government report expressing fear of shortage of food immediately doubled the market price. This is a bad sign. Such speculation should be a thing of the past. The merchantile community should be competent to curb such greed. Let them not add to the distress caused by the Government mistakes or incompetence. There are merchantile associations and chambers. If they act patriotically, they can help most to prevent panic and speculation.

It is the fashion to blame nature for famine. Scarcity of rain is by no means a monopoly of India. In other countries, though people welcome rains they have made themselves fairly independent of rainfall during a season or two. Here, Government have used themselves and the public to the idea that famines come when there is shortage of water-fall. Had the mind been framed otherwise, they would have made adequate provision for shortfalls. They only tinkered with the problem and naturally so. For, the official world was taught to think no better. Originality there could be none in a close monopoly organization like the Government of India. It is the largest autocracy the world has known. Democracy has been reserved only for Great Britain. And when it rules and exploits millions belonging to other races, it becomes an unmitigated evil. It corrupts the whole island with the idea that such exploitation is the best thing for an enlightened democracy to do. It would be well to remember this fundamental fact, if I have correctly estimated it. If we recognize this, while dealing with the immediate problem we shall be patient with the present actors. There is no call here for patience with the evil. The distinction will enable us the better to deal with the evil.

We must then first put our own house in order as far as may be, and at the same time demand from the foreign Government that since they mean what they say, let them at once replace the irresponsible executive with elected and responsible members from the Central Legislature, however archaic and based only on a limited franchise it may be. There is nothing to prevent the Viceroy from doing this today. I do not propose to answer the difficulties in anticipation. "Where there's a will, there's a way." This one act will restore confidence and allay panic.

"Grow more food" was not a bad cry during the war. It is a greater necessity now. This can be best done only by a national executive. Even its mistakes will not loom so large as those of a nomi-

nated executive, however able the latter may be. As it is, even their ability and integrity are in question—rightly so or wrongly is beside the point in this connection. Everything possible should be done to draw water from the bowels of the earth. There is talent enough in this country for the purpose. Provincial selfishness should give place to the national want.

In addition to, not in the place of these measures, grain should be imported from wherever it can be had.

Cloth famine can and ought to be averted by telling the millions to spin and weave in their own villages, the State supplying them with cotton where it is not grown or available and with the simple instruments of production on hire or long-term purchase. The A. I. S. A. with its seasoned workers should be summoned to render assistance and guidance. This will take a few months, if the work is taken up in earnest. Indigenous mills will be called upon to assist this national process by a wise distribution of their cloth in cities and villages while the transition process is going on. Argumentation on the capacity of mills to supply all the cloth required should cease in face of the calamity which is existent and daily growing in intensity. Mills cannot find employment for the millions of unemployed villagers. The educative value of the charkha is not to be surpassed. But for the spell of hypnotism which rules our minds today, we shall all realize this obvious truth, set ourselves working out the concrete proposition and thereby restore confidence to the millions and may be even to the world which has neither enough food nor cloth.

Sevagram, 10-2-'46

## QUESTION BOX

(By M. K. Gandhi)

Q. While in conversation or doing "brain work" or when one is suddenly worried, can one recite *Ramnam* (the name of God) in one's heart? Do people do so at such times and, if so, how?

A. Experience shows that man can do so at any time, even in sleep, provided *Ramnam* is enshrined in his heart. If the taking of the name has become a habit, its recitation through the heart becomes as natural as the heart beat. Otherwise, *Ramnam* is a mere mechanical performance or at best has touched the heart only on the surface. When *Ramnam* has established its dominion over the heart, the question of vocal recitation does not arise. Because then it transcends speech. But it may well be held that persons who have attained this state are few and far between.

There is no doubt whatsoever that *Ramnam* contains all the power that is attributed to it. No one can, by mere wishing, enshrine *Ramnam* in his heart. Untiring effort is required as also patience. What an amount of labour and patience have been lavished by men to acquire the non-existent philosopher's stone? Surely, God's name is of infinitely richer value and always existent.

Q. Is it necessary for the mind to go through different stages of progress (including collapse)



before it attains absolute calm? Why is it that even when one is awake and quite calm one's mind is often disturbed as in a dream? Why do such things as one has neither felt nor seen in real life intrude into one's conscious or sub-conscious mind?

A. Before attaining perfect calm it is essential for almost everyone to go through stages of progress. I use the word "almost" advisedly. It excludes those who have made consistent effort in a previous existence but without complete success and who will not, therefore, have to pass through purgatory in this life. When the apparently calm mind is disturbed as if by dreams it means that the calm is outward and not inward. What does not appear to have any relation to one's life's experience and yet disturbs shows, in my opinion, that there are many things which have associations but of which one has no recollection.

Q. Is it harmful if, owing to stress or exigencies of work, one is unable to carry out daily devotions in the prescribed manner? Which of the two should be given preference? Service or the rosary?

A. Whatever the exigencies of service or adverse circumstances may be, *Ramnam* must not cease. The outward form will vary according to the occasion. The absence of the rosary does not interrupt *Ramnam* which has found an abiding place in the heart. Sevagram, 9-2-'46

(From the Hindustani)

## THE LURE OF LEGISLATURES

(By M. K. Gandhi)

I believe that some Congressmen ought to seek election in the legislatures or other elected bodies. In the past I did not hold this view. I had hoped that the boycott of legislatures would be complete. That was not to be. Moreover, times have changed. Swaraj seems to be near. Under the circumstances it is necessary that Congress should contest every seat in the legislatures. The attraction should never be the honour that a seat in a legislature is said to give. The desire and opportunity for service can be the only incentive for a Congressman. Congress should have, and has, such prestige that a Congress candidate is irresistible even where a particular seat is contested. Moreover, those that are not selected by the Board should not feel hurt. On the contrary they should feel happy that they are left free to render more useful service. But the painful fact is that those who are not selected by the Board do feel hurt.

The Congress should not have to spend money on the elections. Nominees of a popular organization should be elected without any effort on the latter's part. Conveyance arrangements for poor voters should be made by their well-to-do neighbours. For instance, if the voters from X have to go to Y, the railway fare from X to Y for the poor voters should be paid by the well-to-do people of X. That is the distinguishing feature of a well organized, non-violent, popular organization. An organization which looks to money for everything can never serve the masses. If money could bring success in a popular contest, the British Government which can and does spend most lavishly should be the most

popular body in India. The facts are that even Government servants drawing fat salaries do not, in their heart of hearts, want the British Government.

Let us examine the utility value of legislatures. The legislatures can expose the Government, but that is the least service. He who can tell the people why they become victims of the Government in spite of knowing its faults and can teach them how to stand up against Government wrongs renders a real service. The members cannot do this essential service, for their business is to make people look to them for the redress of wrongs.

The other use of legislatures is to prevent undesirable legislation and bring in laws which are useful for the public, so that as much help as possible can be given to the constructive programme.

Legislatures are supposed to carry out the popular will. For the moment eloquence may be of some use in these bodies. Ultimately that will not be the need. Experts with practical knowledge and those who can give to these few their support will be required. In an organization which exists for the sake of service and which has boycotted titles and other such paltry things, the sentiment that to be selected as candidates for the legislatures is a mark of honour is harmful. If such a sentiment takes root, it will bring down the name of the Congress and finally prove its ruin.

If Congressmen are to be reduced to such degradation, who will put flesh and blood into India's millions of skeletons? On whom will India and the world rely? (From the Gujarati)

On way to Sevagram, 5-2-'46

## NON-VIOLENT TECHNIQUE AND PARALLEL GOVERNMENT

Midnapore has always been in the forefront of the freedom struggle. The men and women of Mahishadal made history during the Salt Satyagraha of 1930. In the 1931 Satyagraha struggle it again bore the brunt of Government's repression when there was a mass flight of the inhabitants of the villages in Tamluk before the route marches of the military, characterized by such features as forcible salutation of the regimental colours, plunder and worse. The Mahisha community which inhabits the southern portion of this district around and about Mahishadal sub-division is a sturdy cultivator race. Struggle against nature through the centuries has taught them combination and co-operation. Agriculture depends upon proper drainage of the soil and successfully keeping the sea water out of cultivable land by means of dykes. Their sturdiness and social organization are thus a product of their natural environment.

Perhaps no part of India has passed through such fire of suffering as Midnapore during the August upheaval in 1942, when man's brutality completed the work of nature's wrath. Their suffering had chastened them but did not subdue their spirit. The chastening effect was visible in the perfect discipline and pin-drop silence that marked Gandhiji's prayer gatherings which were sometimes attended by over a lakh of people.

The question of non-violence and Jatiya Sarkar naturally constituted the core of the discussions which the Congress workers of Midnapore had with



Gandhiji during his visit to Mahishadal. Jatiya Sarkar was set up in the thanas of Sutahata, Nandigram, Mahishadal and Tamluk in Midnapore Dist. on 17-12-1942 and 16-1-1943 and was formally dissolved on August 8, 1944, as a result of the publication of Gandhiji's statement on secrecy and underground work after his release from detention. By September 1944, about 150 workers connected with it had come out into the open and surrendered themselves to the authorities. In a comprehensive report which the workers of Midnapore submitted to Gandhiji during his visit to Mahishadal they described in graphic detail how during the August upheaval the people had captured thanas, burnt down kutcheries, paralyzed communications, organized a parallel police service, intelligence branch and law courts where delinquents and those engaged in anti-social activities were brought to book and dealt with "according to law". They had scrupulously avoided taking of life, they claimed, and had therefore acted non-violently.

Later on they discussed the whole question of parallel government and sabotage with Gandhiji. "I cannot say," remarked Gandhiji "that all that has been done has been well done or ought to have been done. On the contrary, much of it ought not to have been done. That the people did not remain inert is a matter of satisfaction, but the fact that after all these years they should not have known what the Congress stood for is a matter for sorrow. What they did was thoughtless. By its very nature it could not be sustained.

"You have graphically put in your reports how you blew up a railway track, put a road out of use, burnt a kutchery, seized a thana, set up a parallel government and so on. This is not the technique of non-violent action. People committed the mistake of thinking that all that did not involve killing was non-violence. Sometimes killing is the cleanest part of violence. If you kill the mischief-maker outright, there is an end to it as far as he is concerned, but harassment is worse. It did not put out mischief. On the contrary, it brought the mischief on our own heads. The authorities became vindictive. Perhaps you will say that they would have been vindictive anyhow, but that is not what we should desire or aim at. It does not pay us to let them go into a panic.

"In August 1942, the authorities became panicky. We gave them that excuse. But they are a people who do not know what defeat is; their cowardice is not fundamental. So, they let such things as thanas, kutcheries, panchayat courts etc., remain in your hands for a short while as toys but as soon as they had completed their dispositions they turned the full blast of their machinery of retaliation against us. It is not in this way that India will attain her independence. We cannot afford to repeat it.

"Today you have to reckon not with Britain alone but the Big Three. You cannot successfully fight them with their own weapons. After all you cannot go beyond the atom bomb. Unless we can have a new way of fighting imperialism of all brands in the place of the outworn one of a violent rising, there is no hope for the oppressed races of the earth.

"Let nobody be misled by the Russian parallel," he continued. "Our tradition is wholly different from Russia's. The historical setting too is different. In Russia the whole population was under arms; Indian masses won't take to arms even if they could be given the necessary training. But it is useless to think that our rulers will let us give them that training when they have at a stroke disarmed a first-rate military state like Japan. Today Japan lies prostrate at the conqueror's feet. But non-violence knows no defeat. It must however be true non-violence, not a make-believe. I would not shed a single tear if I alone were left to represent such non-violence."

"After all that we have done and suffered," observed the friends, "we have begun to doubt whether our energies have flown in the right channel, whether the mass awakening was not misdirected. But, is not non-violent rebellion, a programme of seizure of power?" they asked.

"Therein lies the fallacy," replied Gandhiji. "A non-violent revolution is not a programme of 'seizure of power'. It is a programme of transformation of relationships ending in a peaceful transfer of power. If the people had fully carried out the five steps outlined by me in my 8th of August speech in the A. I. C. C. in Bombay, and had there been a perfect atmosphere of non-violence, the Government's power of repression would have been sterilized and it would have been compelled to yield to the national demand.

"If under the impact of foreign invasion or some such cause the ruling power abdicates and a vacuum is created, the people's organization will naturally take over its functions but such Jatiya Sarkar would have no other sanction except that of non-violence and service of the people to enforce its fiats. It will never use coercion. Even those who might hold contrary views will receive a full measure of security under it."

As an instance of the infinitely greater efficacy of the non-violent technique as compared to the technique of coercion, he mentioned the case of Bardoli. In Midnapore whilst they succeeded in capturing a few symbols of power in the initial stages, they could not retain the fruits of their success. But in Bardoli the Satyagrahis were able fully to retain the gains of their struggle. "Moreover, you have seen," resumed Gandhiji, "that all your bravery could not prevent the violation of women. Now that is intolerable. No one should be able to cast an evil eye upon them. This requires inculcation of a higher form of bravery, i. e. that of non-violence which can hurl defiance at death and against which the power of the aggressor cannot prevail. This is what I am trying to do. It may take time. It takes a long time to infuse this kind of higher courage among the millions. Whether this kind of non-violence will ever come into play or not I do not know. But you, who have had training in non-violence for all these years, ought to realize that in your hands non-violence should show all the brilliance that is inherent in it."

They next wanted to know as to how they could start on the right lines. Gandhiji in reply



prescribed to them the spinning wheel as "the symbol and central sun of the 18-fold constructive programme." It was the best way of achieving social solidarity and non-violent organization. The technique of non-violent action consisted in isolating and sterilizing the instruments of evil. Jatiya Sarkar based on non-violence would not put Government servants under duress but would effectively isolate them so that they would either have to align themselves with the people or be reduced to the necessity of carrying out the foreign Governments' writ through undiluted barbarism of which they would soon sicken and tire. Even their relations and dear ones would desert them. "This presupposes that no section among the people is labouring under a sense of injustice and wrong at the hands of the others. Untouchability, exploitation and communal rancour can have no place under a Jatiya Sarkar, or it will be like a house divided against itself which must fall."

Sevagram, 9-2-'46

PYARELAL

## Notes

### Criminal if True

A letter from Karnatak contains the following information:

"On 1-2-'46 at about 10 a. m. when the Karnatak Provincial Congress Parliamentary Board was conducting its business in its office in Hubli, 20 to 25 persons effected an entrance into the meeting hall without first obtaining permission of the President.

"The Board had met to discuss some important matters. Some of the persons above mentioned asked for time to make certain representations. The President told them that sufficient time for this purpose had been given to them on the previous day. The Board was now engaged in serious deliberations—but would see them again during the afternoon. In reply they said they had further important matters to represent and insisted on doing so then and there. The President opined that their attitude was quite inconsistent with due decorum and discipline but they continued to insist, whereupon the President said that he would be obliged to leave the hall. As he stood up in order to go away one member of the party tried forcibly to hold him down. Another snatched the office files from his hands and was going to take them away. Yet another hit Shri Divakar on the head with his umbrella. Persons in the hall finally came to the rescue and restored order."

If such be the case the Congress organization will go to pieces. Indeed, no organization can successfully work under a system of terror. I do not go into the merits. That work will be done by the Congress Working Committee. What is reported to have taken place is not only against decency and all the rules of the game but is manifestly against non-violence. Moreover, there seems to be an indecent longing for getting into the legislatures. This indecency shows that the deciding reason for contesting elections is being lost sight of.

Sevagram, 9-2-'46

### Flags And Schools

I have two typical letters about flags in schools and colleges. Some boys hoist the Congress flag, therefore others hoist the League flag. Both are wrong. My correspondents report that the mischief commenced by the hoisting of the Congress flag. Probably nothing would have happened for the time being, if both the flags had been tolerated. The

right thing was and is that boys must not take the initiative in such cases. The buildings belong to the authorities and they must decide whether or not to fly, which, if any, flag over their buildings. If boys take the law into their own hands, the result must be chaos and confusion plus breaking of heads. This would be sheer vulgarity and doing no good to anybody. Schools and colleges should be institutions for healing communal breaches, not for promoting differences. If boys and girls do not learn discipline in their schooldays, money and time spent on their education is so much national loss. The one bright thing that emerges from the Lahore episode is that Maulana Saheb Abul Kalam Azad promptly intervened and ruled that the boys who had hoisted the Congress flag were in the wrong.

Sevagram, 11-2-'46

M. K. G.

### 'Harijan' Without M. D.

'Harijan' has been revived after more than three years, years crowded with events of such magnitude that they seem like an age. The sorrow and suffering that the people have borne with undaunted courage fills one with hope and admiration. No wonder Gandhiji and all our leaders are saying freedom is very near. Freedom is near, but many of those who helped to bring it near are gone. Such a one was Shri Mahadev Desai. All such sacrifices, we have been taught, hasten the day of India's deliverance, and this faith has enabled friends and relatives bravely to bear the loss.

Mahadevbhai often told me thrilling stories of his early experiences with Gandhiji, when he was the only personal assistant that Gandhiji had. At the time of the inception of 'Harijan' also he happened to be the only assistant. They were in Yeravda Prison at that time and Mahadevbhai told me how he had recalled from memory more than a thousand addresses and despatched the copies of the paper to them single-handed. Although Gandhiji was the editor of 'Harijan' in the beginning, from its very inception in 1933 right to the end in August 1942, I do not think one ever picked up 'Harijan' without finding in it something rich and beautiful from M. D.'s pen. Even from the sick-bed his contributions came regularly. He had such a facile pen that Gandhiji could write as much or as little as he wanted to. M. D. was always ready to do the rest. And he did not do so anyhow. Gandhiji and the public had come to realize how faithful his interpretation was. His word had come to have almost the authority of the word of his master. That is why when Gandhiji had a breakdown in 1935 he transferred the editorship of 'Harijan' to Mahadevbhai.

To most of us 'Harijan' had for years become associated with Mahadevbhai's pen as much as Gandhiji's. I remember how once Mahadevbhai left a pair of sandals in front of Gandhiji's hut with 'M. D.' inscribed on them. Sardar in his inimitable humour twitted him, "Mahadev, don't have your sandals there. Some visitor might mistake them for a new type of 'Harijan'! 'M. D.' had become a symbol for 'Harijan'."

Mahadevbhai was a voracious reader. He had the bad habit of never going to sleep without reading in bed. But he had so lost himself in work that whatever he read he read with a view to finding good material for 'Harijan'. The book that was last in his hands, almost up to half an hour before his death, 'The Art of Living' by Andre Maurois



bears testimony to this. It has many marginal notes and marked paragraphs by him.

His loss has been irreparable. With the revival of 'Harijan' it is felt more than ever.

Sevagram, 9-2-'46

S. N.

### WOMEN'S CORNER

Gauhati is the gateway to Assam. We put up in an Ashram, newly started, in a small village named Sarania, a few miles out of the city. The Ashram is located on a slight elevation overlooking the tiny village. The surroundings are charming. Trees offer shade and what ought, in time, to be a good garden, goes up in terraces. A new hut of bamboo matting had been put up for Gandhiji. This temporary structure will be made permanent. One simple pukka building with a kitchen and verandah is already up. Amalprabhadevi, daughter of Dr. Das in Gauhati, has decided to dedicate her life to the service of the villagers. She has refused to marry and her father, unlike most parents, has not only not discouraged her desire to serve but is giving her all the help he can. She has three village girls at the moment whom she is training. She has a doctor sister who helps her when needed. While we were there this sister was in charge of the food which was simple and cleanly served on what looked like white marble slabs but were in reality pieces from the bark of the banana tree, neatly sliced and washed. Excellent milk was procured from two nearby villages and a perfect diet of simply prepared vegetables, rice or bread, lettuce, tomatoes, raw onions and oranges was provided. There was no waste and no superfluity as so often happens with guests. During our stay the place was alive with crowds of visitors but ordinarily it is a peaceful spot with plenty of inspiration to be had from the natural beauty of the wooded surroundings and the view of hills in the distance. More young women with the courage and spirit of service of Amalprabhadevi are needed for the service of women and children in villages.

Durgabai, an indefatigable worker, has lately managed to get land and put up a building in the city of Madras; which is to serve as a hostel for girls. We all know the crying need for such shelters for girl students whether they be from the cities or the neighbouring villages. Of course, this hostel will admit girls of all classes and creeds. Common institutions like this are one great means of removing agelong prejudices as also the canker of untouchability.

In spite of advancing years and failing eyesight, Dr. Muthulakshmi carries on her life-long work of rescuing destitute girls and boys, generally children of women dedicated to evil lives. Now her home in Adyar also contains several Burma evacuees, mostly Tamil Harijans. The children are fortunate to have found a mother in her. Her cry is for girl workers who will lighten the burden but alas! such are not easily forthcoming in spite of the tremendous need.

Dr. Sunderam Ramachandran's Maternity and Child Welfare Health Centre close by to Dr.

Muthulakshmi's home is worth emulation. Numbers of poor women and children come and obtain free attention and medicines. There is room for in-patients too. As is usual with all voluntary endeavour, most things have to be improvised, more room, more medicines, more of everything is needed. Had we our own Government, such institutions would not lack anything. As it is, every endeavour from the national side continues to be regarded with suspicion and, if not actively opposed, is generally left to fend for itself.

Just as in Assam the lovely 'sal' and bamboo forests, the mighty Brahmaputra with wooded hills on either side, the inexpressible beauty of the rising and setting sun on the calmly flowing waters of this river took one's mind away for some time from the poverty, dirt and squalor in which our people live, so did the colourful crowds of the women of Tamil Nad enthral one. I have never seen such crowds as those which greeted Gandhiji everywhere during his recent tour and certainly never as many women as were content to stand the heat of the sun or the cold of a winter night without a murmur. Rajaji with humour particularly his own said one day to Gandhiji: "What have you done to make these women risk their lives in these terrific crowds?", and both had a hearty laugh! There is no doubt that there is an awakening among women. This tide we, who are in a position to do so, should try to take at the flood so that we may direct it into right channels.

The mass of colour displayed in the women's section of the crowd was wonderful. Sitting in the sun they looked like a field of flowers of every hue. I do not think I have seen men in any other part of India wearing brightly coloured 'dhoties' either. All this colour is surely a legacy of the gaiety and laughter that was once ours. The dreary drab of village life of today has to be made colourful once again in every sphere by unabated effort on our part.

One of the most pathetic sights was to have young boys running along by the side of Gandhiji sitting near the window of the train when it was slowly steaming out of a station and pointing to their hungry mouths and empty stomachs. Let us hope we shall not be faced with another catastrophe like that of Bengal.

Sevagram, 11-2-'46

A. K.

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# HARIJAN

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[ TWO ANNAS

## WEEKLY LETTER THE GRIM SPECTRE

The grim spectre of the impending famine filled Gandhiji's mind during the brief interval that he was at Sevagram after his return from Madras. He had premonitions of the coming danger whilst he was in Bengal itself and what he learnt about the condition in Bihar and Madras disturbed him even more. He took the opportunity to discuss the question with the Governor of Madras in the course of his meeting with him but did not come away from the talk reassured. The situation called for the co-operation of all concerned and I am betraying no secret when I say that Mr. Abell was agreeably surprised to find when he flew to Sevagram on the 11th inst. that Gandhiji had anticipated his proposals in an article on food and cloth shortage which has since appeared in 'Harijan'.

Gandhiji is not in the habit of allowing the grass to grow under his feet. He addressed the Ashram people after the evening prayer on the same day to emphasize the supreme necessity of conserving and economizing food and increasing its supply by laying under contribution every available inch of space that could be used for growing food. He took up the question with Dr. Zakir Hussain and some other members of the Talimi Sangh who came to him for a talk on the afternoon of the 16th inst.. Since Nayee Talim meant a living co-relationship with the actual conditions of life, it ought to respond to every change in the latter. "It would not, therefore, do for you to say in the present crisis that you are occupied with your educational activity whilst the people are threatened with death due to starvation. Nayee Talim must react to the present situation by converting itself into an instrument for increasing our food supply and teaching people how to meet the danger of food shortage. If the students under Nayee Talim can produce even a part of their food requirement they will to that extent release food for others, besides teaching them self-help by their personal example." Someone had complained that the land at the disposal of the Sevagram Talimi Sangh was of a poor quality and hardly fit for agriculture. Gandhiji brushed aside the objection. "You do not know the kind of land we had to begin with in South Africa. Who would give good land to 'coolies', as we were called there. But by dint of application we were able to convert it into a fruit orchard.

"If I were in your place I would not use the plough to begin with. I would arm our children

with the hoe and teach them to use it effectively. It is an art. Bullock power can come later. Similarly, I would not like you to be deterred by the poor quality of the soil. A thin top layer of loam or compost can enable us to grow many a useful vegetable and pot herb. A beginning can be made at once by converting nightsoil into manure by the shallow trenching system. The conversion does not need more than a fortnight. Every pint of water whether from bathing and ablutions or from the kitchen should be turned into the backyard vegetable beds. Not a drop of water should be allowed to be wasted. Greens can be grown in earthen pots and even discarded old tins. No opportunity should be neglected, however trifling. The cumulative result, then, if the practice is on a nation-wide scale, will be colossal."

## AT RUNGTA HOUSE

Gandhiji took advantage of his one day stay in Bombay on his way to Poona by delivering his message to the people of Bombay on two vital issues of which his mind is full these days, viz. the discipline of prayer and the food crisis. The public prayer was held as usual at Rungta House on the evening of the 18th. The special feature of the prayer-gathering was the mass singing of *Ram Dhun* to the accompaniment of *tal* for the first time in Bombay after the manner that has become familiar since Gandhiji's recent visit to Bengal, Assam and Madras. The meaning and significance of the practice will be found explained elsewhere in these columns. Some among the gathering at Rungta House could not keep correct time in the beating of the accompaniment. It evoked from Gandhiji a gentle rebuke. Bombay had the reputation of being musically minded. It had ample facilities for the teaching of music. Gandhiji had expected them to give a better account of themselves. Instead he found confusion in the meeting and the beating of *tal* out of tune. "There is a time for laughing and shouting and a time for observing silence and being serious," he remarked chidingly. "I have often said that a people who want to be free should learn to mount to the gallows with a smile upon the face. But laughter becomes an offence against decorum if it is out of season. Similarly, shouting out of season is an exhibition of bad manners. It becomes a man to remember his Maker all the twentyfour hours. If that cannot be done we should at least congregate at prayer time to renew our covenant with God. Whether we are Hindus or Mussalmans, Parsis, Christians or Sikhs, we all worship the same God.



Congregational prayer is a means for establishing the essential human unity through common worship. Mass singing of *Ram Dhun* and the beating of *tal* are its outward expression. If they are not a mechanical performance but are an echo of the inner unison, as they should be, they generate a power and an atmosphere of sweetness and fragrance which has only to be seen to be realized.

"In the Police and the Army," continued Gandhiji, "physical drill and training in the use of arms are regarded as an essential part of discipline. Military training includes marching in step and executing of movements to order in the mass noiselessly and harmoniously too. The mass singing of *Ram Dhun* and the accompaniment of *tal* are as much a part of discipline in non-violence as physical drill and training in the use of arms are that of military discipline." He, however, warned them that his advice must appeal to their hearts, not merely to their heads, if it was to bear fruit. Dry intellect would not take them far.

#### SERVANTS OR MASTERS ?

Turning next to the food crisis, he said it presented a grim prospect. They could criticize the Government as much as they liked for its share in it. He himself had not been sparing in his criticism of the Government in the past and he would do so again when the occasion demanded it even though he stood alone. He stood by what he had said in 1942. If the British had stayed in India as the servants of the people, not their masters, and purely to defeat the Axis powers, he would have had nothing to say. Instead they had in their arrogance cast to the winds the warnings and protests of the people's representatives and denuded India of her vital resources, though perhaps not deliberately, with the result that they all knew.

#### SHED INERTIA AND PREJUDICE

Nevertheless he could understand the food shortage. But cloth shortage he could not understand at all. India could grow any amount of cotton. "In this land of ours, fabulously rich in natural resources, there is the lofty Himalayas with its everlasting snows where, they say, dwells the Lord of the Universe. It has mighty rivers like the Ganges. But owing to our neglect and folly, the year's rains are allowed to run down into the Bay of Bengal and the Arabian Sea. If all this water was trapped and harnessed to irrigational purposes by the construction of dams and tanks, there should be no famine or food shortage in India. Similarly, cloth shortage can immediately be remedied by planting a miniature mill in every home in the form of a spinning wheel or a *takli*. That would give us all the cloth that we need almost for nothing. I have cried myself hoarse in pressing this solution on the Government. It is immediately feasible and it is my claim that not a single person need go naked if necessary steps are taken to put it into operation. The only obstacles in the way are the inertia and prejudice in high places.

"In regard to the food shortage I admit that Government alone has adequate resources to cope with it. But even so we need not apathetically

resign ourselves to fate, fixing our gaze at the skies for the rains to come. There is an inexhaustible reservoir of water in the bowels of the earth. It should be tapped, even though we may have to dig two thousand feet deep for it, and used for growing food. We may not blame fate before we have exhausted all available means for combating a threatening calamity.

"Today there is a lot of wastage in food going on in big cities like Bombay in the form of feasts and ceremonies. It is the sacred duty of every man, woman and child to conserve every grain of food and every drop of oil and ghee in this crisis. One should eat no more than necessary to keep the body in health and fitness when millions are faced with the prospect of death through starvation. The foodstuffs thus saved can be distributed among the needy poor — not as alms but as remuneration for honest labour."

Proceeding Gandhiji diagnosed the present helplessness of the country to the double slavery — slavery under the foreign yoke and slavery to our own inertia and sloth. As an instance of the latter he mentioned the fitful and inadequate response to the offer under the new khadi plan of the Bombay Kalbadevi Khadi Bhandar to provide instruments of and instruction in spinning and carding and the allied processes to all those who cared. If we were not under the hypnotic spell of inertia and laziness, the people of Bombay should flock to the Khadi Bhandar in an unending stream day and night and make in no time the shortage of cloth a thing of the past.

#### A PLEA FOR CLEAR THINKING

The political slavery, they all hoped and he shared that hope, would soon end. But the removal of the foreign yoke won't necessarily bring freedom to the people in the real sense of the term. The Congress President had only the other day denounced the recent happenings in Calcutta as being unworthy of a people who aspired to be free. He hoped that they would never disgrace themselves again like that. They were greatly deceiving themselves if they thought that by indulging in hooliganism they would be able to make the British quit India. They would belie their creed and demean themselves in the eyes of the world if after pledging themselves to truth and non-violence as their only means for the attainment of Swaraj, they exhibited their impotent wrath by indulging in looting, stone throwing, arson and abuse. He repeated what he had previously said that if 40 crores of Indians resolved unanimously and whole-heartedly that they would have Swaraj through truth and non-violence alone, it would be theirs for the asking. But if they lacked that faith, it was open to them to repudiate non-violence openly and after due deliberation. People like him might question their wisdom but nobody would charge them with falsehood and cowardice. He was afraid, they could not escape that charge today. He reminded them of Capt. Shah Nawaz's declaration that Netaji Bose had told them that on their return to India they would be expected



to serve their country not by means of the sword but through non-violence. "Granted that India produced sufficient arms and ammunition and men who knew the art of war, what part or lot will those who cannot bear arms have in the attainment of Swaraj? I want Swaraj in the winning of which even women and children would contribute an equal share with physically the strongest. That can be under ahimsa only. I would, therefore, stand for ahimsa as the only means for obtaining India's freedom even if I were alone."

#### WARNING SIGNALS

If there is even a modicum of truth in some of the reports that are coming in, it shows a pretty alarming state of affairs. It was only the other day that Shri M. L. Khemka, President of the Marwari Chamber of Commerce, stated before the Editors' Conference at Allahabad that whereas the Secretary, Food Department of the Government of India, had stated that all export of grains had ceased since August 1943, the export list issued by the Calcutta Customs House showed that only during the months of August and September, one single non-Indian firm had exported from the port of Calcutta to foreign countries no less than 22,504 tons of rice valued at over Rs. 94 lakhs. Shri Khemka added that "a closer examination of the export list of Calcutta alone would disclose further export of rice from Bengal". A correspondent writes from Bombay on behalf of the Manager of an Indian Shipping Company:

"Our line was established in 1917. Since then our cargo vessels have been plying between Hong Kong and other Chinese ports besides the various ports in India. Two of our boats were lost during the war to the Japanese. Our new boat arrived only last month. In her very first voyage to a foreign country last week on 14-2-'46, she carried an export cargo of 2,951 bags of *moong dal*."

In a supplementary note he adds:

"Last month also the steamers 'Begum' and 'Jalajyoti' have carried about 35,000 bags of pulses and *moong* to Colombo; 26,053 bags of *Lang dal*, 3,011 bags of *tur dal* and 1,612 bags of *moong* was exported in 'Begum'. I further understand that about the same quantity is exported every month within the knowledge of the authorities."

Equally alarming is the report sent by the President, North Bengal Rice Mills Association, Dinajpur. The following is its gist:

"The Government of Bengal suddenly reduced the rate of rice from Rs. 11-8-0 to Rs. 9-8-0 per maund in 1945, and when protest was made by the Rice Millers against drastic and sudden reduction, the stock of rice including the entire stock of raw materials of boiled, half-boiled, moist and raw paddy in the possession of Rice Mills was forcibly requisitioned under the garb of D. I. Rules, in order to deprive the Millers of subsequent increase of rate to Rs. 10-8-0 per maund."

"In 1944, the Government of Bengal procured half a crore of maunds of rice from Dinajpur

District at Rs. 13 3-0 to Rs. 11-3-0 per maund and sold the same rice in deficit and rationed areas at Rs. 16-0-0 per maund. The Government thus made a net profit of more than one crore of rupees from the procurement of one district alone. With the reduction of rates of rice in rationed area it became the policy of the Government to impose heavy discount or *Batta* up to Rs. 2/- per maund on rice supplied by the Rice Mills. The Government procured 35 lac maunds of rice in 1945 from the District of Dinajpur alone at the rate of Rs. 9-8-0 to Rs. 10/- per maund and sold the same at Rs. 14/- to Rs. 15/- per maund. It may be noted that the rice on which Government was deducting *Batta* up to Rs. 2/- per maund was also being sold at the same rate of Rs. 14/- to Rs. 15/- per maund. Thus the Government made a profit of not less than fifteen million rupees. Discount or '*Batta*' on rice is being imposed on various flimsy and vague grounds, viz., undermilling, off-colour, under-polishing, over-boiled, under-boiled, and many more new categories are being invented every week by the ardent and aspiring high officials who get quick promotion by helping the Government to profiteer at the expense of the over-burdened consumers. Government purchases medium rice even at a lower rate than coarse rice on assessment of *Batta*, but exports the same in rationed areas as medium rice.

"In 1945, the Rice Mills were compelled to separate *Brokens* (*Khudi*) from rice which were being used as part and parcel of rice up to 1944. . . . Huge stocks of broken rice have accumulated and in spite of repeated reminders, and representations no arrangement has been made for their disposal. . . .

"There are innumerable instances where Government neither purchased rice offered by Rice Millers on the ground that rice is bad, nor granted export permit, with the result that the stock has been wasted or used as cattle fodder."

"If the Millers would have been allowed to export the refused rice even within the Province it would have compared far superior to the notoriously deteriorated rice supplied from the Government Stores. Thus the Government is practically depriving many people from getting the minimum quantity of meal which they badly require in these hard days of scarcity."

"Rice Millers have been compelled to supply cent per cent polished rice, and if any grain of rice is found to be of red tinge the rice is declared under-polished and heavy *Batta* is imposed. In polishing rice beyond normal practice there is wastage of one seer per maund and it yields more 'brokens' besides reducing the vitamin contents of rice. Thus the Government is wasting lacs of maunds of rice which can be easily saved."

The insistence on the Rice Millers supplying cent per cent polished rice and the wastage involved in the separation of 'brokens' from rice are nothing short of criminal, if true. An immediate searching inquiry and action are necessary if the tragedy of 1943 is not to be repeated on a vaster scale.

Poona, Saturday, 23-2-'46

PYARELAL



## HARIJAN

March 3

1946

## NOT LONELY

(By M. K. Gandhi)

A friend wrote to me the other day how lonely he felt in the midst of company. This remark was prompted by my telling him that I distrusted the word of the official world. He did not, and had thought that I might share his trust. Behold his disappointment when he found me wanting. It may be that was not what he meant by his cryptic letter. Anyway that was my interpretation and I replied that as a man of God he must never feel lonely. For, God was ever with him. Why should he care even if the whole world deserted him? Let him trust in spite of me, as long as the trust came from his heart and not his head.

I feel differently. Mutual trust and mutual love are no trust and no love. The real love is to love them that hate you, to love your neighbour even though you distrust him. I have sound reasons for distrusting the English official world. If my love is sincere, I must love the Englishman in spite of my distrust. Of what avail is my love, if it be only so long as I trust my friend? Even thieves do that. They become enemies immediately the trust is gone.

See what is happening in Bombay — the Bombay where I have passed so much time, which has given the public causes so much money and which I had thought had fairly imbibed something of ahimsa. Will it prove the burial ground of ahimsa?

I am unable to think that the incendiarism, the looting and the insults heaped upon Englishmen are or were acts of hooligans. Who are hooligans? Will there be none when English rule is no more? The fashion of blaming the hooligan ought to be given up. We are the makers of the brand. They respond to the air about them.

Imagine the senselessness of looting grainshops. The looters did not help themselves. Even if they did, they were not starving. The grain was meant for the starving. If it was being misused, looting could not prevent that misuse. Usurpers will always replace the looted grain while there is any to usurp. Between the two sets of looters the starving will be more starved than before.

They who incited the mutineers did not know what they were doing. The latter were bound to submit ultimately. Or, was it meant as a lesson in violence? That is not the way to understand history.

I ask myself, and perhaps others are asking, why I am not repeating what I did after Chauri Chaura. I have no call in that direction. When or if it comes, nothing in the world will prevent me, ill or well. Let me reaffirm the truth that I love the Englishman as well as the Indian. Both are humans. Yet I want the rule of and for the masses of India. Lokamanya has taught us that Home Rule or Swaraj

is their birthright. That Swaraj is not to be obtained by what is going on now in Bombay, Calcutta and Karachi.

Let every Congressman, whether four anna member or not, think for himself where Congress should stand. Let us not deceive ourselves and the world.

Poona, 24-2-'46

## TWO REQUESTS

(By M. K. Gandhi)

A friend suggests that I should resume writing my 'autobiography' from the point where I left off and, further, that I should write a treatise on the science of ahimsa.

I never really wrote an 'autobiography'. What I did write was a series of articles narrating my experiments with truth which were later published in book form. More than twenty years have elapsed since then. What I have done or pondered during this interval has not been recorded in chronological order. I would love to do so but have I the leisure? I have resumed the publication of 'Harijan' in the present trying times as a matter of duty. It is with difficulty that I can cope with this work. How can I find time to bring the remainder of my experiments with truth up to date? But if it is God's will that I should write them, He will surely make my way clear.

To write a treatise on the science of ahimsa is beyond my powers. I am not built for academic writings. Action is my domain. What I understand, according to my lights, to be my duty and what comes my way I do. All my action is actuated by the spirit of service. Let any one who can systematize ahimsa, into a science do so — if indeed it lends itself to such treatment. In the event of my inability the correspondent has suggested three names in order of preference for this task: Shri Vinoba, Shri Kishorlal Mashruwala, Shri Kaka Kalelkar. The first named could do so but I know he will not. Every hour of his is scheduled for his work and he would regard it as sacrilege to take a single moment therefrom for writing a *shastra*. I would agree with him. The world does not hunger for *shastras*. What it craves and will always crave is sincere action. He who can appease this hunger will not occupy his time in elaborating a *shastra*.

Shri Kishorlal has already written an independent treatise. If his health permits I know he would like to write further. It may not be correct to call his work a *shastra* but it may be said to be very near to one. In his present state of health, however, I do not think he can shoulder the burden and I would be the last person to lay it on him. Like Shri Vinoba he too does not allow a moment of his time to be wasted. Much of it is given to help solve the personal problems of a large circle of friends. The end of the day leaves him utterly exhausted.

Shri Kakasaheb like Shri Thakkar is an incorrigible nomad. Just now he has made the propagation and development of the national and provincial



languages his special concern. Even if he wanted to divert a moment of his time to the writing of a *shastra* I would try to prevent him from doing so.

From the above it may be concluded that there is no need at present for the treatise in question. Any such during my lifetime would necessarily be incomplete. If at all, it could only be written after my death. And even so let me give the warning that it would fail to give a complete exposition of *ahimsa*. No man has ever been able to describe God fully. The same holds true of *ahimsa*. I can give no guarantee that I will do or believe tomorrow what I do or hold to be true today. God alone is omniscient. Man in the flesh is essentially imperfect. He may be described as being made in the image of God but he is far from being God. God is invisible, beyond the reach of the human eye. All that we can do, therefore, is to try to understand the words and actions of those whom we regard as men of God. Let them soak into our being and let us endeavour to translate them into action but only so far as they appeal to the heart. Could any scientific treatise do more for us?

Poona, 25-2-'46

(From *Harijanbandhu*)

### COERCIVE FAST

(By M. K. Gandhi)

Telegrams and letters condemning my remarks about Rajaji have been received. Some of them say that all the praise bestowed on Rajaji is well deserved. They admit his integrity, self-sacrifice, great ability and administrative capacity. But they hold his so-called apostasy in 1942 to be unforgivable and add that his scheming to be Premier of Madras is insufferable. For me there is no offence or apostasy in resigning from the Congress and maintaining one's views. If he is scheming to get the Premiership, it is undoubtedly worthy of condemnation and would be a sad discovery for me.

But my purpose in reverting to the subject is not for the sake of defending him. My opinion carries no authority save moral which can be rejected at will. What I want is to reprehend the threat of fasting or the fast itself if I do not withdraw the epithet 'clique' in respect of those who are opposing him. I have given my meaning of the word. And I adhere to its use according to that meaning. Nobody should be coerced into changing his belief. There would be an end to all decency and reason if such fasting became effective. As the author of fasting as a weapon in Satyagraha I must state that I cannot give up an opinion honestly held even if the whole world fasts against me. I might as well give up my belief in God because a body of atheists fasted against such belief. The rule of conduct stated by me is of universal applicability. Incidentally, I may mention that the fasts reported of prisoners in some U. P. jails and now of persons aggrieved by the decision of the Parliamentary Board elsewhere fall under the same category though for different and sound reasons.

Poona, 22-2-'46

### THE DISCIPLINE OF PRAYER

Gandhiji accepted no public engagements during his stay in Madras. The only exception was in connection with the Harijan Industrial School at Kodambakam. Congregational prayers took the place of public engagements. If railway journey provided Gandhiji an opportunity to study crowd behaviour, the public prayer gatherings provided an opportunity for imparting discipline to them. Whether India gains her Swaraj violently or non-violently, discipline is equally necessary in either case, perhaps in the latter even more than in the former. In the case of an army, he explained to them, the discipline consists in learning the use of arms for the purpose of killing the enemy. In the case of non-violence it has to be in the inculcation of the art of dying, without killing or retaliation even in the face of the gravest provocations and in selfless service of society. If 400 millions of India could speak with one voice, move together and act together as one man, freedom would be theirs for the asking. Prayer is the greatest binding force, making for the solidarity and oneness of the human family. If a person realizes his unity with God through prayer he will look upon everybody as himself. There will be no high, no low, no narrow provincialisms or petty rivalries in the matter of language between an Andhra and a Tamilian, a Kanarese and a Malayalee. There will be no invidious distinction between a touchable and untouchable, a Hindu and a Mussalman, a Parsi, a Christian or a Sikh. Similarly there would be no scramble for personal gain or power between various groups or between different members within a group.

The outer must reflect the inner. If we are in tune with God, no matter how big a gathering, perfect quiet and order would prevail and even the weakest would enjoy perfect protection. Above all, realization of God must mean freedom from all earthly fear. Political slavery, he has always affirmed, is incompatible with acceptance of the yoke of God; salvation is not for the slave.

In the beginning the gatherings were apt to be noisy which necessitated the omission of the recitation of the Sanskrit *shlokas* and the other texts from the Quran and the Zend Avesta. But towards the close of our stay in Madras a distinct improvement was noticeable in the observance of silence and discipline which, again, confirmed Gandhiji's experience that no matter how indisciplined a crowd is, it is sure to respond to the higher appeal provided you are sufficiently in earnest, persistent and yet patient.

Poona, Saturday, 23-2-'46

PYARELAL

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## STEPPING OFF THE LAST RUNG

We are faced with the prospects of famine. For millions of villagers this means descending just one more rung on the ladder leading to starvation—the one last rung which will bring them to the bottom.

Let me describe a visit I paid some days ago to a little Harijan village near here.

I have to ride over there to make some investigations regarding the inroads of a river. It is a frosty morning, and I put on a thick coat and tie up my head in a woollen scarf. A mile and a half across the fields, and here are the little mud and grass huts. The cattle are standing in front. The cows and bullocks are hardly bigger than the Ashram year-old calves, the bones are all standing out on their bodies, and they regard me with dull and weary eyes. The first impulse is to say "How cruel, why don't you feed your animals properly?" But look at the human beings. Are they much better? The same lustreless eyes, the same bones sticking out. In a way they are even worse off than the animals, for Nature has not provided them with a coat of hair and their clothes are in rags. The women are cooking the morning meal. "Will you show me what you are cooking?" I ask. A woman brings out a thin maize *roti* and a little mustard leaf-vegetable which she has collected from the field. "And the *dal* (pulse)," I enquire, "where is that?" "Do you think I should not hide my shame with a decent petticoat if I could buy *dal*?" she exclaims, pointing to her torn and tattered garment, unsuccessfully stitched all over with coarse thread. "Do you mean to say you don't get any *dal*?" I reply. "It is like this," chimes in a man nearby. "If there are special guests, or some festival, we manage to scrape together a little *dal* by selling a goat or a calf or something." "I see. Then what about milk?" "None of course." "And ghee?" "None either! Then you must be taking oil." Not even oil!! Then I ask about condiments. "Salt?" They reply, "Yes, we cut wheat grass we can find in the hedgerows and on the common lands and that we exchange in the neighbouring village markets for salt, and if we have enough grass for sale we may sometimes get some chillies."

If such people's food supply will be reduced, it must mean the end. There is no stock in the house, and no stamina in the body. Most of them are landless peasants and all of them are illiterate. Millions of their like are spread throughout India.

In drawing this little picture I am showing nothing new. Theoretically, this state of things is known to everybody. Yet the vividness of their realization is not sustained in well-to-do people's minds. If it were, it would not be humanly possible for the well-to-do to eat and dress and live as they do.

When the pinch of famine begins, the city population will make itself heard, but the landless peasantry will suffer silently in the unseen back-of-beyond.

May those who are to organize the famine measures remember these dumb millions, before it is too late!

When responsible government comes at last, their first duty will be to salvage this stratum of society, and set it permanently on its feet.

Bahadrabad

Kisan Ashram, 17-2-'46

MIRABEHN

## GANDHIJI'S PRESS STATEMENTS

I

Among messages and letters condemning my remarks about Rajaji are some from persons threatening to fast if I do not withdraw the word 'clique'. As the author of fasting as a weapon in the armoury of Satyagraha, I must reprehend such use of fasts. No one should give up opinion honestly held even if the whole world were against him. I, therefore, advise against such fasts. Poona, 22-2-'46

II

I have followed the events now happening in India with painful interest. This mutiny in the Navy and what is following is not, in any sense of the term, non-violent action. Inasmuch as a single person is compelled to shout 'Jai Hind' or any popular slogan, a nail is driven into the coffin of Swaraj in terms of the dumb millions of India. Destruction of churches and the like is not the way to Swaraj as defined by the Congress. Burning of tramcars and other property, insulting and injuring Europeans, is not non-violence of the Congress type, much less mine, if and in so far as it may be different from the Congress. Let the known and unknown leaders of this thoughtless orgy of violence know what they are doing and then follow their bent. Let it not be said that India of the Congress spoke to the world of winning Swaraj through non-violent action and belied her word in action and that too at the critical period in her life. I have deliberately used the adjective "thoughtless". For, there is such a thing as thoughtful violent action. What I see happening now is not thoughtful. If the Indian members of the Navy know and appreciate non-violence, the way of non-violent resistance can be dignified, manly and wholly effective, if it is corporate. For the individual it always is. Why should they continue to serve if service is humiliating for them or India? Action like this I have called non-violent non-cooperation. As it is, they are setting a bad and unbecoming example for India.

A combination between Hindus and Muslims and others for the purpose of violent action is unholy and will lead to and probably is a preparation for mutual violence—bad for India and the world.

The rulers have declared their intention to 'quit' in favour of Indian rule. Let the action be not delayed by a moment because of the exhibition of distressful unrest which has been lying hidden in the breast. Their might is unquestioned. Its use beyond the bare requirement will be unworthy and even wicked if it is made to suppress the people or a portion of them. The people have been far too long under the foreign heel. Poona, 23-2-'46



## III

I congratulate Shrimati Aruna Asaf Ali on her courageous refutation of my statement on the happenings in Bombay. Except for the fact that she represents not only herself but also a fairly large body of underground workers, I would not have noticed her refutation, if only because she is a daughter of mine—not less so because not born to me or because she is a rebel. I had the pleasure of meeting her on several occasions, while she was underground. I admired her bravery, resourcefulness and burning love of the country. But my admiration stopped there. I did not like her being underground. I do not appreciate any underground activity. I know that millions cannot go underground. Millions need not. A select few may fancy that they will bring Swaraj to the millions by secretly directing their activity. Will this not be spoon-feeding? Only open challenge and open activity is for all to follow. Real Swaraj *must* be felt by all—man, woman and child. To labour for that consummation is true revolution. India has become a pattern for all exploited races of the earth, because India's has been an open, unarmed effort which demands sacrifice from all without inflicting injury on the usurper. The millions in India would not have been awakened but for the open, unarmed struggle. Every deviation from the straight path has meant a temporary arrest of the evolutionary revolution.

I do not read the 1942 events as does the brave lady. It was good that the people rose spontaneously. It was bad that some or many resorted to violence. It makes no difference that Shri Kishorlal Mashruwala, Kakasaheb and other workers, in their impatient zeal for the moment, misinterpreted non-violence. That they did so, only shows how delicate an instrument non-violence is. My analogy is not meant to cast any reflection on any person. Everyone acted as he or she thought best. Supineness in the face of overwhelming organized violence would have meant cowardice. I would be weak and wrong if I failed to give my estimate of the doings of 1942.

Aruna would "rather unite Hindus and Muslims at the barricade than on the constitution front." Even in terms of violence, this is a misleading proposition. If the union at the barricade is honest, there must be union also at the constitutional front. Fighters do not always live at the barricade. They are too wise to commit suicide. The barricade life has always to be followed by the constitutional. That front is not taboo for ever.

Emphatically it betrays want of foresight to disbelieve British declarations and precipitate a quarrel in anticipation. Is the official deputation coming to deceive a great nation? It is neither manly nor womanly to think so. What would be lost by waiting? Let the official deputation prove for the last time that British declarations are unreliable. The nation will gain by trusting. The deceiver loses when there is correct response from the deceived.

Let us face facts. The coming mission is claimed to be a friendly mission, entertaining the hope that they will discover a constitutional method of delivery. The problem is knotty, probably the knottiest that has ever confronted statesmen. It is possible that the mission will put forth an insoluble conundrum. So much the worse for them. If they are intent upon finding an honest way out of the difficulties of their own creation, I have no doubt there is a way. But the nation too has to play the game. If it does, the barricade must be left aside, at least for the time being. I appeal to Aruna and her friends to make wise use of the power their bravery and sacrifice has given them.

It is a matter of great relief that the ratings have listened to Sardar Patel's advice to surrender. They have not surrendered their honour. So far as I can see, in resorting to mutiny they were badly advised. If it was for grievance, fancied or real, they should have waited for the guidance and intervention of political leaders of their choice. If they mutinied for the freedom of India they were doubly wrong. They could not do so without a call from a prepared revolutionary party. They were thoughtless and ignorant if they believed that by their might, they would deliver India from foreign domination.

Aruna is right when she says that the fighters this time showed grit as never before. But grit becomes foolhardiness when it is untimely and suicidal as this was.

She is entitled to say that the people "*are not* interested in the *ethics* of violence or non-violence", but the people *are* very much interested in knowing *the way* which will bring freedom to the masses—violence or non-violence. The people have, however imperfectly, hitherto gone the way of non-violence. Aruna and her comrades have to ask themselves every time whether the non-violent way has or has not raised India from her slumber of ages and created in them a yearning, very vague perhaps, for Swaraj. There is, in my opinion, only one answer.

There are other passages in Shrimati Aruna's statement which, as it appears to me, betray confusion of thought. But their treatment can wait.

Needless to say that I have dealt with the message believing it to represent her opinion. If it does not, I apologize to her in advance. My argument however, is not affected even if it is found that the reporter has not correctly interpreted her. For my argument is, after all, impersonal and directed only to the portions which are calculated to mislead the public, irrespective of their authorship.

Poona, 26-2-46

## NOTICE

Agents will please note that it is not open to them to charge more than the published price for copies of *Harijan*, and a breach of the rule will lead to the cancellation of their agency. Purchasers are requested to co-operate by refusing to pay more than the published price, and to report to us if extra price is asked for.

A specimen copy will be supplied on receipt of postal stamps worth three annas. MANAGER



## Notes

### Nature Cure Treatment

Nature Cure treatment means that treatment which befits man. By "man" is meant not merely man as animal but as a creature possessing, in addition to his body, both mind and soul. For such a being *Ramnam* is the truest nature cure treatment. It is an unfailing remedy. The expression *ramban* or infallible cure is derived from it. Nature too indicates that for man it is the worthy remedy. No matter what the ailment from which a man may be suffering, recitation of *Ramnam* from the heart is the sure cure., God has many names. Each person can choose the name that appeals most to him. Ishwar, Allah, Khuda, God mean the same. But the recitation must not be parrot-like, it must be born of faith of which endeavour will be some evidence. What should the endeavour consist of? Man should seek out and be content to confine the means of cure to the five elements of which the body is composed, i. e., earth, water, *akash*, sun and air. Of course, *Ramnam* must be the invariable accompaniment. If in spite of this, death supervenes, we may not mind. On the contrary, it should be welcomed. Science has not so far discovered any recipe for making the body immortal. Immortality is an attribute of the soul. That is certainly imperishable but it is man's duty to try to express its purity.

If we accept the above reasoning it will automatically limit the means permissible under nature cure. And man is thereby saved from all the paraphernalia of big hospitals and eminent doctors etc. The large majority of persons in the world can never afford these. Why then should the few desire what the many cannot have?

Poona, 24-2-'46

(From *Harijansevak*)

M. K. G.

### Commendable

The responsibility of feeding the delegates to the recent Silver Jubilee celebrations of the Dakshina Bharat Hindustani Prachar Sabha was undertaken by a few merchants of Madras. They did this work with efficiency from January 23rd to February 1st. To feed fifty thousand persons was no small task. The food was good and cleanly served. It was a great thing for an organization like the Sabha to have the burden of feeding the delegates completely taken from them.

The Madras friends deserve congratulations for having so willingly and efficiently carried out the difficult duty undertaken by them.

Sevagram, 8-2-'46

(From *Harijansevak*)

A. K.

### Kasturba Memorial Trust Agents

As Chairman of the Kasturba Gandhi National Memorial Trust, Mahatma Gandhi has appointed the following Agents in the respective provinces:

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(1) Delhi, (2) Sind, (3) N. W. F. P., (4) Central India, (5) Tamil Nad, (6) Maharashtra and (7) Nizam's Dominions.

Kasturba Gandhi National Memorial Trust,  
(Central Office)  
Bajajwadi, Wardha,  
20-2-1946

A. V. THAKKAR

### QUESTION BOX

(By M. K. Gandhi)

Q. You say that one of the contracting parties in a marriage should be a Harijan. I hope you do not call other marriages taboo.

A. This is a good question. I do not believe that all other marriages are taboo. I have pointed to the ideal, the practical attainment of which it is our duty to strive for as speedily as possible.

Poona, 21-2-'46

(From *Harijansevak*)

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# **HARIJAN**

Editor: PYARELAL

VOL. X, No. 5]

AHMEDABAD — SUNDAY, MARCH 10, 1946

[ TWO ANNAS

## **TO AGENTS**

There is naturally an ever-increasing demand for copies of 'Harijan'. It is impossible to cope with it so long as the quota of paper sanctioned for it remains as at present. We are trying to get more paper and would in the meanwhile request subscribers and especially agents to be patient. Agents will readily realize that their demands can be attended to, only after the permanent subscribers have been provided for, and will, we hope, co-operate with us by setting a limit to their demands for the present. Fresh agents will kindly help by not applying at all for the present.

6-3-'46

J. DESAI

## **Notes**

### **A Useful Pamphlet**

A friend sends me a copy of a leaflet published by the Department of Agriculture, Bombay Province. It contains hints on small scale vegetable cultivation in compounds of bungalows etc. This was published in 1942 during war time in pursuance of a campaign for growing more food. What was then necessary is much more so now in view of the increasing shortage of food. It is a pity that the leaflet is printed in English. It may be, however, that only the English pamphlet has been sent to me and that it has been translated into the provincial languages. Be that as it may, the leaflet is certainly instructive and useful and I would suggest to the readers who are interested, as they should be, in the matter that they send for and study it with a view to making use of the suggestions, if they have a plot of land available for the purpose. Among the hints contained are the following chosen by me at random:

(a) Plots selected should be well-drained and not overshadowed by trees or buildings.

(b) Beds in which flowers have been successfully grown are usually suitable but portions of lawns may also be dug up and used for vegetable gardening.

(c) Waste water from bath-rooms or kitchen can be utilized for the purpose.

(d) It stresses the necessity of using organic manure such as cowdung and tells the reader what vegetables can be easily grown.

(e) A table is given at the end showing the quantity of particular seeds required, the depth at which they should be sown, the size of the beds and the distance between the rows of plants.

Poona, 1-3-'46

M. K. G.

### **Helpful Suggestions**

A correspondent writes:

"You are at present in Poona. I understand from the papers that H. H. the Aga Khan is your friend. He has plenty of land and water supply at his disposal in his palace in Poona. The same applies to the spacious grounds of Government House at Ganeshkhind. Could not both these places be utilized for growing food? Could you suggest it to him?"

"You believe in fasts. You have said that fasts are not merely for attaining religious merit but are also beneficial for health. Cannot you then recommend to the well-fed abstention from food either one day or for even one meal or more during the week? A great deal of foodstuffs could thus be made available to the poor.

"They say that even a small quantity of sprouted grain, if eaten raw, provides the requisite nourishment. Is this so?"

The above is condensed from a letter. All the three suggestions are sound and could easily be put into practice. The first is obviously for those who possess both land and water; the second for the well-to-do; the third applies to all. In essence it means that whatever can be eaten raw should be so eaten. By intelligently following this rule one can make a small quantity go a long way. I have little doubt that if people understood the laws of dietetics and acted accordingly, a tremendous economy in food could be effected.

Poona, 1-3-'46

(From *Harijansevak*)

### **Utilization of Available Power**

Q. Flour grinding machines are turned by engines in thousands of villages in Gujarat. By removing them to the source these engines could easily be used for drawing water from rivers, tanks and wells for purposes of irrigation. Could not the Government be induced or the owners be persuaded



to divert the engines for this useful work in addition to working the grinders?

A. I regard the existence of power wheels for the grinding of corn in thousands of villages as the limit of our helplessness. I suppose India does not produce all the engines or grinding machines. I fondly hope that the correspondent is incorrect and that the number of wheels and engines does not run into thousands even for the whole of India. But if true, it is indicative of the utter laziness into which our people have fallen. The planting of such machinery and engines on a large scale in villages is also a sign of greed. Is it proper to fill one's pockets in this manner at the expense of the poor? Every such machinery puts thousands of hand *chakkis* out of work and takes away employment from thousands of housewives and artisans who make these *chakkis*. Moreover, the process is infective and will spread to every village industry. The decay of the latter spells too the decay of art. If it meant replacement of old crafts by new ones, one might not have much to say against it. But this is not what is happening. In the thousands of villages where power machinery exists, one misses the sweet music in the early morning of the grinders at work.

But to come to the main point. Whilst I hold that these power engines are at present being put to wrong use, it would be some compensation if the engines, in addition to their present use, were also used to pump water out of rivers, tanks and wells for irrigation. My correspondent suggests Government aid for this. Must this be necessary? Will not the owners of their own free will turn their engines towards this useful and necessary work? Or have we been reduced to such a paralytic state that without Government compulsion we are unprepared to do anything? Be that as it may, it is my firm opinion that all necessary measures should be taken at once to utilize existing power in order to save the people from the terrible fate confronting them.

Poona, 1-3-'46

(From *Harijanbandhu*)

M. K. G.

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## **NON-VIOLENT INDIA AS WORLD POWER**

We can obtain control over others by generating two kinds of forces—constructive or destructive. Love and service characterize the former, while hatred and fear distinguish the latter.

Today the world is under the power of fear and hatred. This is the result of our socio-economic order which is necessarily based on our possessing a control over our neighbour. Centralized industries which have their machinery and plants located at one place have to obtain their raw materials from distant places. They also have to find their markets and control them in their favour, may be at the other end of the world. Textile mills may be located at Manchester where no cotton grows. The needed cotton has to be grown in India—6000 miles away. After it is spun and woven into cloth it has to be sent back to India to be sold—another journey of 6000 miles. This makes it imperative for the lives of the cotton growers in India to be planned by the millowners of Manchester who will also want to control the Government of India so as to obtain favourable customs and excise duties so that their cloth may be sold. This is done by resorting to channelling science to produce atom bombs and teaching children to sing songs of hatred against the Japanese or the Germans, the successful competitors in the markets. The result is the slavery of India as a bye-product.

To achieve all this, violence has to be glorified and given a high status in society. Admirals and Generals have memorials erected to them in St. Paul's Cathedral and Westminster Abbey. They are placed in juxtaposition to the Deity. Only then will people flock into the army, navy and the air force. This is a degradation of civilization into barbarism. The world is groaning under this system today. The Great Powers hold their sway by virtue of the atom bomb. The rest of the world is cowed down by fear of destruction. The world may have been gained but the soul has been destroyed.

What is the alternative? We have to raise different standards of value. The welfare of mills and machinery should make room for the interests of the people. Our lives should not be ordered by the needs of the material world. We need not artificially increase our wants and then strive to satisfy them. We have to set first things first. True life does not consist in the abundance of things we possess.

India has put forward a solution. Her own standard of values is signified by the status in society given to the various classes of people. The lowest are the parasites whose existence depends on the destruction of others. Economic Imperialism is of this order. Then come the predatory creatures who consume without production. To be "drunk like a lord" cannot be an ideal with us. The aristocrats belong to this group. The next in order is the economic group—the *Vaishyas*. But money does not occupy the pivotal place. The upper two groups



are public servants, the *Kshatriyas* to look after the people's needs and the *Brahmins* to be the custodians of culture. With this standard of values India reached out to the remotest parts of the world carrying light and learning. This was a cultural penetration which led to peace and harmony amongst nations.

Under this scheme of things, self-indulgence was not the goal of life. When we emphasize indulgences the order is based on pleasures and rights. This ultimately leads to conflict and violence. If, on the other hand, we emphasize duties, life comes under the control of self-discipline and our wants are restricted. This is the basis of civilization. We have to give the highest place in society to the service of the needy. By so doing we eschew violence and our influence over others is based, not on fear, but on the appreciation of our service. This is the power India had once and can have even today. It is one of mutual regard and respect and will lead to the fusion of cultures and world peace.

J. C. KUMARAPPA

### FROM RUBBISH TO GOLD

Having settled down to a *kisan's* life for the purpose of understanding the problems of the villager, I have come to one definite conclusion, and that is that manure-making is one of the most important things we have got to tackle. The ordinary peasant makes no effort to prepare manure. Cow-dung and small amount of rubbish are just thrown in a heap without any attempt to mix them together. The heap may be in a pit or on the level ground. During the monsoon it is left exposed to the rain and rots to some extent, after which it is scattered (and that unevenly) on the fields. In this way the minimum results are obtained from the material at hand.

The absence of manure in Indian villages is always ascribed to the fact that the major portion of the cow-dung is used for fuel. But even without drawing on the fuel supply, double the cow-dung could be collected to what is at present gathered up for manure. Much of it gets trampled into the ground under the feet of the tethered cattle, and still more is left about on the grazing grounds. If all this were saved, and the rubbish which eternally lies about in the farm-yards and village lanes were regularly gathered up and the two mixed properly together, more than double the present quantity of manure would be produced, and its quality would be far superior.

To tackle the production of this farm-yard manure is a more urgent job than the setting up of big factories for manufacturing artificial fertilizers. Artificial manure needs big outlay in capital, machinery and experts, and for a long time it will reach only a very limited number of our seven lakhs of villages. It also requires careful application, whereas the farm-yard manure needs no outlay of any kind. The materials are lying there waiting to be gathered up, the peasant with his ordinary tools can do all the work and throughout the world farm-yard manure is acknowledged as the all round best and safest.

In Kisan Ashram I have started experiments in the simplest possible methods of manure making.

I am not yet able to give exact figures and timings as the work is in its initial stages, but the procedure I am at present trying out is on the following lines: A shallow pit is dug 2 ft. deep, 22 ft. long, and 10 ft. broad, (the length and breadth can be varied according to the daily amount of stuff to be handled). Each day grass, leaves and other light rubbish is collected and heaped near the edge of the pit; cow-dung and horse droppings are collected and heaped separately next to the rubbish. At the end of the day rubbish is spread in a thin layer over a little less than half the bottom of the pit, and on top of that a thin layer of dung, broken up and sprinkled by hand. Thus one layer on top of another is spread according to the amount of material collected during the day. The last layer is always rubbish so as to protect the dung from sun and wind. Every third day water is poured on the layers sufficient to saturate them. When the half pit is full, the manure is covered with a thin layer of earth and left for six to eight weeks, after which it is drawn to the other half of the pit. Care is taken to cut away the layers in thin vertical slices. When the manure is laid out thus in the other half of the pit, it is again saturated with water and covered with earth. After another six to eight weeks the manure is examined, and, if it is sufficiently disintegrated, it is removed from the pit, piled on the ground and covered over with earth, ready for use when needed, otherwise it is drawn once more across the pit as described above. During the rains a roof should be put over the pit.

It will be difficult enough to induce the peasant to do even this much in his present untrained mental state. Anything more complicated would probably fail. But this method gives promise of being quite efficacious.

For obtaining full statistics in this kind of work variations in the method of production should be tried out, and two or three years of crop results should be studied. But I have put the matter forward without waiting to show these statistics, because all those of us who are interested in such work should be co-operating in our efforts and sharing our ideas and reports of results. As soon as the new Provincial Governments begin to function, this is a matter which their Agricultural Departments should take up without delay, and it is for us to be ready to come to their assistance with these simple, practical methods.

One reads of simple indigenous methods of manure-making in China where, from time immemorial they seem to have practised the art. And one hears also that the Chinese peasant gets four times the yield from his soil to what the Indian peasant does. At the same time the villages in China are swept clean, because everything in the way of rubbish is put into the manure pit. Here in India our villages are littered with debris from one year's end to another. All this rubbish can be turned into gold if we will but use it in the right way.

Kisan Ashram, Bahadrapad,

14-2-46

MIRABEHN



# HARIJAN

March 10

1946

## CONFLICT OF IDEAS

(By M. K. Gandhi)

"She was unable to understand Gandhiji calling upon R. I. N. ratings to resign if their condition was humiliating. If they did that they would have to give up their only means of livelihood. Moreover, they were fighting for principles. If they resigned now there would be hundreds in these days of unemployment to take their places who would be subject to the same discrimination and treatment and the R. I. N. ratings would not have achieved anything. It simply does not lie in the mouth of Congressmen who were themselves going to the legislatures to ask the ratings to give up their jobs. It does not help the cause of the country at all."

Every one of the statements quoted above from Arunabehn's press interview is contrary to the views generally held by or attributed to Congressmen. Whether she really holds or does not hold the views put into her mouth is irrelevant here. For the moment it is enough to examine them on their merits and to show that they are wholly inconsistent with Congress resolutions.

The first principle of non-violent action as propounded in the Congress resolution of 1920 at its special session in Calcutta under the late Lala Lajpatrai is that of non-cooperation with everything humiliating. It must be remembered that the R. I. N. was founded not for the benefit of the ruled. The men went with their eyes open. Discrimination stares one in the face. It cannot be avoided if one enters the service which is frankly organized to keep India under subjection. One may, one ought to, try to mend the conditions. That is possible only up to a point. That cannot be achieved through mutiny. Mutiny may conceivably succeed but the success can only avail the mutineers and their kin, not the whole of India. And the lesson would be a bad inheritance. Discipline will be at least as necessary under Swaraj as it is now. India under successful mutineers would be cut up into warring factions exhausted by internecine strife.

India of the Congress has made little headway in the appreciation of the fight for Swaraj, if it is true that hundreds would take their places if the present ratings resigned in pursuance of their campaign against humiliation. Can we have Swaraj for the masses if we are so degraded that hundreds of us are ready to swallow humiliation even to the extent of taking the places of humiliated fellow-men? The very thought is unworthy of Congressmen and that too at the moment when Swaraj is believed to be within sight.

Those who hold that enlistment in the R. I. N. is their only means of livelihood must have a very poor opinion of them. A soldier's is a hard life. He is disciplined to work in co-operation and

trained to work with the pickaxe and the spade. Such a one will disdain to think that apart from soldiering he has no means of livelihood. We have a poor opinion of soldiers, if we think that they cannot earn their bread by the sweat of the brow. A labourer is any day worthy of his hire. What is, however, true is that a soldier out of his calling will lack the glamour and the amenities provided for him. We have wasted precious twentyfive years if we have not yet stripped the profession of killing and destroying of the thick coat of varnish that has covered it for so long.

Aruna Asaf Ali has been reported to have said that the ratings would have gained nothing by resigning. Well, they would have gained honour and dignity if they had manfully given up their job and taught the citizens of Bombay the way to save honour and dignity, and they would have spared Bombay the senseless destruction of life, property and very precious foodstuffs. Surely this would have been an achievement not quite beneath notice.

The last statement in the reported interview is surely a confusion of thought. Congressmen going to the legislatures for conserving the honour and liberty of the country is not the same as ratings serving for their livelihood with the possibility of being used against their own countrymen and their liberty. Congressmen who go to the legislatures are representatives elected by their voters and they go even if it is only to prevent those from going who will misrepresent the voters. Going to the legislatures may be altogether bad, but there can be no such comparison as has been just adverted to.

Poona, 3-3-'46

## WEEKLY LETTER

### FRUITS OF VIOLENCE

"Look at Italy," said Gandhiji the other day to a friend who would have independence at all costs. "Garibaldi was a great man. He brought deliverance to Italy. And Mussolini did make her look great. But where is she today? Look at Japan, look at Germany. The very violence which brought them to the pinnacle of power has razed them to the ground. And has not the atom bomb proved the futility of all violence? And yet we are crazy enough to think that we can win Swaraj by breaking a few skulls and destroying property which, after all is said and done, is our own." Needless to say that all these happenings have filled him with unspeakable anguish. But he is an irrepressible optimist. "I am sure, out of this orgy of violence the people will learn the lesson of non-violence," he remarked. The sense of oppression and misery that he feels at what is happening is so great that only his unquenchable faith in the God of Truth and Non-violence could sustain him.

### THE STARK REALITY

Drums and music and the display of banners serve in the army to camouflage the horror and bestiality of war. Let not patriotic sentiment blind us to the stark realities of the Bombay happenings. Here is an eye witness' account of what took place in one part of Bombay on the 22nd February:



"Bombay is the scene of a death dance today." I have just returned from our hospital. Never have I seen such carnage and bloodshed. One used to read in books about 'rivers of blood'. Well, I have seen that sight with my own eyes this time. Bodies of the dead and wounded, Hindus and Muslims, ranging from old men and women to two-year old infants are lying pell-mell in our casualty office. Every student in our hostel and the entire nursing staff had their hands more than full. Could not something be done to stop this senseless orgy involving the murder of so many innocents? The bowels of some have gushed out. Others have received bullet wounds in the chest. Amputation of hands and feet had to be done in the case of still others. The sight of it makes one shudder. It is now nearly 9 p. m.. Things have quietened down somewhat. There was firing in the street before our college at about six in the evening. A male nurse who worked in our hospital has been wounded. British soldiers go on firing indiscriminately from moving lorries.

"I was assisting in the operation theatre. The combined odour of blood and dead bodies nearly made me feel giddy. One hears tales of popular rowdyism too. The actual rowdies however seem to escape scot-free. . . .

"I have once again been to our hospital from where I have just returned. The number of the dead has mounted to 56. The condition of many more is serious."

#### THE BETTER WAY

Several army men have been to Gandhiji's camp during the week to seek advice. One of them saw Gandhiji. He was deeply agitated. The men were getting desperate, he said. Would Gandhiji ask them to lie low and swallow all the humiliations and injustice?

"No," replied Gandhiji. "But, as you know, I stand for unadulterated non-violent action and open means. I abhor secrecy."

The visitor felt puzzled. What place could non-violence have in the fighting ranks as a means of redress, he wondered.

"I laid down a programme of non-violent action in my 7th of August '42 speech in the A. I. C. C. for looking and organizing the highest non-violence and self-sacrifice that the country was capable of," remarked Gandhiji. "I told in that speech what the press should do, what the students should do, what the princes should do, what the Government servants should do, and lastly what the Indian soldiers should do. If all of them had done their part as suggested by me, it would have had a staggering effect. That programme can still be acted upon. The soldiers should declare that they will do soldiering not for their bellies but to make India free and to keep her free. I do not want them to be disloyal to the Government in whose pay they are, for, if they are disloyal to the present Government today, by the same token they may be disloyal to the national government tomorrow. But it is no disloyalty for a soldier to go and tell his superiors that he will be their man only so long as they stand for his country's freedom and that he would never bear arms to

crush the liberty of his own people. If as a result of their declaration they were disbanded, cashiered or even court-martialled, they should not mind. Thereby they would light a spark which not all the armaments at the disposal of any power would be able to put out and before long the entire Indian Army would be filled with the spirit of patriotism without having to shed blood. If, on the contrary, they resorted to indiscipline and violence or rowdyism they would alienate all sympathy and provide the authorities an excuse to teach them a lesson."

"My brain was muddled, when I came here," replied the visitor. "I now see things more clearly. You have saved us from a big mistake. We shall take no precipitate or thoughtless step."

#### STRAWS IN THE WIND

Typical of the deep heart-searching that is going on in the mind of many a Britisher at present is the following from the letter of an army man to Gandhiji:

"Many of us, conscripted soldiers, have the welfare of your country at heart. So much so, that we have taken the only opportunity we have, to show practically, our feelings. This has been in the form of letters to our members of Parliament in which we have stressed the urgency for an immediate all out action towards the solution of the problem that is with us today. So far as we are able to make recommendations we have said that the only solution is immediate handing over of your country to you, its people, and a request that you be asked to use every available means to implement the very right 'Quit India' proposal.

"Another point I raised with my M. P. was this. What is my position as a soldier of H. M. Forces, if I am called upon to take up arms against people I love? I intimated that I should refuse to do so, as I shall if ever anyone is so misguided as to issue an order to that effect. I also asked that suitable steps should be taken to see that our position was clarified. We did not come into this army to fight an imperialist war, and I for one won't.

"There is impatience—and rightly so—and the outbreaks of rioting are signs of it. Such outbreaks I feel sure are ill advised and will do nothing but alienate sympathy from the rightness of the cause. I sincerely hope that reason and forbearance will be brought to bear on those responsible so that no general precipitation of mob rule will ensue.

"I may have exceeded any rights I have in writing as I have done, but if there is attendant risk, I am quite prepared for it. I do, at least, feel I have expressed honestly what I feel as a man with some humanity in my heart. Also, it may help you to know that you have many of us, here, and in England, wishing you god-speed. . . . There seems so very little one can do alone in a practical way to help, but wherever this is possible, I should be only too pleased to identify myself with anybody militating towards a speedy and peaceful end to problems, which though not of my making, are here I feel, because of us, and so in some measure I admit responsibility for them."

Poona, 3-3-'46

PYARELAL



## WHAT, AFTER FINISHING STUDIES?

( By M. K. Gandhi )

Q. A student has seriously posed this question: "What am I to do after finishing my studies?"

A. We are today a subject race and our educational system has been devised to serve the interests of our rulers. But even as the most selfish person is obliged to hold out some lure to those whom he is out to exploit, so a number of temptations for studying in their institutions have been brought into being by the rulers. Moreover, all members of Government are not alike. There are some liberal minded among them who will consider the problem of education on merits. Therefore, there is no doubt some good even in the present system. But the prevailing education is willy-nilly put to wrong use, i. e., it is looked upon as a means of earning money and position.

The ancient aphorism, 'Education is that which liberates', is as true today as it was before. Education here does not mean mere spiritual knowledge nor does liberation signify only spiritual liberation after death. Knowledge includes all training that is useful for the service of mankind and liberation means freedom from all manner of servitude even in the present life. Servitude is of two kinds: slavery to domination from outside and to one's own artificial needs. The knowledge acquired in the pursuit of this ideal alone constitutes true study.

Realizing that a form of education devised by foreign rulers could only be calculated to subserve their interests, the Congress accepted in 1920, among other things, the principle of the boycott of all Governmental educational institutions. But that era seems to be over. The demand for entrance to Government institutions and those imparting education on similar lines is increasing faster than the number of such schools and colleges. The ranks of examinees are ever swelling. In spite of this hypnotic spell, however, I hold that true education is what I have defined.

A student who is superficially attracted by the educational ideal set forth by me and leaves his studies is liable to repent of his action later. I have, therefore, suggested a safer course. While continuing his studies in the institution which he has joined he should ever keep before him the ideal of service set forth by me and use his studies with a view to serve that ideal, never for making money. Moreover, he should try to make up the lack in the present education by application of his leisure hours to the ideal. He will, therefore, avail himself to the utmost of whatever opportunity offers for taking part in the constructive programme.

Poona, 1-3-'46

( From Harijanbandhu )

## NOTICE

Agents will please note that it is not open to them to charge more than the published price for copies of *Harijan*, and a breach of the rule will lead to the cancellation of their agency. Purchasers are requested to co-operate by refusing to pay more than the published price, and to report to us if extra price is asked for.

A specimen copy will be supplied on receipt of postal stamps worth three annas.

MANAGER

## WAYS AND MEANS

Ever since Gandhiji has turned his own and public attention to finding out ways and means of averting the food crisis which faces the country, suggestions have been pouring in on him. Many of these he has already embodied in his statements to the press and articles in 'Harijan'. Here are some more that merit the attention of the authorities where the remedy lies in their hands and of the general public so far as practical co-operation on their part is concerned.

1. Lakhs of acres of fertile black cotton soil — 4 lakhs in Guntur, 6 lakhs in Krishna and Godavari districts, 10 lakhs in the Circars, 20 lakhs in other parts — are being used for the growing of Virginia tobacco. Inasmuch as tobacco and its use is to be condemned as harmful for man, it is a golden opportunity for the owners of these lands to give up its cultivation or restrict it and devote these fertile areas to growing food and fodder crops.

2. The shelled and dried cocoanut, commonly known as *copra* is extensively used for commercial purposes for manufacturing toilet articles such as cocoanut and other scented oils, soaps etc.. *Copra* may be preserved for a long time without any difficulty and may be used as a supplementary nutritive diet. It contains a high percentage of good quality vegetable fat as well as minerals and vitamins. The main producing areas are Cochin and Travancore and there are, of course, big interests behind the cocoanut oil industry.

3. A Poona friend sends two samples of *jowar*. 'A' is which the villagers harvested in their fields last season and which was taken away from them under the compulsory levy scheme by Government officials, the producer being paid at the rate of Rs. 6/- per Bengal maund of 40 seers. 'B' is of what these same villagers who were compulsorily dispossessed of their produce of 'A' a few months before are now compelled, in order to avoid starvation, to take at Rs. 10/- per maund! This, if true, is a glaring example of the inefficiency, shortsightedness and utter indifference of the official world to the needs and welfare of the poor. Surely local needs should be assessed accurately before exporting a single grain of foodstuffs from any area.

4. From Bihar a friend draws Gandhiji's attention to *mahura* which is an edible commodity but which is also largely used for the manufacture of country liquor. If this latter use were to be drastically cut down, *mahura* could not only supplement the food ration of the villager but would also "cause compulsory saving by labour (in most cases amounting to 25% of their total earnings) and thereby enable them to purchase more milk, vegetables, eggs, etc.". *Mahura* can also be utilized for replacing a good portion of the grain consumed by cattle.

5. The manufacture of alcoholic drinks prepared from grains should be stopped immediately.

6. The supply of rice and maize to starch factories should be stopped or curtailed for the time being.



7. A Punjab friend opines that in wheat-growing districts several hundred maunds of unripe wheat crop is daily being consumed by cattle in the shape of green fodder. 200-300 maunds of this unripe wheat would amount to 5000-7500 maunds of grain if allowed to ripen. The friend suggests a scale of rationing of grains for cattle as for men and substitution for cattle of more green fodder in the shape of *shattala*, *sarson*, green vegetables and grass.

8. The manufacture of cakes, biscuits, pastries, fancy breads, sweetmeats, etc. in hotels and restaurants is a matter that needs investigation and curtailment.

9. Ceremonial feasts and parties must be stopped.

10. The question of rice has already been touched on by Shri Pyarelal but bears repetition. A correspondent from Dinajpur writes that 30,000 maunds of broken rice are lying and being wasted in the mills there. It may not be sold in the market, whereas, if released, it could feed thousands of hungry mouths. The writer suggests that an inquiry should be held to reveal how much rice Bengal produces, how much is purchased by Government from the mills and what use is made of it, how much broken rice is lying all over the province and whether Government will allow this to be handed over to a food distribution committee specially appointed for the purpose.

11. Professor Ranga fears that while every effort has been made to assure rations of food to the urban people, very little, if any, thought has been given to assure similar rations for the rural areas. He suggests:

(a) Sufficient remuneration to the peasant for food crops so as to wean him from cultivating commercial crops. The peasant is being starved of clothing, kerosene oil, fuel and other oils. Remunerative prices for foodgrains without the mediation of middlemen would alleviate his distress. Consumers' goods should be made available to him on a system of rationing and a systematic and equitable exchange of agricultural produce for these should be worked out and enforced.

(b) Adequate supply to him at reasonable rates of agricultural implements.

(c) Healthy competition between householders, kisans and villages as to the maximum per capita production and minimum per capita consumption. Those who produce more may be paid more and may have a greater supply of consumers' goods allotted to them.

(d) Every scrap of unoccupied but cultivable land may be placed at the disposal of individual landless peasants or their co-operative societies on condition that they grow only food crops.

(e) Foodgrain producers should be persuaded to keep only their annual requirements with them, the remainder to be put at the disposal of village panchayats who will see what is needed by non-foodgrain producers and landless labourers and wisely store and distribute the same.

(f) All surplus foodgrains should be at the disposal of district authorities for distribution elsewhere.

There should be a procurement, distribution and rationing authority entrusted with the important task of equitably distributing available foodstuffs.

(g) Rural folk must be persuaded to postpone marriages and other ceremonials, or, at any rate, minimize consumption and wastage of food on such occasions by celebrating them in a communal manner.

(h) Communal feeding centres for artisans and others at low prices will minimize food wastage.

(i) Grain storage may have to be built up for every fifty villages or every taluk in order to ensure timely and adequate supplies of foodgrains to any villages in that or in neighbouring areas whenever a sudden food shortage occurs.

(j) Iron must be placed at the disposal of every taluk and village panchayat and iron bands for carts must be given priority so that bullock carts may be at the disposal of the food distribution and procurement authorities for transport purposes.

(k) Military motor lorries must be requisitioned for transport whenever necessary and railway authorities must be prepared to run special trains when urgently needed to do so.

(l) Rural folk need a more liberal allowance of food than townsmen.

(m) Wastage of water must be stopped and wells sunk wherever needed. Repairs of existing tanks and wells should be the duty of Government.

(n) Forest and other green leaf manure has to be gathered, conserved and transported where required. Freight rates for such transportation should be lowered. The supply of manure to kisans is an important one and should be given to panchayats or kisan organizations for equitable distribution.

(o) Cultivation of root crops which can be raised three or four times in the year should be encouraged.

(p) Paddy must be husked by hand and thus the quantity of rice can be increased by at least 10%.

(q) If provincial and district authorities were to take up the task of allowing their grain and pulses to germinate in the scientific manner it may be possible to increase the total quantity of nourishment that can be got of foodgrains by 15 to 25%.

12. Cattle rearing must be encouraged. A friend from Guntur writes that while his is a district famous for good milch cattle such as the Ongole cow, good breeds are being exported daily for military and slaughter purposes.

13. The use of the military, in particular those who are being now demobilized, has been recommended for various types of service in the present crisis. A correspondent says that there is a wide and fertile rice growing valley running from Kalyan to Karjat. Thousands of acres of good land bordering ample water flowing into the sea lies uncultivated from November to June. The water could easily be canalized or wells dug further afield. Obviously rice growers are too poor to do this, but if crops can be grown without detriment to the paddy, why should not Government put several regiments of Indian engineers or other troops on to this task?



This is probably applicable to many other portions of this vast land.

14. Finally, there is the usual and universal complaint against hoarding and black-marketing. The best way to eliminate the black market is for the rich to abstain from going there. Will they? Violence is in the very air we breathe today. But violence does not consist only of murder, loot, arson and destruction of property. Greed, selfishness, exploitation, bribery and corruption are subtler and therefore more potent forms of violence. Mob fury abates or can be controlled by superior violence but the latter continue as a canker and eat into the very vitals of society. This can be eliminated by a vigorous public opinion and a true appraisal of moral values.

Poona, 2-3-'46

A. K.

### WHOSE NEED?

(By M. K. Gandhi)

The institution of domestic servants is an old one. But the attitude of master towards servant has changed from time to time. Some regard servants as members of the family whereas others look upon them as slaves or chattels. Between these two extreme views may be summed up the attitude of society in general towards servants. Nowadays servants are in great demand everywhere. They have become conscious of their value and naturally demand their own conditions of pay and service. This would be proper if it were invariably coupled with a proper understanding and performance of their duty. In that event they would cease to be servants and would earn for themselves the status of members of the family. The belief in the efficacy of violence is, however, in the air. How then can servants properly win the status of members of their masters' families? That is a question that may well be asked.

I hold that a man who desires the co-operation of and wishes to co-operate with others should not be dependent on servants. If anyone has to have one at a time of scarcity of servants, he will have to pay what is demanded and accept all other conditions with the result that he will, instead of being master, become the servant of his employee. This is good for neither the master nor the servant. But if what an individual seeks is not slavery but the co-operation of a fellow being he will not only serve himself but also him whose co-operation he needs. Through the extension of this principle a man's family will become coterminous with the world and his attitude towards his fellow beings will also undergo a corresponding change. There is no other way of reaching the desired consummation.

He who wants to act on this principle will be content to start with small beginnings. In spite of a man's ability to command the co-operation of thousands he must have sufficient self-restraint and

self-respect in him to enable him to stand alone. Such a person will never dream of looking on any person as his menial and try to keep him under subjugation. In fact he will forget altogether that he is master of his servants and will try his best to bring them to his level. In other words he should be content to do without what others cannot have.

Poona, 1-3-'46

(From *Harijanbandhu*)

### EXAMINATIONS IN HINDUSTANI

Sjt. S. N. Agarwal, Secretary, Hindustani Prachar Sabha, Wardha, has made the following announcement:

The Hindustani Prachar Sabha has decided to conduct examinations in Hindustani. The final degree examination will be held by the Central Organization at Wardha. The preliminary examinations will be conducted by the Provincial Organizations. The provinces of Gujarat and Bombay have already commenced holding these examinations. The Central Organization will also conduct examinations for the non-Hindustani speaking provinces, barring these two and the four South Indian provinces.

The date for the next examinations has been fixed for 25th September 1946. The syllabuses and the rules for these examinations can be had from the Hindustani Prachar Sabha, Wardha. Those who want centres for the Hindustani Prachar examinations to be opened at a particular place should write to the Examinations Secretary, Hindustani Prachar Sabha, Wardha and obtain from him the written forms and other information relating to the opening of such centres.

It is hoped that all lovers of *Rashtrabhasha*, men as well as women, will avail themselves in their numbers of the opportunity of taking these examinations.

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# HARIJAN

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[ TWO ANNAS

## HIGH-HANDEDNESS EXPOSED

(By M. K. Gandhi)

The Bombay High Court has just delivered an illuminating judgment, allowing two habeas corpus applications of H. K. Shah and B. E. Sathe against detention orders extended from time to time. Chief Justice Stone and Justice Lokur have delivered a considered judgment setting at liberty the two applicants who were evidently illegally detained and might have remained under detention but for the fact that Advocate Purushottam Trikumdas assisted them to bring their cases before the Bombay High Court. I have just time to give below the few important extracts from the judgment.

After observing that the two affidavits filed by Mr. Simms, Home Secretary, Government of Bombay in relation to the two accused cannot be distinguished from each other except for the numbers at the tops, the learned judges go on to say: "In the case of Mr. Sathe, there is no suggestion in the reasons given that he assisted or supported any underground organization or organized anything underground, though it is suggested that, he assisted the activities of an organization, the object of which was to commit acts of sabotage, and even if it is to be presumed that such an organization would work underground, the very fact that these two affidavits of Mr. Simms are in identical terms, though they deal with the circumstances of two different cases, demonstrates a very casual approach to the grave responsibilities and duties, which devolve on every government servant charged with these wide powers of detention without trial.

"In Gokhale's case a full bench of this High Court had occasion to comment upon detention orders being made on cyclostile forms inappropriate to the facts of the particular case and it now appears that unless checked, the era of the cyclostiled affidavits is about to dawn. Even passing over such irregular features in Mr. Simms' affidavits as referring to an affidavit without stating whose affidavit it is he refers to, his affidavit does not even state that all the circumstances of the petitioner's case were fully considered before the extension orders of the 7th January, 1946, were made."

Commenting upon the further affidavit of Mr. Simms which he filed after declining to attend the court in order to submit himself to cross-examination the judges observe: "That is a very remarkable document for any one to file who has been given an opportunity by the court to attend the court in order to give *viva voce* evidence. It is even more remarkable by its omission than by what it says, for it leaves unchallenged the affidavits for the 22nd February of the two petitioners filed in answer to Mr. Simms' two

affidavits which are in identical terms, and which the last affidavit seeks to amend." Referring to the extension orders, the learned judges go on to observe, "But once the original order has run its course, the legislature has provided certain safeguards for the protection of the persons detained. Before the six months expired, the person detained will have received the notice giving him the grounds for his detention, and he may have a representation under section 7. The extension order itself has to be made within thirty days immediately preceding the expiry of the previous order, and lastly, there is added to subjective satisfaction an objective test that the detaining authority shall have further considered all the circumstances of the case. In our opinion emphasis is to be placed on the word 'all' and the question at once arises what is the nature of all the circumstances which have to be considered. That must be a question of law."

Holding that the defence plea that the detaining authority had not considered all the circumstances of the case the judges observe:

"Mr. Purushottam Trikumdas advanced various heads of circumstances which he submits it is obligatory for the detaining authority to consider. In our opinion it is clear that such circumstances must include:

(1) A consideration of the matters and things which the detenu did or was suspected of doing when the original order was made.

(2) These matters and things must be considered in conjunction with and in the high light of the present state of affairs. That is to say, the state of affairs existing in India at the date when the proposed extension order is to be made.

(3) A consideration of any representation which the person detained may have made under section 7(4) had consideration of the person detained since his detention and the present state of his health.

"Turning again to the circumstances of the two cases before us, having given the whole position our careful consideration we are not prepared to accept the affidavits of Mr. Simms filed on either of these petitions as affording any reliable answer to the assertion of the petitioners that all the circumstances of their cases have not been considered in the light of the state of affairs current in India on the 7th January, 1946. On that date as the petitioners point out there was no successful prosecution of a war for the mass movement to hinder and the various committees of the Congress previously unlawful, had been legalized and the members of the Working Committee of the Congress Party and its leader had been released from detention. These are all circumstances which already ought to have been considered before



the renewal orders of the 7th January, 1946 were made."

The judges then draw attention to the fact that Mr. Simms did not state that H. E. the Governor had considered the papers and agreed to the extension orders of 7-1-46 being made. The judges say: "It is extremely significant that His Excellency did not consider and agree to the making of these extension orders though he had considered and agreed to the making of all the orders in both the cases in 1944 and 1945. If he had done so when the orders of the 7th January, 1946 were made, it is inconceivable that Mr. Simms should not have stated that most important fact, which is bound to inspire confidence that any order which has been so considered and agreed to has been made after due care, attention and consideration." Therefore they hold that the two petitioners have "successfully challenged the two extension orders of the 7th of January as not being validly made, because, having regard to the facts stated by the petitioners it is impossible to come to the conclusion that the detaining authority complied with the objective test of having considered all the circumstances of the petitioners' cases. . . . That being so it is our clear duty to order their immediate release."

In my opinion the released men are entitled to damages for illegal detention. This, however, may be debatable. But there can be no doubt that all persons similarly detained, no matter in which province, should immediately be discharged without a doubt. There is no danger of the government being overturned by reason of the discharges.

Bombay, 13-3-'46

### CONSTRUCTIVE WORK AND SAMAGRA GRAMASEVA

On the 29th of January Gandhiji was asked a few questions in the Constructive Workers' Conference at Madras. Two of those questions and their answers are given below:

Q. Can a worker who has taken up one item of constructive work dabble in others? Is it right for him to do so? If so how?

A. Constructive programme as it stands today is comprised of 18 items. The spinning wheel as the symbol of non-violence occupies the central place. So every worker must spin and know all about spinning. Supposing a worker takes up paper making as his main occupation and has to find his livelihood also through it, he won't have much time left for other things. But he will be able to render some other service to the villagers besides that which he renders through the spinning wheel and paper making. For instance, he can work for improving the sanitation of the place and render advice about the care of the sick when he cannot take up full responsibility for nursing them.

Supposing another worker decides to concentrate on the spinning wheel only and to find his livelihood also through that, he can do so. I have no doubt in my mind that the wheel can serve as the instrument of earning one's livelihood and at the same time enable the worker to render useful service to his neighbours. The thing is that every worker

should decide for himself what will be his main activity besides the spinning wheel and what will be his subsidiary activities. Whatever he does, he should do intelligently and with knowledge. Thus, in order to ply the wheel intelligently, he should know all the processes that precede and succeed spinning. He should have full knowledge of the activities that he wishes to concentrate upon and have a general working knowledge about other items of the constructive programme. A student of astronomy cannot know astronomy without some knowledge of science in general. Similarly a worker cannot afford to be utterly ignorant about other items of constructive work.

Q. Please explain the meaning of Samagra Gramaseva of your conception. How can we fit ourselves for that?

A. The 18-fold Constructive Programme, includes Samagra Gramaseva. A Samagra Gramasevak must know everybody living in the village and render them such service as he can. That does not mean that the worker will be able to do everything single-handed. He will show them the way of helping themselves and procure for them such help and materials as they require. He will train up his own helpers. He will so win over the villagers that they will seek and follow his advice. Supposing I go and settle down in a village with a *ghani* (village oil press), I won't be an ordinary *ghanchi* (oil presser), earning 15-20 rupees a month. I will be a Mahatma *ghanchi*. I have used the word 'Mahatma' in fun but what I mean to say is that as a *ghanchi* I will become a model for the villagers to follow. I will be a *ghanchi* who knows the Gita and the Quran. I will be learned enough to teach their children. I may not be able to do so for lack of time. The villagers will come to me and ask me: "Please make arrangements for our children's education." I will tell them: "I can find you a teacher but you will have to bear the expenses." And they will be prepared to do so most willingly. I will teach them spinning and when they come and ask me for the services of a weaver, I will find them a weaver on the same terms as I found them a teacher. And the weaver will teach them how to weave their own cloth. I will inculcate in them the importance of hygiene and sanitation and when they come and ask me for a sweeper I will tell them: "I will be your sweeper and I will train you all in the job." This is my conception of Samagra Gramaseva. You may tell me that I will never find a *ghanchi* of this description in this age. Then I will say that we cannot hope to improve our villages in this age. Take the example of a *ghanchi* in Russia. After all the man who runs an oil mill is a *ghanchi*. He has money but his strength does not lie in his money. Real strength lies in knowledge. True knowledge gives a moral standing and moral strength. Everyone seeks the advice of such a man. Take the instance of Vinoba. He is a good *ghanchi*. You all know what he does and you can all follow his example according to your capacity.

(From *Harijansevak*)

S. N.



## GANDHIJI'S PRESS STATEMENTS

## I

The following letter from Gandhiji to the P. S. V. of 21-2-'46 and the latter's reply dated 29-2-'46 are released to the press by Gandhiji with the consent of His Excellency the Viceroy.

"Here are a few more suggestions to meet the food situation which have been sent me by friends.

"The Indian Army should be given this unique opportunity of doing constructive work. They can be moved about easily. They could therefore be sent to all such places where wells need to be dug most urgently.

"Regarding additional foods, fish has been mentioned. Fish abounds in the seas around the coast of India. The war is over; there are innumerable small and medium-sized vessels which were used for doing patrol and guard duties along our shores for the last five years. The R. I. N. could arrange about staffing these, with the Department of Fisheries giving all assistance. If everything and anything can be done during a war — why not a peace time war effort? Dry fish does even now form part of the normal diet of a great number of people who are very poor — that is when it is available and they can afford to buy it.

"All public gardens should immediately by law be made to start growing vegetables. Squads of army personnel should be put to work here too. People requiring extra labour to transform their ground or garden should also be able to obtain free help through this channel.

"The distribution of food should be through Co-operative Societies or similar organizations.

"All food parcels to friends or relatives in Britain or elsewhere abroad should be stopped as also the export of ground-nuts, oils, oil cakes, etc..

"All stocks of food-stuffs in the hands of the military should be released forthwith and no distinction should be made between military and civil ranks. In this connection I draw His Excellency's attention to the following A. P. I. message published in the Amrita Bazar Patrika of 11-2-'46.

Dacca, Feb. 8

It is learnt that huge quantities of decomposed *alla* are being destroyed for the last few days by throwing them into the river Shitalaksha at Narayanganj.

"The campaign against despondency and for growing more food will avail nothing, unless bribery which is going on as never before is stopped and honesty and straight dealing begin to pervade the Government ranks and the Public."

"Thank you for your letter of the 21st February making suggestions to meet the food situation. His Excellency, to whom I have shown your letter, is grateful to you for writing, and will have the various proposals examined where this has not been done already.

"2. Only a day or two ago His Excellency suggested to the Commander-in-Chief that it might be possible for the R.I.N. to assist with fishing. Recent events may make this difficult, but meanwhile His Excellency has initiated enquiries about the possibility of importing

dried fish from Canada and Newfoundland, and also about the securing of suitable vessels and equipment so as to make a start with developing on modern lines the fisheries industry. Already the Army is doing a good deal in the Grow More Food campaign and is releasing machinery for digging wells, levelling ground, etc..

"3. In Delhi a considerable part of the Central Vista is to be ploughed up and the gardens of bungalows are to be used for growing vegetables on a larger scale. The sending of food parcels to friends or relatives outside India has been ordered to be stopped and an urgent examination is being undertaken of the question of exporting groundnuts, oil cakes, etc..

"4. Bribery and corruption is admitted to be one of the worst enemies of efficient food administration. This is also one of the most difficult to defeat. The detailed implementing of the controls is mainly in the hands of Provincial Governments, and perhaps the new Ministries may be able to achieve results in this direction."

Poona, 6-3-'46

## II

Letters and wires continue to come to me seeking my aid in saving General Avari's life which seems now to be sinking. I know Gen. Avari. He is a lovable worker. But I know too that he is often improperly obstinate. The present occasion is a case in point. If a man however popular and great he may be, takes up an improper cause and fasts in defence of the impropriety, it is the duty of his friends (among whom I count myself), fellow workers and relatives to let him die rather than that an improper cause should triumph so that he may live. Fairest means cease to be fair when the end sought is unfair. Let me say once more where Gen. Avari's end is improper and unfair. He may be wholly right in his statement that a great wrong has been perpetrated by the Central Parliamentary Board of the Congress. But who can right the wrong? Not Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel as Gen. Avari tells me he can. He is but an individual, Sardar though he is. He has pronounced the decision of the Board. A judge cannot review his own judgment. The Sardar is out of the picture. The Central Board cannot, must not, review its own judgment. It has no authority. No institution can act capriciously in a well managed democracy. Gen. Avari and his friends have the right of appeal or review by the Working Committee, then the A. I. C. C., finally the Congress. This procedure may appear to him too long. It is not, unless he is fighting for an individual or individuals and not for a principle as he assures me he is doing. Time always runs in favour of the defence of a principle. If the general session of the Congress which is the highest tribunal for vindicating justice decides against Gen. Avari, he has to submit to its verdict. The Congress is the *Panchayat*. Like the king it can do no wrong. This is merely a necessary and legitimate conception for guidance in the observance of an infallible duty. In truth, however, decisions of human organizations in all climes have been sometimes found to be wrong. So it may be in the case under discussion. Then, but not till then, will Gen. Avari have in theory the right, if he chooses to exercise it, to stir public conscience into action by a fast to the finish. In



practice, it will be ludicrous. For the principle behind such action can only euphemistically be so called. In democracy even pure men may unconsciously give wrong decisions. The remedy is more and purer education, greater awakening of the public and in such quickened atmosphere the rise of a number of public workers whose sole duty will be to speak, write and act so as to serve as bright examples for the public.

Now I hope the friends of Gen. Avari will understand me when I say that those who wrongly support him and his fast and thus encourage him will hasten Gen. Avari's death, not those who will not swerve from well-recognized canons of justice even for the sake of saving the life of an erring friend. Let justice triumph though the heavens weep.

Poona, 7-3-'46

## HARIJAN

March 17

1946

### MY CONFESSION AND CURE

(By M. K. Gandhi)

It is plain to me as it has become to some of my friends that I am incorrigible. I can learn only by my mistakes. I have just discovered myself making a mistake which I should never have made.

I have known Dr. Dinshah Mehta for a long time. He has dedicated his life solely to nature cure of his conception. His one ambition is to see a full-fledged nature cure university established in India. A university worth the name must be predominantly for the prevention and cure of the diseases of the poor villagers of India. No such university exists in the world. The Institutes in the West are designed more for the rich than the poor.

I feel that I know the method of nature cure for the villagers of India. Therefore I should at once have known that nature cure for the villagers could not be attempted in Poona city. But a Trust was made. Very sober Jehangirji Patel permitted himself to be a co-trustee with Dr. Mehta and me and I hastened to Poona to run for the poor, Dr. Mehta's erstwhile clinic which was designed for the rich. I suggested some drastic changes but last Monday the knowledge dawned upon me that I was a fool to think that I could ever hope to make an institute for the poor in a town. I realized that if I cared for the ailing poor I must go to them and not expect them to come to me. This is true of ordinary medicinal treatment. It is much more so of nature cure. How is a villager coming to Poona to understand and carry out my instructions to apply mud poultices, take sun cure, hip and friction sitz baths or certain foods cooked conservatively? He would expect me to give him a powder or a potion to swallow and be done with it. Nature cure connotes a way of life which has to be learnt; it is not a drug cure as we understand it. The treatment to be efficacious can, therefore, only take place in or near a man's cottage or

house. It demands from its physician sympathy and patience and knowledge of human nature. When he has successfully practised in this manner in a village, or villages, when enough men and women have understood the secret of nature cure, a nucleus for a nature cure university is founded. It should not have required eleven days' special stay in the Institute to discover this simple truth that I did not need a huge building and all its attendant paraphernalia for my purpose. I do not know whether to laugh or weep over my folly. I laughed at it and made haste to undo the blunder. This confession completes the reparation.

I should like the reader to draw the moral that he should never take anything for gospel truth even if it comes from a *Mahatma* unless it appeals to both his head and heart. In the present case my folly is so patent that even if it had continued for some time very few, if any would have succumbed to it. The real villagers would not have come for relief to this Institute. But if the discovery had come too late it would have blasted my reputation for I would have lost in my own estimation. Nothing hurts a man more than the loss of self-respect. I do not know that now I deserve the confidence of my fellowmen. If I lose it I know that I shall have deserved the loss. To complete the story I must tell the reader that not a pice of the money earmarked for the poor ailing villagers has been spent on this abortive enterprise. What shape the present Institute will now take and where and how poor men's nature cure will be tried is no part of this confession. The result of the initial mistake must not, however, be an abandonment of the new pursuit that I have taken up in the so-called evening of my life. It must, on the contrary, be a clearer and more vigorous pursuit of the ideal of nature cure for the millions if such a thing is at all practicable. Possible it certainly is.

Poona, 6-3-'46

#### To Patients

Letters are being received in large numbers from patients wanting to be admitted to the Nature Cure Clinic at Poona. Let me inform them that no such facility exists at present. The standard of cleanliness that was intended to be introduced into the institution has not been reached. Work for the village people has not yet been started. So long as the preliminary adaptations are not complete nothing can be done. The patients have therefore to wait. Dr. Dinsha Mehta's Nature Cure Clinic at Bombay is no doubt there. He may open branches at Poona and Sinhadgad also. But since he has undertaken heavy responsibility in connection with the Nature Cure Trust all this may take time. For private patients the scale of his fees will continue as before.

Bombay, 12-3-'46

M. K. G.

#### NOTICE

Intimation of a change of address to be effective for the week should be received by *Thursday*. The subscriber number should always be given.

MANAGER



## QUESTION BOX

(By M. K. Gandhi)

Q. How can a person in the military do constructive work?

A. A military man who has any grit in him can take up spinning together with the anterior and posterior processes. He can go in for paper making or any other village craft during his leisure hours. Army men have plenty of leisure when they are not fighting. Even when there is fighting all are not engaged in it though they have to stand by ready. Thus they can learn all those activities which are being conducted for the freedom of India. They should learn the national language in the two scripts. All this study must be coupled with a burning love of freedom and the courage to stand true to one's conviction and to act accordingly even if one is left alone. In no way does this conflict with military discipline. I do not believe in indulging in indiscipline especially in military service. Nor is there any room in my scheme of things for secret activity. Adherence to these principles is the only correct course for an individual or a people.

Q. It is supposed to be a sign of ill breeding not to leave some food on one's plate after finishing a meal. The contrary is supposed to be the correct thing to do.

A. It passes my comprehension how such action can be tolerated, especially in the face of the threatened famine. I do not know the reason for this practice and it would be waste of time to enquire into it. I consider it to be a sign of vulgarity and lack of perspective to have more on one's plate than one requires. In the present time no one is really entitled to full meals. Waste would be a sign of callousness. On the other hand, I consider it good breeding and discrimination to leave one's plate clean of leavings. It saves too the time of those who wash up. It is thoughtful and correct before beginning a meal to remove what one considers excess from one's plate on to a clean plate. Hosts should be discriminating and have enough delicate regard to find out what their guests require in the way of food and then give them no more than what they want.

Q. Writing letters in blood and using blood for auspicious marks is becoming almost a fashion. Ought it not to be stopped?

A. To my mind this is a revolting practice. It causes no hurt to take a little blood from oneself. In these days, in particular, blood letting can be performed without the slightest pain or inconvenience. If too much is taken from him the donor experiences weakness. But to write or sign letters in one's own blood is neither bravery nor does it connote any sacrifice or suffering. It is nothing more or less than criminal folly and ought to be abjured. Not only that. It is a duty to stop it. The easiest way is for all leaders not to countenance such a vulgar and uncivilized practice.

Poona, 6-3-46

(From Harijanbandhu)

## SATYAGRAHA IN FACE OF HOOLIGANISM

(By M. K. Gandhi)

A friend has gently posed the question as to what a Satyagrahi should do to prevent looting by *goondas*. If he had understood the secret of Satyagraha he would not have put it.

To lay down one's life, even alone, for what one considers to be right, is the very core of Satyagraha. More, no man can do. If a man is armed with a sword he might lop off a few heads but ultimately he must surrender to superior force or else die fighting. The sword of the Satyagrahi is love and the unshakable firmness that comes from it. He will regard as brothers the hundreds of *goondas* that confront him and instead of trying to kill them he will choose to die at their hands and thereby live.

This is straight and simple. But how can a solitary Satyagrahi succeed in the midst of a huge population? Hundreds of hooligans were let loose on the city of Bombay for arson and loot. A solitary Satyagrahi will be like a drop in the ocean. Thus argues the correspondent.

My reply is that a Satyagrahi may never run away from danger, irrespective of whether he is alone or in the company of many. He will have fully performed his duty if he dies fighting. The same holds good in armed warfare. It applies with greater force in Satyagraha. Moreover, the sacrifice of one will evoke the sacrifice of many and may possibly produce big results. There is always this possibility. But one must scrupulously avoid the temptation of a desire for results.

I believe that every man and woman should learn the art of self-defence in this age. This is done through arms in the West. Every adult man is conscripted for army training for a definite period. The training for Satyagraha is meant for all, irrespective of age or sex. The more important part of the training here is mental, not physical. There can be no compulsion in mental training. The surrounding atmosphere no doubt acts on the mind but that cannot justify compulsion.

It follows that shopkeepers, traders, mill-hands, labourers, farmers, clerks, in short, everyone ought to consider it his or her duty to get the necessary training in Satyagraha.

Satyagraha is always superior to armed resistance. This can only be effectively proved by demonstration, not by argument. It is the weapon that adorns the strong. It can never adorn the weak. By weak is meant the weak in mind and spirit, not in body. That limitation is a quality to be prized and not a defect to be deplored.

One ought also to understand one of its other limitations. It can never be used to defend a wrong cause.

Satyagraha brigades can be organized in every village and in every block of buildings in the cities. Each brigade should be composed of those persons who are well-known to the organizers. In this respect Satyagraha differs from armed defence. For



the latter the State impresses the service of everybody. For a Satyagraha brigade only those are eligible who believe in *ahimsa* and *satya*. Therefore, an intimate knowledge of the persons enlisted is necessary for the organizers.

Poona, 6-3-'46

(From *Harijanbandhu*)

### FURTHER SUGGESTIONS FOR COMBATING FOOD SCARCITY

1. A friend from the South writes that the policy of the Madras Government is beneficial to neither producer nor consumer for the reason that middlemen take enormous profits at the cost of both. The District Collector appoints wholesale dealers who in turn appoint their own agents. For example, an agent purchases paddy at X village at Rs. 5-9-10 per maund of 32 Madras measures. This is taken to the wholesale dealer's godown four miles away. The same paddy is then returned to where it was produced and sold at Rs. 0-3-5 per Madras measure. The difference between cost and sale prices per maund is Rs. 1-3-6, 21.7% above cost price. All this after deducting cost of transport goes into the middleman's pocket. This difference also contributes to hoarding and the creation of a black market. The ryot can easily sell at a price lower than the retail sale price and still get more than what the agent gives him. The consumer too could purchase cheaper from the ryot than from the ration shop.

Of course when the paddy purchased is sold as *rice* the middleman's profit is still higher. Why, in any event, should not the consumer have paddy which he can himself easily convert into rice by hand-pounding? Apart from physical and material gain this would also afford bran for his cattle. The friend therefore suggests the following remedies:

(a) Paddy to be stocked in godowns in the villages. After enough has been stocked for local needs the remainder may be sent direct to where it is needed.

(b) Ration to be distributed in the form of paddy.

(c) Paddy to be distributed at cost price. Cost of procurement and distribution to be subsidized by the Government.

(d) Ration to be doubled in the case of agricultural labourers or any labourers doing hard manual labour.

2. A friend from Bengal suggests that jute growing should be curtailed to meet local needs. It absorbs a great area of cultivable lands which should be used for staple foods.

3. Another friend writes that there is a great deal of grain stocked in some of the States. After meeting local needs they should be asked to co-operate with British India and send the surplus to needy places. A strict watch should be kept so that grain stuffs wherever stocked may not be lost by rotting nor used for profiteering.

4. Every help should be afforded to poor agriculturists in the matter of implements of agriculture. To improve these and supply them at cheap rates to farmers is the duty of the State.

5. A Punjab friend writes that price control, instead of helping the poor man is helping to raise prices and create a black market. He says that *gram* in the Punjab bazars today is selling at Rs. 18/- per maund and that too is available through dubious channels. If control were removed, the price would come down. There is plenty of wheat in the Punjab which is getting black and there is adulteration of flour which is hard to get even at Rs. 13/- or 14/- per maund.

6. Many persons write that every advantage should be taken of the coming mango crop which promises to be a bumper one. Mangoes have good nutritive value for human beings.

7. Oil cakes from ground-nut, rape and other seeds can be easily processed into a highly nutritious food for man. This food can be used for making bread and if mixed with an equal part of wheat *atta* can make *chapatis* also. If more kerosene oil is imported more seeds would be available for the poor to eat.

8. Since food is above politics and parties there should be a special Food Cabinet at the Centre with trusted representatives of the people. This would perhaps be a potent factor in helping to get rid of corruption.

9. The majority of well-to-do people eat too much. They should be educated to realize that health and strength are not dependent on the large amount one eats. In fact it is the other way round.

10. A plea for soya bean has also been made on the ground that it contains protein, fat and carbohydrate value. One part soya bean to three parts wheat gives standard nutrition. If it could be added to the daily wheat ration the latter could be reduced to 9 oz. The writer urges its immediate importation and encouragement for its growth here.

11. Famine conditions offer a golden opportunity for teaching villagers the value of co-operation in all departments of life. But the teaching must be imparted by those who really love the villagers and will become one with them and see that everything is done honestly.

12. A friend who knows writes:

"Regarding the food situation, I have been talking to some young army officers. They are keen and anxious to do all that they can. What they want is a short course in agriculture, and precise instructions as to what they have to do. It would be necessary to attach some agricultural experts with these engineer corps. They have got quite a good amount of equipment in the shape of tractors, jeeps and bull-dozers, but they must not be expected to produce ploughs. They must be provided with these materials. The army has to be directed by those who know their job. Unfortunately, however, the direction at the centre is exceedingly weak, and wholly without vision. It is good that the Viceroy has taken the matter in his hands, but the Executive which has to handle this vast problem has not yet been organized. The problem in terms of arithmetic is something as follows:

"Our total production of cereals is 60 million tons per annum, out of which 18 millions come in the market. The official estimate of the deficit is



6 million tons — or a third of the entire quantity of grain, which is marketed throughout a year—an enormous quantity to deal with in terms of transport alone. The problem is of an alarming magnitude, if it is considered that the principal areas requiring immediate help are South Bombay, and the entire Madras Presidency, including Mysore and Travancore. There is a possibility of getting 3 to 4 million tons of grains from abroad, but it would be quite impossible to handle even a quarter of these imports at our ports on the West and South-East coasts. There is neither storage nor facilities for handling the traffic at the ports, or on the rail-road. There is a very considerable danger of people starving, and grain rotting at the ports, or lying unloaded in the ships, simply because the problem has not been worked out in detail. A fully loaded goods train means only 50 wagons, and a train load of 1,000 tons at a time. The time for loading such a goods train is anything upto 3 to 5 days, *if the necessary siding and labour are available*. Add to this the time required for unloading and transit between two points, and you get the measure of the time lag. If we receive three million tons of imports, it would mean 3,000 special goods trains; at least half of them during the first 150 days, or 10 per day—quite an impossible feat even under the best of circumstances. How on earth we are going to manage this with the limiting factor of the Western ports, and the resources of the railway lines operating only in Southern India? We shall need very much more than what the available railway transport and road transport in the hands of the public as well as the army can do. Unfortunately, nobody either here or in the Central Government has even thought in these concrete terms. I sometimes fear that it is quite impossible to make the Government realize the magnitude of the danger that threatens this country not only this year, but the year after, for the immediate quantity that we want for our existing population is 7 million tons of more production, and 14 millions in 1953 for a population of 45 crores. We cannot, therefore, live on the prospects of charity from abroad, even if it materializes regularly in future.

"The only sovereign remedy is, as Gandhiji has said, self-help, which must be translated into concrete measures to step up our production and to increase the mobility in transit and the effectiveness of storage. The waste, as a result of faulty storing and insect disease, which runs into a very big total, could and should be largely eliminated. The trouble, however, is that the services have got into a rut, and even the Viceroy trying to stir it up cannot succeed, unless the details of the organization are worked out with the completest co-operation between the official machinery and the public organizations. I do hope therefore, that the change at the centre will take place soon, at any rate, in food, for otherwise we are in again for very bad times indeed. The help from abroad might expose our utter inefficiency, unless the executive responsible for working out the plans wakes up in time, and of this there is no sign whatever."

Poona, 10-3-'46

A.K.

## TWO REMARKABLE EXPERIMENTS

The question sometimes arises in planning a programme of social uplift as to what should be considered primary and given priority. Dr. G. T. Wrench, M. D., in his book *The Wheel of Health* describes some remarkable experiments which furnish an indictment of building new and sanitary houses and of organizing physical drill as prior to food in a policy of health. The first experiment was conducted in Stockton-on-Tees.

Stockton-on-Tees is an ancient market town. Its population in 1931 was 67,722. Of the population 40 per cent of the males between fourteen and sixty-five were unemployed. Some seven or eight years back, the Stockton Town Council launched a vigorous slum clearing programme. A vigorous policy of better housing was launched. That gave Dr. G. C. M. Gonigle, Medical Officer of Health of Stockton-on-Tees, an opportunity to conduct a unique series of statistical observations proving conclusively the vital primary claim of food.

As a result of a survey of housing newly taken in 1919, the largest section of the town scheduled as an 'unhealthy area' was dubbed as 'Number 1 area'. It was decided to demolish part of Number 1 and transfer its inhabitants to a 'new up-to-date municipal estate, agreeably named Mount Pleasant'. In 1927, 152 families comprising 710 individuals were transferred to Mount Pleasant, leaving behind in Number 1 area 289 families with a total of 1,298 individuals.

Here was as striking a contrast between two sets of conditions as one could imagine between conditions new and old, of good housing and slum. "Naturally everyone thought the transfer to Mount Pleasant would result in a betterment." But an amazing thing happened. It was found that "the health of the inhabitants of Mount Pleasant instead of improving or at least remaining stationary actually began to deteriorate, whereas that of the families and people left behind in the slums did not". The standardized death rate of the first five years following upon the transfer was 33 per 1,000; that of the unchanged slum 22 per 1,000. The rate for Mount Pleasant Estate was 33.55 per 1,000. This was the more surprising in view of the fact that "it represented an increase of 46 per cent over the mean standardized rates for the same individuals in the previous quinquennium". It was "a real increase and beyond the probable extent of fortuitous variation."

What was the explanation? Better housing? "Had something better proved something worse?" It sounded absurd. Dr. G. C. M. Gonigle solved the riddle. From a comparative analysis of the family budgets before and after the change he showed that in the slums the people had rents which averaged 4 sh. 8 d. a week per family. In 1928 on the Mount Pleasant Estate the rent was 9 sh. a week and by 1932 it had risen to 9 sh. 3½ d. per week or double the original rate. Consequently less was spent on food. Particularly, it was found in the case of unemployed of both areas that the food per man per week in the Mount Pleasant Estate cost 34.7 pence, that in the unchanged slum 45.6 pence. The conclusion was that "in making housing and sanitation better first money was withdrawn from the individual's primary need—food". The deterioration of food led to the deterioration of health in spite of the compensating



factors in the form of better housing and sanitation in the second case.

The second experiment is similar. It is of particular importance to those who are interested in the education of children. It shows how "food takes primary place to exercise and physical drill". It was reported by McCollum and Simmonds that fortytwo out of eightyfour negro children in a "kindly but impoverished institution", were as an experiment, given one quart of milk daily, in addition to the customary institutional food. Between these children and the children who were not given milk, there was not only a difference of growth and health "but of desire of exercise". The non-milk children were "apathetic and very tractable. . . . Those on the milk-fed group, on the other hand, soon caused annoyance to their teachers by their restlessness and activity." To this may be added the following from the League of Nations Report on the Problem of Nutrition, Volume I. "A pint of milk daily added to what was considered a good diet in an institutional boarding school was followed by the usual increased growth and decreased illness, and it was particularly noted that the children were more highly spirited and irrepressible."

Remarks Dr. Wrench commenting on this: "The irrepressible activity which good food provides is willingly poured out by the child or man into the many channels that are ready for it. Whether it be as work or play, exercise or drill, sports or sheer necessity, the well-nourished body is glad of the opportunity of activity." To give drill and exercise priority would be to put the horse before the cart. Proper and adequate nourishment is the first step in the education of the child.

PYARELAL

## PERSECUTION OF HARIJANS

(By M. K. Gandhi)

Shri Parikshitlal Mazumdar writes:

"There was high mortality due to some epidemic in a village in Wadhwan State, Kathiawad. The superstition of the villagers ascribed this misfortune to Harijans and they began to intimidate the Bhangi families. The latter fled from the village through fright. Harijan workers, as soon as they learnt of the incident, approached the State authorities to take immediate steps to protect the Bhangis and did their level best to dispel the superstition from the minds of the ignorant villagers. The State acted promptly and the families returned. This year Kathiawad Harijans have had to suffer more than usual because of the outbreak of disease among cattle. These poor folk have to pay dearly for the superstition of the villagers."

The only remedy for this kind of superstition is the spread of correct knowledge. The reason for its existence in Kathiawad seems to be that the reform movement has not yet touched the villages there. Workers must make herculean efforts to remedy this defect. But wherefrom are such workers to come? Even those already working in Kathiawad fight shy of going to the villages. And even if they go, one can well imagine the immense difficulty of the task confronting them. Man's endeavour at its

highest consists in continuing to perform one's duty undeterred by difficulties. The Kathiawad incident must be taken to heart. Both the State and the people understood their duty and took prompt and firm measures in the instance quoted and the difficulty was surmounted for the time being. If this example were to be widely followed it would cut at the very root of superstition. And that would be true education.

Poona, 6-3-'46

(From *Harijanbandhu*)

## Hindu and Mussalman Tea etc.

Hindu and Mussalman tea is sold at railway stations. Separate arrangements for meals for the two communities are sometimes made and none seem to be there for Harijans. All this is a sign of our pitiable condition and constitutes a blot on British administration. One can understand their not interfering in religious matters but for them to allow separate arrangements for tea, water etc. for the two communities is to set the seal of approval on separatism. Railways and railway travelling offer a golden opportunity which could be used for social reform and for educating the public in sanitation and hygiene, good manners and communal unity. Instead, however, an utter neglect of and indifference to these desiderata are shown. Railway travel serves to strengthen rather than mitigate evil customs and bad habits. First and second class passengers are pampered, luxurious habits encouraged. Third class passengers on whom the railway revenues largely depend are denied even elementary amenities and exposed to all kinds of hardship. In either case weakness is exploited. And when, in addition to this, separatism and untouchability are recognized by the Railway authorities, it is the very limit. If any passenger wishes to impose restrictions on himself he is at liberty to do so at his own expense and suffer, may be, even hunger and thirst. But let him not demand special facilities for himself from Railway authorities.

That vegetarians and non-vegetarians should be catered for is another matter. That is already being done.

Poona, 7-3-'46

(From *Harijansevak*)

M. K. G.

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# HARIJAN

Editor: PYARELAL

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AHMEDABAD — SUNDAY, MARCH 24, 1946

[ TWO ANNAS

## Notes

### Why for Harijans?

Q "The Harijans are specially favoured by the Government. Special facilities are provided on an extensive scale for their education, employment and advancement. Why should you again seek our help on their behalf? There are equally poor and even poorer people among the *Savarnas*. Why don't you work for their betterment?"

A. This is a curious question. It is no wonder that Harijans are favoured by the Government. Whatever the reason, the fact is not to be deplored, if the favour really does them good. All Government favours do not. The motive behind seems to me to divide them from the so-called touchables. The reason lies with the latter. If touchables had not misbehaved themselves, there would have been no division possible. And even though the Congress has been championing them all these years, have the *Savarna* Hindu masses improved their manners? The answer has to be 'no' even though there has been considerable improvement. The Congress influence is most powerful for ending foreign rule. It is weak on social matters. Therefore, without entering into an unholy competition with the foreign Government, it is necessary for the reformers to do their duty by the Harijans until the bar sinister is completely removed. As for the *Savarna* poor, there are many to look after them. Some go to the extent even of spoonfeeding them.

Bombay, 16-3-'46

### Shocking if True

The Joint Secretary of the Gujarat Harijan Sevak Sangh, Shri Hemantkumar, writes that apart from Karadi nowhere are temples open to Harijans and nowhere may they use public wells.

If this is true, I may say it is a good thing that I have been unable to go to Bardoli. How can those Gujaratis who do not look upon Harijans as part and parcel of themselves, who do not permit them to draw water from public wells nor enter temples for the worship of God, who even attribute epidemics to Harijans and are prepared to beat them for practices which superstition attributes to them, how can they welcome me? Or what value can their welcome hold for me?

I have long since counted myself as a *bhangi* in my speech, in my actions and above all in mind and

spirit. Anyone who looks upon them with contempt does the same to me. Indeed I hold it an honour to be among the despised Harijans and among them *bhangis*. Any welcome to me under the circumstances would be tantamount to an insult.

Therefore, I make this request to Gujaratis that they atone for the grievous wrong they continue to do to fellow human beings. I shall consider their repentance adequate when they admit Harijans into their fold and only then will I consider them capable of maintaining Swaraj. I do hope that the people of Bardoli Taluka will understand and respond to my message in a special manner.

Bombay, 11-3-'46

(From *Harijanbandhu*)

### Thoughtlessness

"You are aware that *pari passu* with the growth of popular outbreaks the lawlessness of the military is also becoming more and more brutal. You have condemned the hooliganism of the masses but you say nothing about the brutality of the military."

This is a specimen of thoughtlessness. People have no right to commit excesses whereas the military is the very embodiment of madness. Condemnation of military madness would be meaningless when the very institution of the army is condemned. But criticism of their conduct becomes necessary as a warning to the Government. There is a time and occasion for everything. It would be out of place when condemning popular excesses.

What is the duty of a Satyagrahi General? Should he reform his own army or that of the opponent? If he reforms his own the power of the opposing force is sterilized. If the process continues over a sufficiently long period the opponent is *ipso facto* completely transformed. The critic's remarks can only be meant for me. Others have already condemned military excesses. In my opinion we have not as yet got sufficient material to judge them. I expect that this is being prepared. The duty of the people, however, is to turn the searchlight inwards. Too much brooding over the wrongs of others is apt to lead one imperceptibly to act likewise. It would then be a case of the pot calling the kettle black.

Bombay, 15-3-'46

(From *Harijanbandhu*)

M. K. G.



## WORKING COMMITTEE RESOLUTIONS

The following is the text of the four resolutions of the Working Committee passed on 15th and 16th March, 1946, at Bombay.

### I

#### RESOLUTION ON FOOD

Whereas the war and its after-effects have already created a serious food situation which has been materially aggravated by the failure of rains in many parts of India, with the result that the country is faced with both a food and a cloth famine, it is essential that the policy of the Government and the people should be one at this time of crisis. Hunger makes no distinction between high and low, Hindu and Muslim, or any other. But the real burden of suffering, however, will inevitably fall on the poor. In the circumstances, the Working Committee would like to make its policy clear.

The first thing in these difficult times is for the people not to lose heart. Everyone should realize his personal duty and perform it to the best of his ability, believing that if everyone acts likewise India will be able to save thousands of poor lives. Every villager and townsman should, therefore, do the best he can for his neighbour and for himself.

Everyone who possesses any land should in the shortest time grow such foodstuffs on it as he can. Cultivable land lying waste should speedily be brought under the plough and every facility should be given for this purpose by the State. After fulfilling his own minimum requirements from his produce, he should make the remainder available for others who may be in need.

Preference should be given to food crops over money crops wherever practicable.

People should sink ordinary wells and dig tanks wherever there is scarcity of water and all facilities for this purpose should be given by the State and local bodies.

It is the duty of the rich today to live simply and divert their energy and wealth towards productive and constructive activities for the relief of distress.

Every effort should be made to secure supplies from abroad, but we should not feel helpless in any case. On the contrary, we must produce all we can in India and be prepared to face all emergencies with the resources available. It must be remembered that even the receipt of additional imports or the raising of additional crops will not serve the purpose in view unless the supplies reach the starving places in time and are equitably distributed there.

All food should be economically used and expenditure on occasions of marriages and other ceremonies must be avoided.

Processes of canning and preservation of fruit should be encouraged and widely adopted so that full use may be made of all available fruit and no part thereof may be wasted.

It is the duty of the State to put all their available resources of manpower, technical skill and mechanical appliances, whether civil or military, for growing, preserving and transporting food wherever necessary. All exports of cereals, foodstuffs, oilseeds, oilcakes, groundnuts, oil and other edibles should be absolutely prohibited.

The State should sink deep wells and adopt other means of water supply wherever necessary. Demobilized

and discharged personnel from the defence services, including the I. N. A. should be utilized for increasing the production of foodstuffs.

The Committee expects the nation to make all necessary sacrifices for relieving distress in the country and for making successful any reasonable schemes of rationing and procurement, any measures for checking hoarding, blackmarketing and corruption that may have to be taken on hand.

It is clear that just as it is the duty of the public to co-operate in all helpful ways, it is the primary duty of the Government to understand and fulfil the essential needs of the people. Measures for meeting the serious situation cannot be fully successful and effective unless power vests in the people.

So far as want of cloth is concerned, it is the duty of the State and the people alike to render every assistance to the villagers in order to enable them to produce by their own effort enough Khadi in the villages. The State should provide facilities for cotton-growing or cotton itself, and instruments of production and instructors where necessary.

Congress committees and Congressmen are advised to help in every way to give effect to the recommendations in this resolution.

### II

#### RESOLUTION ON THE INTERNATIONAL SITUATION

The Working Committee have noted with grave concern the growing tension in the international situation resulting in open recrimination between the great Powers and attempts on their part to secure or hold on to colonial areas and vantage points and create satellite States, which may lead to possible future conflicts. The war that has recently ended has, in spite of the professions made during the course of it, neither ended the imperialist domination of subject countries nor the era of power politics. The old imperialism still continues and in addition new types of imperialism are growing. The recent UNO Conference in London is startling evidence of the fact that instead of a new order of free and united nations evolving, there is disunity among the leading nations and lack of freedom over vast areas. Oil is still the lure of imperial domination, and security and preservation of the so-called life-lines of empty or strategic outposts are made the excuses for expansion as well as retention of colonial areas. This continuation of the old and discredited policy which has led already to two disastrous world wars is likely to result in yet another war on a more colossal and destructive scale.

It is evident that peace and freedom cannot grow out of these seeds of continuing conflict and war. Imperialist policy has to be discarded not only in the interests of subject nations, but also to rid the world of the peril that might overwhelm humanity. It has thus become urgently necessary to end foreign domination over the countries of Asia and Africa, and for foreign armies to be withdrawn from all such countries, and notably from Indonesia, Manchuria, Indo-China, Iran and Egypt. India still remains the crux of the problem of Asian freedom and on the independence of India depends the freedom of many countries and the peace of the world.



## III

## RESOLUTION ON SOUTH AFRICA

The Working Committee of the Indian National Congress are of opinion that the disabilities of the Indian settlers in South Africa constitute a blot on humanity and a slur on the civilization of the West. As the submission to His Excellency the Viceroy of the Indian Deputation from South Africa shows, the disabilities are an unbroken tale of progressive prejudice against Asiatics defined as "any Turk and any member of a race or tribe whose national home is in Asia but which does not include any member of the Jewish or the Syrian race or a person belonging to the race or class known as the Cape Malay", and of broken promises and declarations. A civilization that requires for its protection a series of legal enactments imposing political and economic restrictions on coloured and Asiatic peoples must contain seeds of future wars and its own destruction.

The Committee are of opinion that the contemplated breach of trade relations between India and the Union of South Africa is the mildest step that the Government of India could have taken. The Committee would ask the Government of India forthwith to withdraw their High Commissioner, if the Union Government would not suspend the proposed legislation, pending the convening of a Round Table Conference between the two governments to consider the whole policy of the Union Government against non-White peoples of the earth.

The Committee are painfully surprised to find Field Marshal Smuts, the Premier of the Union, dismissing, on the untenable plea of regarding the proposed anti-Asiatic bill as a domestic affair, the right of the Indian Government and, by parity of reasoning, of the other Allied Powers, of friendly intervention. The Committee hold that at this time of the day it is not open to any State, however powerful it may be, to refuse to listen to the public opinion of the world as voiced through its different States with reference to any legislation regarded by them as of an inhuman character or as amounting to a slur on the self-respect of the races comprising such a State.

The Committee venture to advise the victorious Allies to take notice of the contemplated action of the Government of South Africa inasmuch as the late war would have been fought in vain if now the persistence by the Union Government of South Africa in the bar sinister against Asiatic races and coloured people inhabiting that sub-continent is maintained.

To the Indian Deputation from South Africa the Committee would say that whilst they (the Committee) and, indeed, the whole of India, irrespective of parties or communities, are with them in their just struggle and would lend them all the moral weight they can, they should realize that the brunt of the unequal struggle will have to be borne by them, and the Committee feel assured that the Indians in South Africa will worthily carry out the example set by them years ago of vindicating their self-respect and that of the Motherland by the noble rule of self-suffering.

The Committee would, however, faint hope, even at the eleventh hour, that in the place of the indefensible law of the jungle, which the policy as revealed by the contemplated legislation enunciates, the Government of the Union of South Africa and its White settlers would

listen to reason and the appeal of the moral law by which mankind lives.

## IV

## RESOLUTION ON THE RECENT DISTURBANCES

The Working Committee of the Indian National Congress are of opinion that the recent disturbances created by the people in Bombay, Delhi, Calcutta and other places were in every way harmful and were an obstacle in the way of the Congress. These included arson and incendiarism whether of private shops or public places, looting, especially destruction of foodstuffs, frightening pedestrians, compelling people to shout slogans, compelling Europeans to remove their hats and otherwise molesting them. All these acts were manifestly against the policy of non-violence adopted by the Congress and were derogatory to national dignity. Whilst there is nothing but unmixed condemnation of popular frenzy, this Committee, without prejudging the military action taken in order to deal with the recent outburst of violence, are of opinion that the popular belief, generally and justly, has been that such action has been taken in excess of necessity and in order to strike terror in the hearts of the people and that therefore the military have bulletted passers-by or even innocent people, men, women or children standing in their own galleries. Any such action, at the present moment, instead of cowering down the populace, has the effect of infuriating it. The Committee, therefore, ask the Government to institute an inquiry into the military action taken in the various places and hope that the inquiry will be open and public and will have on it representatives with judicial qualifications and enjoying public confidence. At the same time the Committee hope that the people will observe restraint befitting the Congress and help the conference between the Cabinet Mission and the representatives of the people to carry on their work in a calm atmosphere.

## Leprosy in Poona

In Poona is a group of leprosy patients and their children who have rented out tin-huts in a slum called *Kathadikhana* and live together as a colony. They live by begging. Some patients who were either thrown out of Khondwa Leper Home or came away from it started living together. They attracted to their group other patients who drifted into Poona, until today it is an interprovincial colony 85 strong (37 men, 31 women and 17 children). Some of them especially the women, reveal a story of desertion by their own families. They present a miserable sight of derelict and debased humanity. But I found amongst them an impressive fellowship and mutual helpfulness.

I fully realize the difficulties that will attend any efforts to give this group a more reasonable existence. It must be difficult to manage them, but they tell me they are willing to be helped. The fact that they have come together impresses me deeply. I see in their condition a call which we may not ignore. In proportion to the difficulty of the task should be our attraction to it. They should be helped to live better and their children should be saved from disease and destitution. Poona is a city of great traditions of social service and will it be too much to expect that this sacred spot of India hallowed with the memory of Ranade, Gokhale, Tilak, Devadhar and a host of other eminent social servants would rid itself of this malignant growth by providing these patients a place where they will find not only relief but work and at least partial self-support?

Bombay, 2-3-'46

T. N. JAGDISAN



## HARIJAN

March 24

1946

## INDIANS IN SOUTH AFRICA

(By M. K. Gandhi)

Course of events has raised the question of South Africa Whiteman's policy to the highest level. Unseen it holds the seeds of a world war. The threatened land and franchise bill which has brought the South African Indian Delegation to India, though superficially it affects the Indians of Natal and Transvaal, is in effect a challenge to Asia and by implication to the Negro races. India in her present exalted mood can view it in no other way. Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru is Indian to the core but being also an internationalist he has made us used to looking at everything in the international light instead of the parochial. India, weak physically and materially but strong ethically and numerically, has proclaimed from the housetops that her independence would be a threat to no one and no nation, but will be a help to noble effort throughout the world and a promise of relief to all its exploited peoples. Therefore, India regards the contemplated measure of the Union of South Africa as an insult and challenge to them.

The Indian Deputation see in the present measure not merely an assault on Indian property rights but also on their status as free men. They do not want merely to exist in South Africa. They need not have sent the deputation all the way to India for that purpose. They want to be in South Africa as equals of the European settlers of South Africa. They know that today they are not. But they must stop deterioration and hence move forward. In that forward march India will help of course. Indeed, all the moral forces will be at their call. The brunt, however, will have to be borne by them. They rediscovered the force of Truth (Satyagraha) and that will be their only and ultimate source of power. Time for it is not yet. Let us hope, it will never come. They have to try to gather together on their side all the moral forces of the world. They will have to clear the ground of all the weeds, all sordidness, all personal ambition which always and everywhere creeps in, if sleepless vigilance is not kept on the watch-tower. Imagine the plight of a poor barque sailing when the beacon light in front has gone out.

They must be prepared for accidents and consequent suffering. If they are in earnest and hardy enough to brave the worst, they are bound to come out the best in the end.

What about the Whites of South Africa? They invited the Indians in the first instance. If they had thought the invitees would always be like slaves or that they would not be followed by their free brethren, they (the Whites) were soon undeceived.

Does real superiority require outside props in the shape of legislation? Will they not see that every such will of protection weakens them, ultimately rendering them effeminate? The lesson of history ought to teach them that might is not right. Right only is might. Field Marshal Smuts is a great soldier-statesman. Will he not perceive that he will be taking the Whitemen of South Africa down the precipice, if he persists in the policy underlying his measure? Let him take counsel with the Allies to whose victory on the battlefield he contributed not a little. He will surely throw away its fruits if he persists in his plan of protecting the civilization of the West by artificial means.

Poona, 18-3-'46

## "A TEMPLE TO GANDHIJI"

(By M. K. Gandhi)

Under this strange heading I read a newspaper cutting sent by a correspondent to the effect that a temple has been erected where my image is being worshipped. This I consider to be a gross form of idolatry. The person who erected the temple has wasted his resources by misusing them, the villagers who are drawn there are misled and I am being insulted in that the whole of my life has been caricatured in that temple. The meaning that I have given to worship is distorted. Worship of the Charkha lies in plying it for a living or as a sacrifice for ushering in Swaraj. Gita is worshipped not by parrot-like recitation but by following its teaching. Recitation is good and proper only as an aid to action according to its teaching. A man is worshipped only to the extent that he is followed, not in his weaknesses but in his strength. Hinduism is degraded when it is brought down to the level of the worship of the image of a living being. No man can be said to be good before his death. After death too he is good for the person who believes him to have possessed certain qualities attributed to him. As a matter of fact, God alone knows a man's heart. Hence the safest thing is not to worship any person, living or dead, but to worship perfection which resides only in God known as Truth. The question then certainly arises as to whether possession of photographs is not a form of worship carrying no merit with it. I have said as much before now in my writings. Nevertheless I have tolerated the practice as it has become an innocent though a costly fashion. But this toleration will become ludicrous and harmful if I were to give directly or indirectly the slightest encouragement to the practice above described. It would be a welcome relief if the owner of the temple removed the image and converted the building into a spinning centre where the poor will card and spin for wages and the others for sacrifice and all will be wearers of Khaddar. This will be the teaching of the Gita in action and true worship of it and me.

Bombay, 15-3-'46



## QUESTION BOX

(By M. K. Gandhi)

Q. You ask people not to eat polished rice but I fear the disease is too far gone. Polished rice is washed again and again and the water thrown away. It is then boiled and that water too is emptied into the drain thus depriving the cereal of all its vitamin value. The rice thus served, with each grain separate, is pleasant for both the eye and the palate. The practice obtains even in students' hostels. How are we to get rid of it?

A. I am aware of the above-mentioned mal-practice. We live in the poorest of poor countries and are yet unable or unwilling to give up such harmful habits. Each one thinks only of himself. We look upon our neighbours as strangers instead of as our kith and kin. What does it matter to us whether they live or die? If they die it is their own fault. If they live it is accredited to their merit. Life and death are not in our hands. Therefore, let us eat, drink and be merry!

In such a distorted view of life we have to follow what we consider to be our duty and believe that what is true will one day be followed. Until then, whenever occasion arises we must proclaim from the housetops what we consider to be right.

Q. You say that those who eat fish should be provided with the same. Does not this entail violence both for him who eats and him who provides the fish?

A. Both commit violence. So do those who eat vegetables. This kind of violence is inherent in all embodied life, therefore, in man too. It is in this condition and in spite of it that we have to practise non-violence as a duty. I have often indicated how we may do so. The man who coerces another not to eat fish commits more violence than he who eats it. Fishermen, fish vendors and fish eaters are probably unaware of any violence in their action. Even if they were they might look upon it as unavoidable. But the man who uses coercion is guilty of deliberate violence. Coercion is inhuman. Those who quarrel among themselves, those who will stoop to anything in order to amass wealth, those who exploit or indulge in forced human labour, those who overload or goad or otherwise torture animals, all these knowingly commit such violence as can easily be stopped. I do not consider it violence to permit the fish eater to eat fish. It is my duty to suffer it. Ahimsa is the highest duty. Even if we cannot practise it in full, we must try to understand its spirit and refrain as far as is humanly possible from violence.

Bombay, 11-3-'46

(From *Harijanbandhu*)

Q. You have declared that freedom seems to be near. But I cannot follow the point. The Pakistan problem is only one complication against you.

A. Hope knows no insurmountable complications. But why ask, when the answer will be known within a few months, if not weeks. And I am not the only optimist this time.

Bombay, 12-3-'46

## DECIMAL COINAGE AND ITS COST

(By M. K. Gandhi)

After due sanction required by section 153 of the Government of India Act, 1935, a bill further to amend the Indian Coinage Act, 1906, is said to have been introduced in the Legislative Assembly on the 18th February, 1946. If it becomes law the rupee will be equivalent to 100 cents instead of 64 pice. The consequential changes will naturally follow. The object is stated to be:

"The existing series of small coins below four annas which were introduced as a war-time expedient, have proved unsatisfactory and unpopular, and the large recoinage programme which their reversion to the pre-war standards entails offers a unique opportunity for introducing a decimal system of subsidiary coinage in place of the present coinage system whereunder the rupee is divided into 16 annas and each anna into 12 pies. Modern trade and commerce demand speed and simplicity in the methods of computation, to achieve which there is nothing to compete with the decimal system which has gradually displaced all other systems in most of the advanced countries of the world. Public opinion has expressed itself largely in favour of the adoption of decimal coinage in India and the object of this Bill is to amend the Coinage Act for this purpose," and a note says:

"With the division of the rupee into 100 cents the existing coins will not correspond to an exact number of cents in all cases. During the transition period when both the anna and the cent coins will circulate side by side and prices might be quoted in terms of either, it is necessary to provide for conversion involving fractions of cents. As it is not proposed to issue cent coins of a smaller denomination than a half-cent, the Bill provides for conversions involving smaller fractions, to be made in rupees of any one transaction at the nearest half cent, and where the amount involved is a quarter cent to the nearest half cent below."

Shri Kishorlal Mashruwala has studied the question carefully and has come to the conclusion that whilst in theory the introduction of the decimal coinage may be defensible, in practice for some years to come the poor will be sacrificed as usual in the interests of the modern trade, i. e. the rich merchants. It is unnecessary here to summarize his convincing argument in support. It is given in full in the columns of the '*Harijanbandhu*'. It is sufficient here to state that even in the country of the rulers the decimal coinage has not been introduced. Public opinion there commands respect and affects the decisions of the House of Commons. In India, public opinion, such as it is, has very little force and, moreover, the opinion of the millions who will be the sufferers is inarticulate. Shri Mashruwala very aptly points out that the poor will be taxed without the odium of additional taxation. Wisdom would have suggested that if the power is to be transferred inside of a few months to the representatives of the people, it would be improper for the Government to embark upon an



experiment even though claimed to be scientific and yet manifestly against the immediate interests of the poor. In a poor country like India, often, the immediate is, as in this case, the decisive factor. It is to be hoped that the Central Legislative Assembly will throw out the bill, if on re-consideration, the Government do not withdraw it.

Poona, 17-3-'46

### S. A. DEPUTATION'S SUBMISSION

Extracts from the South African Indian Deputation's submission to H. E. the Viceroy. The Deputation was led by H. H. the Aga Khan.

"3. The present intention of the Government of the Union of South Africa will, if carried out, degrade us to a status of inferiority against which we have put up a fight more definitely since 1893, the year in which an attempt was made to disfranchise the Indian community as such in Natal. We then looked upon it as a slur not only on the Indians in Natal but also on the Mother Country. Then there was no Union of South Africa. The Cape had practically no Indian question worth the name. Orange Free State had banished the few Indian traders it had and prided itself on its thorough anti-Asiatic policy. The Transvaal had a sprinkling of Indian traders, hawkers and others. The "location" system, later known as segregation, had its rise there. The Whites in Natal had deliberately and for their own sake invited the large number of indentured Indians for their sugar and tea plantations and other industries. In their wake followed the trader and others, and the Indian population today is therefore a composite one.

"4. One would have thought that the advent of Union would mean the Union of all the races of South Africa, i. e. the African (the Bantu), the European and the Asiatics (primarily and principally Indians). What a noble tradition such a union would have been for the world! But it was not to be. On the contrary, the Union became an anti-African and Asiatic combine. Every year of the progress of the Union has definitely marked the progress of this combine, and the strenuous opposition to it by the Indian settlers and their descendants, as will be clearly seen by reference to the appendix "A" hereto attached.

"5. We ask Your Excellency to approach the question from that standpoint and no other. The threatened legislation adumbrated by Field Marshal Smuts, which has hastily brought the delegation from South Africa, is a very large step, perhaps the largest yet made in the process of consigning the Asiatics to permanent inferiority. The wedge has now extended into all round inequality and inferiority. Thus, there are zones of segregation, one of which the Whites are reserving for themselves in order to force by legal compulsion the segregation of the other races. God has made man "one great human family". The White races of South Africa would make of it three separate parts based on colour.

"6. Bad enough as the threatened land legislation is, the prospective franchise legislation is worse. It is a mockery of franchise and a poignant reminder of the low status to be accorded to us, so low that we

are not to be deemed even fit enough to choose one of our own as our representative.

"7. We have come all the way from South Africa not to seek protection of individual or property rights, dear as both are, but we have come definitely to ask Your Excellency and the people of the Mother Country to appreciate the fight for equality of status, which is theirs as much as ours, and to give us as much help as possible for you and them to give. What is attempted to be done in South Africa is a denial of the brave declarations made by the British and even the Field Marshal himself.

"8. It has given us much pleasure to learn that the withdrawal of the British power in India in favour of elected Indian representatives is imminent. Then, may we ask whether it is not Your Excellency's double and special duty to enunciate your stand in favour of equality and, so far as possible, enforce it in no uncertain terms?

"10. We would, therefore, ask Your Excellency to use your influence to secure the holding of a Round Table Conference between the two Governments to settle, in the words of the Natal Indian Judicial Commission, "all matters affecting Indians in South Africa". But should your efforts in this connection unhappily fail, then, we ask, in terms of our Resolution herein-before embodied, to withdraw the office of the High Commissioner for India in the Union of South Africa and to enforce economic and political sanctions. We are not unaware that they may mean very little material loss to South Africa. We know that counter-measures will cause us hardship. But, our loss we would count as nothing compared to the moral value of the enforcement of the sanctions."

### APPENDIX "A"

Before 1893 Indians enjoyed in Natal both parliamentary and municipal franchise equally with the Europeans. They were first deprived of the parliamentary franchise in 1893, with the exception of those who were already on the voters' roll. But Indian protest was heeded and it (the Franchise Act) was vetoed by London.

Indians were successfully deprived of the parliamentary franchise in 1896 on the ostensible ground that they did not enjoy the privilege in India. They were deprived of the Municipal franchise in 1942 with the result that they ceased to influence Central, Provincial or the Municipal Administrations. Indian residential localities in Durban and elsewhere have consequently been grossly neglected by the local authorities.

Separate schools are maintained for Indians and in a few places separate hospitals for Indians and Africans. No Indians are admitted to the Natal University College.

In Railway trains Indians can generally only occupy special coaches reserved for them with non-Europeans, and in Government offices such as the Posts and Telegraph Offices, and Railway Booking Offices there are separate counters for non-Europeans. This method of discrimination is applied in Courts of Justice also.

Indians are almost completely debarred from employment in Government and Municipal services, except in



a menial capacity. There are, however, Indian teachers in schools etc. exclusively intended for Indians and so are employed Indian Interpreters in some law courts.

One of the few privileges which Indians enjoyed until recently in Natal was the freedom to purchase and occupy landed property in urban and rural areas, but the "Pegging Act" of 1943 has severely restricted the exercise of this privilege. Field Marshal Smuts has now made an announcement in Parliament that he would introduce new measures affecting Indians in Natal and in the Transvaal.

(a) In Natal the new legislation, which is to replace the "Pegging Act" lapsing on the 31st day of March 1946, will prohibit the acquisition or occupation of properties by Indians, except in certain specified areas.

(b) Whilst the "Pegging Act" is limited in its operation to Durban only and restricts transactions of fixed property between European and Indian only, the new legislation is to apply to the whole Province of Natal, both in urban and rural areas, and totally prohibits such transactions not only between European and Indian, but goes further than the present "Pegging Act" by making it unlawful for any such transactions between Indian on the one hand and non-Indian on the other, i. e. European, Coloured, Bantu, Chinese, Malay and other non-Indian races.

(c) In the Transvaal under the new legislation areas are to be set apart for Indians both for residence and trade in cities, towns, and villages, the effect of which will be to restrict, if not totally confine, trading activities of Indians to the areas assigned to them. Thus being removed some distance away from commercial centres and being out of touch with all other sections of the population with whom they have hitherto been transacting business, the Indian traders will face ruination.

Moreover, in regard to trade the Licensing Laws in the Transvaal operate very harshly against Indians, in that the Licensing Boards have absolute power to refuse license to Indians without assigning reasons therefor. The same is applicable in the case of transfer of Licenses from one person to another.

In Natal, as well, administration of Licensing Laws operates harshly against Indians, all based upon racial considerations.

(d) Indians in Natal and Transvaal are to be allowed representation in the Union Legislature on a "racial" basis, similar to that applicable to the Bantus and other natives of South Africa. The Indian community is to be represented by three European members elected by them in a House of more than One Hundred and Fifty (150) members.

These proposed measures will, if they become law, constitute a breach of the Capetown Agreement of 1927 between the Union Government and the Government of India, and will be a violation of assurances and pledges given from time to time.

Note: The Appendix takes note of some of the legal disabilities, both in Natal and in the Transvaal and by no means exhausts the catalogue of our disabilities, grievances and hardships. The other disabilities reflected in the conduct of the Europeans in various walks of life, though galling, have been purposely avoided.

## GANDHIJ'S PRESS STATEMENT

Gandhiji has issued the following statement to the Press:

Shri Shriramulu is an unknown poor Congressman and servant of humanity working in Nellore. He has been labouring single-handed for the cause of the Harijans of that place. There was a time when high hope was entertained about removal of untouchability and other social work in Nellore. An *ashram* was built near Nellore but for a variety of causes the activity received a set-back. Deshabhakta Konda Venkatappayya was and still is, though very old, the moving spirit in connection with these activities. It is in this place that Shri Shriramulu has been quietly and persistently working for the removal root and branch of untouchability. He has been trying to have a temple opened to Harijans. He asked me the other day whether in order to awaken public conscience in favour of such opening he could, if all other effort failed, undertake a fast. I sent him my approval. Now the place is astir. But some persons have asked me to advise Shri Shriramulu to suspend his fast for removing legal difficulties of which I have no knowledge. I have been unable to give such advice. As I am anxious that an unobtrusive servant of humanity may not die for want of public knowledge and support I bespeak the interest of the journalists of the South, if not of all India, to find out for themselves the truth of the matter and, if what I say is borne out by facts, shame by public exposure the opposing parties into doing the right and save a precious life.

Bombay, 16-3-'46

[The foregoing statement was issued on the 16th instant. A wire was received today from Shri Shriramulu to the effect that he yielded to public pressure and broke his fast. I can be glad only if the ending of the fast means that the public has taken over the responsibility of having the temple opened without delay. Prof. Ramchandra Rao's letter received by me shows that there is a real legal difficulty about the opening and the principal trustee is pledged to have the formality gone through and the temple opened. It is to be hoped that the temple would be opened with the willing consent of the temple-going people. That can be the only meaning put upon the universal sympathy evoked by the fast. M. K. G.]  
Poona, 17-3-'46

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## RAMANAM, THE INFALLIBLE REMEDY

(By M. K. Gandhi)

Shri Ganesh Shastri Joshi, *Vaidya*, tells me after reading my article on Nature Cure in 'Harijan' of 3rd March 1946, that in *Ayurved* too there is ample testimony to the efficacy of *Ramanam* as a cure for all disease. Nature Cure occupies the place of honour and in it *Ramanam* is the most important. When Charak, Vagbhat and other giants of medicine in ancient India wrote, the popular name for God was not Rama but Vishnu. I myself have been a devotee of Tulsidas from my childhood and have, therefore, always worshipped God as Rama. But I know that if, beginning with *Omkar*, one goes through the entire gamut of God's names current in all climes, all countries and all languages, the result is the same. He and His law are one. To observe His law is, therefore, the best form of worship. A man who becomes one with the law does not stand in need of vocal recitation of the name. In other words, an individual with whom contemplation on God has become as natural as breathing is so filled with God's spirit that knowledge or observance of the law becomes second nature, as it were, with him. Such an one needs no other treatment.

The question then arises as to why, in spite of having this prince of remedies at hand, we know so little about it and why even those who know, do not remember Him or remember Him only by lip service, not from the heart. Parrot-like repetition of God's name signifies failure to recognize Him as the panacea for all ills.

How can they? This sovereign remedy is not administered by doctors, *vaidyas*, *hakims* or any other medicinal practitioners. These have no faith in it. If they were to admit that the spring of the Holy Ganges could be found in every home their very occupation or means of livelihood would go. Therefore, they must perforce rely on their powders and potions as infallible remedies. Not only do these provide bread for the doctor but the patient too seems to feel immediate relief. If a medical practitioner can get a few persons to say "so and so gave me a powder and I was cured", his business is established.

Nor, it must be borne in mind, would it really be of any use for doctors to prescribe God's name to patients unless they themselves were conscious of its miraculous powers. *Ramanam* is no copy book maxim. It is something that has to be realized through experience. One who has had personal experience alone can prescribe it, not any other.

The *Vaidyaraj* has copied out for me four verses. Out of these Charak's is the simplest and most apt. It means that if one were to obtain mastery over even one out of the thousand names of Vishnu, all ailments would vanish:

विष्णु सङ्क्षमूर्धनि चराचरपतिं विमुमु ।

स्तुवन्नाममहत्तेन ज्वरान् सर्वाणि चपोहति ॥

Poona, 10-3-'46

(From *Harijanbandhu*)

## CONVENIENCE Vs. NECESSITY

(By M. K. Gandhi)

One whom many Congressmen know writes:

"As I was talking with you I realized how greatly you were worried about the condition of the masses today. Their capacity to express themselves violently is no doubt very disturbing and at times one is liable to feel, 'To what purpose non-violence all these years?'

"When I search into myself (and that is, I feel, the only way to know about the people) I find that during the last 5-6 years conflicting experiences have only strengthened my faith in non-violence. I, and so many others, perhaps for the first time peeped over the precipice — intellectually even travelled in the dark valleys below — and I am convinced that that way salvation does not lie. And do you know, Bapuji, that there are thousands like me who have had that experience and reached the same conclusions? Up till now your voice used to be but a soothing balm to our frayed nerves and refreshed our souls; but non-violence was only a matter that we had to put up with in order to retain you as our general in battle.

"But now to thousands like me non-violence has become the Life Force that alone is capable of creating democracy and humanity. Our non-violence now is a matter of conviction and not a matter of convenience or cowardice.

"But then there are others who have not had the capacity to understand the fundamentals. They are still thinking in terms of power and organization for power. I personally feel that that is a phase in their development and that the experience and urgency of those that have learnt their lesson will count greatly in making even these see reason.

"There are also many that are confused with this game of politics and find it difficult to square it with the non-violent way or are rather confused by the spectacle of many attempting to square non-violence with the game of politics. This all leads me, personally, to the conclusion that Voltaire reached at the end of *Candide*: "It faut cultiver notre jardin" (It is best to cultivate one's own garden).

"I feel that we are fighting a war for humanity and that we have many a battle to fight — this being only the beginning of the first one — that we have far to go, that only with rugged fearless experience and perhaps a few stumblings shall we be able to grow into non-violence.

"Perhaps there are many who experience my difficulties."

Bombay, 14-3-'46

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# HARIJAN

10 Pages

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[ TWO ANNAS

## WHY BHANGI QUARTERS?

(By M. K. Gandhi)

Friends are puzzled over my keen desire to reside in Bhangi quarters in the cities or towns I may visit. To ask why I have not entertained that desire all these years would be more pertinent. To answer why I did not have the desire long ago must be reserved for a future occasion. Just now I must answer why the desire has come upon me at all.

I have for some time been saying that we must all be *bhangis* or untouchables. But it has worried me that I have not accorded the statement with corresponding action. It may not be possible to establish complete accordance with the wish. But it ought to be done so far as possible. Whilst this thought was agitating me, I got the news which I have already shared with the readers that in Gujarat only one well and one temple is shared with Harijans and this in Karadi. Whether the news is true or not is immaterial here. The material thing is the reaction produced on my mind by the news. To be angry was madness. The news quickened the desire for residence in untouchable quarters. I said to myself: 'If I lived apart from Harijans, what right had I to question the action of others who went further in their adherence to untouchability? But whether the others changed their mode or not was not for me to judge. If it was my duty to reside in Harijan quarters I must perform it irrespective of the reaction of the step on the others.' This is the thought which is possessing me and goading me to the adumbrated action.

Consequently I have asked Sheth R. D. Birla to arrange, if at all possible, for my residence in untouchable quarters when I happen to be in Bombay. I have also wired to Sheth G. D. Birla to arrange likewise for Delhi and Shri Brijkishen Chandiwalla has already asked for my approval of some arrangement he has made. It goes without saying that I must not impose myself on Harijans anywhere. I must not wound their feelings, if they will not tolerate my presence in their midst. But I fear no such thing.

Incidentally, I notice that some critics rejoice that I shall no longer reside in the Birla House. They do not know that I have been accepting their hospitality for years. I have accepted donations from them for my many constructive activities. The critics do not know of the changes they have imperceptibly made in their life; nor need they or the public in general know these. Such changes are never made for show. At the same

time it is perfectly true that there are wide differences between them and me in outlook. This is no cause for sorrow or wonder. All true change comes from within. Any change brought about by pressure is worthless. I am neither so vain nor so foolish as to hope that all would follow me. And who can say whether I am right or others in what we are doing? It is enough if all of us abide by what we consider to be right. We are all His creatures to do His will, not ours. Doing so, we should all be friends to one another.

Uruli, 25-3-'46

(From *Harijansevak*)

## WHY ONE MORE BURDEN?

(By M. K. Gandhi)

'Why have I got involved in Nature Cure in the evening of my life?'—this question is being asked me by several people. Had I not enough work on my hands already? Was I not too old to take up new things? Could any one expect me to add to my existing burdens? All these are pertinent questions demanding my careful consideration. But they do not evoke any echo within me. The still small voice within me whispers: 'Why bother about what others say? I have given you a colleague like Dr. Dinshah who understands you and whom you understand. You have confidence in your capacity, having followed Nature Cure as a hobby for over half a century. If you hide this talent and do not make use of it you will be as a thief. It will ill become you. Remember the teaching of the first verse of *Ishopanishad* and surrender all you have to Me. There is nothing that really belongs to you. Only you fancied that something was yours. It is all Mine. Give it also to My creatures like the rest. It will not in any way jeopardize your other work provided only that you have cultivated perfect detachment. You have entertained the desire to live up to 125 years. Its fulfilment or otherwise should not be your concern. Yours is only to understand and do your duty and be careful for nothing.' These are the thoughts that haunt me. It is my third day in this village. The number of patients who come for help is daily increasing. They feel happy and I feel happy in serving them. I am receiving the co-operation of the local people. I know that if I can enter the hearts of the people here, illness will be banished and this village will become a model of cleanliness and health. But if this does not happen, what is that to me? I have only to do the behest of the Master.

Uruli, 25-3-'46

(From *Harijansevak*)



## HOW TO MAKE IT DYNAMIC?

"Violence is bad. I agree with you too that the only substitute for it is constructive activity as symbolized by the Charkha. But the dynamic quality seems to have gone out of it. What should be done to bring out its revolutionary significance?" so asked a friend the other day in the course of a discussion with Gandhiji about the R. I. N. ratings' mutiny. Gandhiji's reply was as brief as it was significant. In one word it was: "Through *tapashcharya*." By *tapashcharya* he meant the *tapashcharya* of knowledge which must be coupled with action for its full expression. The conversation did not proceed further and I doubt whether the friend gave a second thought to the question afterwards. It is however an oft repeated question. It was put to Gandhiji at Calcutta by the Khadi workers of Barkamta. Gandhiji replying said:

### FROM PLENTY TO POVERTY

"Dr. Radha Kumud Mukherji in one of his books has quoted Colebrooke as saying that in India, the home of chronic poverty, the spinning wheel is the provider of butter to bread for the poor. The late R. C. Dutt has shown how the prosperity of the East India Company was founded on their trade in Indian textiles. No part of the world, neither China nor Japan, could produce fabrics to equal them. In the early phase the East India Company batted on the exploitation of its monopoly in Indian textiles. Not only did it bring them immense trade profits, it also gave an impetus to British shipping. Later, Lancashire developed its own textile industry following upon a series of mechanical inventions. This brought it into competition with the Indian textile manufactures. The policy of exploitation of the Indian artisans then gave way to that of destruction of their craft.

"An English writer has observed that the history of cotton is the history of civilization. Politics is the handmaid of commerce. Indian history provides an apt illustration of it. In the heyday of our cotton manufactures we used to grow all the cotton for our needs. The cotton seed was fed to the cattle which provided the health giving milk to the people. Agriculture flourished. The lint was turned into beautiful fabrics of which the *Jamdanis* of Dacca were a specimen. As an off-shoot we had the world-famed dyeing and printing art of Masulipatam. Connoisseurs say that our old indigenous dyes could not be matched by any in the world for their permanence as well as brightness and beauty. All that is gone now. India is today naked. We have to cover her nakedness. If anybody could suggest a better substitute than the spinning wheel for the purpose I would discard the spinning wheel today. But none has been found so far and I dare say none is likely to be found.

### TO END SLAVERY

"The question may however be asked: 'How can the Charkha bring India freedom when it could not prevent its loss?' The reply is that in the past Charkha was not linked with the idea of freedom. Nor did it then symbolize the power of non-violence.

In olden days it symbolized our slavery. We had not realized that our progress, prosperity and even freedom depended on the Charkha or else we should have put up a fight and resorted to Satyagraha to save it from destruction. What was lost through our ignorance and apathy has now to be won back through intelligence and knowledge. We have today ceased to think for ourselves. The Government says that Bengal is a pauper province and we mechanically accept the statement. To call a province which boasts of 6½ crores of population as pauper is only to proclaim our own intellectual bankruptcy. Did not the Governor of Bengal observe in a broadcast talk the other day that the cultivator in Bengal remains unemployed for six months in the year? Can any population in the world subsist while remaining idle for half the year? Even if all the water that the rains bring were captured and harnessed to irrigation it would not keep the masses alive if their enforced unemployment for the better part of the year were not removed. Our real malady is not destitution but laziness, apathy and inertia. You may achieve marvels of irrigational engineering. But well-filled granaries alone cannot and will not end our slavery. To end slavery you must overcome the mental and physical inertia of the masses and quicken their intelligence and creative faculty. It is my claim that the universalization of hand-spinning with a full knowledge of all that it stands for alone can bring that about in a sub-continent so vast and varied as India. I have compared spinning to the central sun and the other village crafts to the various constellations in the solar system. The former gives light and warmth to the latter and sustains them. Without it they would not be able to exist."

### HAS IT FAILED?

Q. "If Swaraj hangs on the thread of hand-spun yarn, as you say, why have we failed to attain it up till now after a quarter of a century of Khadi work?"

A. "Because our labour was not quickened by knowledge. The peace of the grave makes the latter the house of death. But the peace in the soul makes it the seat of divine intelligence. Similarly, soulless labour symbolizes serfdom. Labour illumined with knowledge symbolizes the will to freedom. There is a world of difference between the two. Khadi workers should understand that Khadi work without the mastery of the science of Khadi will be love's labour lost in terms of Swaraj."

### THE ALCHEMY OF KNOWLEDGE

Q. "What do you mean by the science of spinning? What things are included in it?"

A. "I have often said that I can do without food but not without sacrificial spinning. I have also claimed that no one in India has perhaps done his spinning with such unfailing regularity and conscientious diligence as I. And yet I will say that all that by itself cannot take the place of scientific knowledge. Scientific knowledge requires constant probing into the why and wherefore of every little process that you perform. Mere affirmation that in



Charkha there is Swaraj and peace is not enough. A scientific mind will not be satisfied with having things scientific just on faith. He will insist on finding a basis in reason. Faith becomes lame when it ventures into matters pertaining to reason. Its field begins where reason's ends. Conclusions based on faith are unshakable whereas those based on reason are liable to be unstable and vulnerable to superior logic. To state the limitation of science is not to belittle it. We cannot do without either — each in its own place.

#### SCIENTIFIC MIND AND KHADI WORK

"When I first discovered the spinning wheel it was purely through intuition. It was not backed by knowledge so much so that I confused Charkha with Kargha i. e. handloom. Later on, however, I tried to work out its possibilities with the help of the late Maganlal Gandhi. For instance, the question arose: Why should the spindle be made of iron, not brass? Should it be thin or thick? What would be the proper thickness? We began with mill spindles. Then, spindle holders used to be bamboo and wood. Later we came to leather and gut bearings. It was found that spindles got easily bent and were difficult to straighten. So we tried to make them out of knitting needles and ultimately of umbrella wires. All this called for the exercise of the inventive faculty and scientific research.

"A Khadi worker with a scientific mind will not stop there. 'Why Charkha, why not the spinning mill?' he will ask himself. The reply will be that everybody cannot own a spinning mill. If people depend on spinning mills for their clothing, whoever controls the spinning mills will control them and thus there will be an end to individual liberty. Today anyone can reduce the whole of London and New York to submission within 24 hours by cutting off their electric and water supply. Individual liberty and inter-dependence are both essential for life in society. Only a Robinson Crusoe can afford to be all self-sufficient. When a man has done all he can for the satisfaction of his essential requirements he will seek the co-operation of his neighbours for the rest. That will be true co-operation. Thus a scientific study of the spinning wheel will lead on to sociology. The spinning wheel will not become a power for the liberation of India in our hands unless we have made a deep study of the various sciences related to it. It will then not only make India free but point the way to the whole world.

#### DETACHMENT AND COURAGE

"Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru has very aptly remarked that at one time India was not lacking in the inventive spirit but today it has become dormant. Once one gets the scientific outlook it will be reflected in every act of his, in his eating, drinking, rest, sleep — everything will be scientifically regulated and with a full appreciation of its why and wherefore. Finally, a scientific mind must have detachment or else it will land itself into the lunatic asylum. The Upanishad says that whatever there is in this universe is from Him. It belongs to Him and must be surrendered to Him and then enjoyed. Enjoy-

ment and sorrow, success and failure will then be the same to you."

"One thing more," concluded Gandhiji. "Supposing the tyrant wants to destroy the spinning wheel itself. What then? My reply is that in that event we should ourselves perish with the spinning wheel and not live to witness its destruction. For every Khadi worker who thus sacrifices himself thousands will arise to take his place. That act of his will set the final seal of victory on the cause he represents."

Poona, 6-3-'46

PYARELAL

#### HAND-WEAVING AND HAND-SPINNING

(By M. K. Gandhi)

Shri Jajuji writes to say that whilst on the one hand, hand-spun yarn is piling up, on the other, handloom weavers are day by day giving up hand-spun yarn in preference to mill yarn. An appeal to the weavers through the columns of 'Harijan', whether in English or any of the Indian languages, will be good for nothing. Hardly any weaver reads 'Harijan' and if an attempt is made to read it out to him, he will not take interest in it. Hence the task of speaking to the weavers on the suicidal effect of abandoning hand-spun yarn devolves upon the devoted heads of Charkha Sangh workers. They have to reason out to the weavers how they will be ultimately responsible for killing their own occupation by excluding hand-spun yarn. As soon as the mill-owners can do so profitably, they will certainly stop selling mill yarn and will weave it themselves. They are not philanthropists. They have set up mills in order to make money. They will stop selling their yarn to handloom weavers, if they find weaving it more profitable. Therefore, it is a question of time when handloom weavers will be starved. These are really fed by hand-spinners even as they in their turn are fed by handloom weavers. They are twins complementary of each other. This fact should be brought home to the weavers by the Charkha Sangh. With loving patience and knowledge they should try to appreciate the difficulties of the weavers and learn how to remove them. Acharya Vinoba has pointed out one remedy namely to double and twist the yarn at the same time that the cones are unwound. If this practice becomes universal, there would be no untwisted hand-spun yarn available for weaving. It is found by experience that twisted hand-spun yarn is any day as weavable as mill-spun yarn, if indeed it is not more so. Since the time of my discharge from my last imprisonment, I have been proclaiming as vehemently as I can that the workers should master the art of weaving as well as they have mastered the art of spinning. Had they not taken to spinning themselves they would not have solved the many difficulties of spinners. They have now to make up for past neglect, however unconscious it may have been, by learning the art of weaving and by practising it assiduously. Then and then only will they understand the difficulties that professional weavers experience in weaving hand-spun yarn and be able to solve them. Uruli, 24-3-'46

(From Harijanbandhu)



# HARIJAN

March 31

1946

## CAPITALISM AND STRIKES

(By M. K. Gandhi)

How should capital behave when labour strikes? This question is in the air and has great importance at the present moment. One way is that of suppression named or nicknamed 'American'. It consists in suppression of labour through organized goondaism. Everybody would consider this as wrong and destructive. The other way, right and honourable, consists in considering every strike on its merits and giving labour its due—not what capital considers as due but what labour itself would so consider and enlightened public opinion acclaim as just.

One preliminary question will justly arise: why should there be a strike at all in any well-regulated concern? Strikes ought to be impossible when there is perfect understanding between capital and labour, mutual respect and recognition of equality. And since differences there would be sometimes between employers and employed even in the best-regulated concerns, why should there not be a system of arbitration between the parties so that they will always readily carry out in perfect good faith awards of arbitrators?

But we have to consider things not as they should be but as they are. As time progresses, the labour world is getting more insistent in its demands which are daily increasing, and it does not hesitate to resort to violence in its impatient enforcement of those demands. New methods of enforcing them are being employed. Workers do not hesitate to injure the property of the employers, dislocate machinery, harass old men and women who would not join the strike and forcibly keep out blacklegs. In these circumstances, how are the employers to behave?

In my opinion, employers and employed are equal partners even if employees are not considered superior. But what we see today is the reverse. The reason is that the employers harness intelligence on their side. They have the superior advantage which concentration of capital brings with it and they know how to make use of it. One individual rupee has very little potency but when money combines as capital, the combine derives a power different from and far in excess of the mere sum total of the individual rupees. A million drops individually are negligible. But in combination they make the ocean carrying on its bosom a fleet of ocean hounds. Whilst capital in India is fairly organized, labour is still in a more or less disorganized condition in spite of unions and their federation. Therefore, it lacks the power that true combination gives.

Moreover, it lacks intelligence, so much so that individuals fight against individuals, unions against

unions. Lack of intelligence leads to its exploitation by selfish and unscrupulous men even to the point of creating and promoting mischief. They know no better, being ignorant of the secret of non-violence. The net result is that the workers suffer. If labour were to understand the working of non-violence, the power generated by combination would any day exceed the power of dead metal in the hands of a few capitalists.

Hence my advice to the employers would be that they should willingly regard workers as the real owners of the concerns which they fancy they have created. They should further regard it as their duty to equip the employees with sound education that would draw out the intelligence dormant in them and gladly promote and welcome the power that this combination of the workers gives them.

This noble work cannot be done in a day by the employers. Meanwhile, what should those do who have to face the destruction wrought by strikers in their concerns? I would unhesitatingly advise such employers that they should at once offer the strikers full control of the concern which is as much the strikers' as theirs. They will vacate their premises not in a huff but because it is right, and to show their goodwill they would offer the employees the assistance of their engineers and other skilled staff. The employers will find in the end that they will lose nothing. Indeed their right action will disarm opposition and they will earn the blessings of their men. They will have made proper use of their capital. I would not consider such action as benevolent. It would be an intelligent use by the capitalists of their resources and honest dealing in regard to the employees whom they would have converted into honourable partners.

Uruli, 23-3-46

## AN ENGLISHMAN'S DIFFICULTY

"However much we may want to be friendly, the past tradition clings round your necks and drives you to desperation," said another member of the F. A. U. who met Gandhiji at Calcutta. "It seems to me," he added, "that there is hardly any hope of giving to a young Bengali student an idea of the better side of Englishmen unless perhaps he is transferred to England." The atmosphere in India was so poisoned that he wondered if it would not be better for Englishmen not to attempt to come to work in India just now but to wait for better times.

"Any friend, who is a real friend," replied Gandhiji, "and who comes in a spirit of service, not as a superior, is bound to be welcome. India, when she has come into her own will need all such assistance. The distrust of Englishmen, as you say, is there. It won't disappear even by transporting Indian students to England. You have got to understand it and live it down. It has its roots in history. The late Charlie Andrews and I were bed fellows. There was scarcely a thought in our mind which we did not share. He even adopted Indian dress though sometimes with grotesque results. But even



he could not escape suspicion. He was even dubbed "a spy". His was a very sensitive spirit. He suffered unspeakable anguish under these unmerited attacks and I was hard put to it to dispel the baseless distrust. 'If he is a spy, I am a spy,' I said to these critics. In the end C. F. A.'s spirit triumphed.

"Pearson was C. F. Andrews' disciple and friend. He too came in for his share of distrust. Then there is Stokes. "If I am to serve India I must become an Indian," he said to himself and married a Christian Rajput. He was boycotted by the Rajputs. The Government distrusted him too in the beginning. But he has lived down the distrust of both the Government and Indians."

"If then," observed Gandhiji, "even a C. F. Andrews and a Stokes and others had to labour under distrust, for you to be distrusted may not be wondered at. So far Indians have known Englishmen only as members of the ruling race—supercilious when they were not patronizing. The man in the street makes no distinction between such an Englishman and a good, humble European, between the Empire-builder Englishman of the old type that he has known and the new type that is now coming into being, burning to make reparation for what his forefathers did. Therefore, if one has not got the fire of sacrifice in him I would say to him: 'Do not come to India just now.' But if you are cast in a heroic mould there will be no difficulty. You will in the end be taken at your worth if you persevere. Anyway those of you who are here have no reason for going back."

The same friend was able to elicit from Gandhiji what he considered to be the weak spots in the Indusco Plan of Chinese Co-operatives. Firstly, the Indusco was a product of abnormal times. Its production was war time and war purposes production stimulated by the Japanese blockade. Secondly, it was organized by foreign missionary enterprise and their work was tainted by the proselytization motive. "If you try to merely copy the Chinese Co-operatives in India you will end in miserable failure. Here you have to work among Indian Christians. The temperament is different, the character is different, and the circumstances are different. Co-operation which is rooted in the soil always works. You have therefore to find out for yourself what type of co-operative is best suited to the Indian temperament and soil. Even those who have become converts to orthodox Christianity are today veering round."

"By 'veering round' you mean going back?"

"Yes, I mean going back to real Christianity, to Christ, not Western Christianity. They are beginning to realize that Jesus was an Asiatic. Having seen this they are reading their Bible through Indian eyes. You should study the meaning of Indian Christianity through J. C. Kumarappa's book 'Practice and Precepts of Jesus'."

## QUESTION BOX

(By M. K. Gandhi)

Q. What to do when the local Congress machinery refuses to act or work in a way which is effective?

A. A person who is a real Congressman will in such circumstances himself act singly or in co-operation with others purely in a spirit of service and give all the credit to the Congress organization. Supposing that many persons acted thus, Congress would rise from day to day. Ineffective workers would be shamed into becoming effective, the Congress machinery always remaining clean and intact. "In a spirit of service" is here the operative phrase. If the spirit is that of aggrandizement, although the work done may be effective, credit will probably go to the aggressor and the Congress will lose. That the aggressor will lose in the end need not be stressed.

Q. What should a Congress worker do when he faces a situation at a place which is outside his area of work?

A. Areas are prescribed for workers for their weakness, not for their strength. For a strong Congress worker all India is the area of his work and he will be found every time in the area where he is wanted most. Naturally he will be never regarded as an intruder or as an officious man. Appreciation of the service will be uppermost in the minds of all. It would be ludicrous and a sign of impotence, if a Congressman passing through an area not his own and finding a battle royal between two factions does not interpose himself between them, even at the cost of his life, on the untenable plea that the trouble was outside his area.

Q. Can the same person take up parliamentary work, constructive work as distinguished from the parliamentary and the organization work of the Congress, in addition to working for his own livelihood?

A. He must be a modern Hercules who can effectively do these things at the same time. I can conceive the possibility of the same person managing all these departments with a staff of efficient secretaries and clerks working under him. The point of the question, however, is wholly different. Division of labour is a necessity. One-man-show is always undesirable and is a positive hindrance to a system of organization. An organization like the British kingship is not personal. "The king is dead. Long live the king" Hence the saying, 'the king can do no wrong'. A king as an individual may be a rascal but personified as an organization he is perfect in the sense the word 'perfection' is understood in a given society. The moral is that however inefficient the persons in charge may be in the beginning stages, in a progressive organization persons taking charge should be above board and should put the organization first, themselves last. If an attempt is made to organize work through rascals, the organization will always have rascals at its head.

Q. August 1942 has brought a psychological change in the public mind. They do not await orders from



the Congress for observance of days, etc. Other parties often take advantage of this spontaneous effort and associate their programme with it, while official local Congress either keeps mum or inactive. It also often happens that programmes and policies as laid down by the Working Committee are not automatically adopted by the Provincial Congress Committees or are sometimes worked out half-heartedly. Some also refuse to create a machinery for it, till they are officially called upon to do so. In such circumstances, what is expected of Congressmen?

A. This is a good question. If Congressmen have really learnt to act for themselves since 1942 August, it is a great thing. But I do not believe it. Those only act for themselves who think for themselves. It does not matter whether in doing so they make mistakes. A child often stumbles before it begins to walk. Therefore, the effort ceases to be spontaneous or individual when one associates with any programme that comes his way. The secret of the August resolution was that when the Congress as an organization ceased to function every Congressman became his own master, which is wholly different from becoming a pawn in any other person's or group's or party's game.

The second part of the question shows also that 1942 did not teach Congressmen to think and act independently. If they had learnt that lesson truly and well, any programme laid down by the Working Committee would be followed by Congressmen wholeheartedly and the response from Provincial Committees and all constituent elements would be spontaneous, such that the whole organization would move like one man. Such was my expectation in 1942. That it was not so fulfilled is a matter of history. That the people acted somehow without being paralysed by the wholesale onslaught of the Government stands to their credit. How much more creditable it would have been if they had fully carried out the policy of non-violence explicitly laid down in that resolution? If my argument is correct, it follows that Congressmen with understanding would follow implicitly the Working Committee's resolutions without reference to the action of their neighbours. When organizational effort stops or is neutralized or becomes ineffective, every individual belonging to it holds himself responsible for the activity of his organization and then gradually builds it up.

Q. When sporadic strikes are such as cannot be supported by the Congress, what should Congressmen and the public do to put an end to them?

A. In the first place, if the Congress organization were complete there would be no sporadic strikes and any other strike would be unjustified for the simple reason that a people's organization must shoulder the burden of every justifiable strike within the sphere of that organization. But today unhappily the Congress, powerful as it is, has not attained that supreme position. Hence every sporadic strike has to be judged on merits irrespective of the party that has made itself responsible for it.

And when a strike is indefensible on merits the Congress and the public should unequivocally condemn it. The natural result would be that the men on strike would go back to work. If the strike is justified the institution against which it has been declared would be likewise condemned if it employs blacklegs or other questionable means to force strikers into submission.

Uruli, 23-3-'46

## Notes

### Wastefulness

Correspondence continues to pour in saying that stored food material being declared unfit for human consumption is thrown away. Skimmed milk also is thrown away for want of custom and condensed milk is lying idle owing to ignorance. Accumulation of food material at the ports will not mitigate distress unless it is promptly taken to the places where it is immediately required. Worse than this however is the triple waste going on now side by side with ever growing famine conditions. All such waste takes place for lack of a living contact between the people and the rulers.

Uruli, 24-3-'46

M. K. G.

### A. I. V. I. A. News

1. Up to 31st December 1945, members of the A. I. V. I. A. used to get the "Gram Udyog Patrika" free of charge. But as expenses have gone up, it is proposed to charge all members except those who are on actual field work half rates.

2. The following books have been published since the Board last met:

1. Palm Gur
2. Views of Maganwadi
3. Soap Making
4. Dhotijama

3. Shri Bharatan Kumarappa has asked to be relieved of his duties as Assistant Secretary. The Board has accepted his resignation with much regret. His loss after ten years of valuable work will be greatly felt by the A. I. V. I. A.

4. It is proposed to run a rural health centre in Sindhi village either under the aegis of the Kasturba Fund or independently.

[From the minutes of the meeting of the Board of Management]

A. K.

### Economics of Khadi

By M. K. Gandhi

Price Rs. 4, Postage 13 Annas

### Constructive Programme

Its Meaning and Place

(Revised & Enlarged Edition)

By M. K. Gandhi

Price 0-6-0 Postage 2 Annas

### Cent Per Cent Swadeshi

By M. K. Gandhi

Price Rs. 2, Postage 5 Annas

### Constructive Programme

—Some Suggestions—

By Babu Rajendra Prasad

Price 0-8-0, Postage 2 Annas



## GANDHIJI'S COMMUNISM

Gandhiji has often claimed in the course of his discussions with Communist and Socialist friends that he is a better Communist or a Socialist than they. Their goal is identical. The difference in regard to the means and the technique employed is however fundamental. Changing the structure of society through violence and untruth has no attraction for him because he knows that it will not benefit the dumb millions of India. During the period of his detention in the Aga Khan palace, he studied Communist literature. He has a scientific mind and the knowledge of Communism and Socialism picked up from his talks with friends and casual reading did not satisfy him. He read *Das Capital* and went through some of the other writings of Marx as also of Engels, Lenin and Stalin. He read some books about the Reds in China too and at the end of it was convinced more than ever that Communism of his conception was the only thing that could bring relief to the suffering humanity. In his Ashram and the institutions that are being run under his guidance and inspiration, the ruling principle is: "To each according to his need, from each according to his capacity." His Ashrams are thus themselves experiments in Communism based on non-violence and Indian village conditions. In Sevagram Ashram the dictum is followed that the inmates are there only on the sufferance of the village people. A cantankerous fellow felled some Ashram trees for his use as fuel though he had no title to them. Another encroached upon the right of way through his field although he had accepted compensation for it. No legal redress was applied for. An announcement was made that the Ashram people were there only for the service of the village folk and that they would go away elsewhere if the latter did not want them. Ultimately the trouble makers were persuaded by their fellow villagers to behave reasonably. In Sabarmati Ashram the women inmates not only merged their domestic kitchens into the communal kitchen and continued to run it but were even persuaded not only to take children other than their own into their families and to look after them like their own but also to let their children be looked after by others. Here was an experiment of pulling down of the walls and emancipation of women without the disintegration of family life—a veritable revolution less the anarchy. But as a friend humorously remarked after dining in the common kitchen of the Talimi Sangh, which feeds more than a hundred individuals, "Gandhiji calls it a *rasoda* (kitchen) and it sounds commonplace; the Communists would call it a 'Commune' and everybody would be impressed by it." Did not the good old knight of Addison wonder how a certain play could be a tragedy since there was not a line in it but he could understand?

### MEANING OF ECONOMIC EQUALITY

"What exactly do you mean by economic equality," Gandhiji was asked at the Constructive Workers' Conference during his recent tour of

Madras, "and what is statutory trusteeship as conceived by you?"

Gandhiji's reply was that economic equality of his conception did not mean that everyone would literally have the same amount. It simply meant that everybody should have enough for his or her needs. For instance, he required two *shawls* in winter whereas his grand nephew Kanu Gandhi who stayed with him and was like his own son did not require any warm clothing whatsoever. Gandhiji required goat's milk, oranges and other fruit. Kanu could do with ordinary food. He envied Kanu but there was no point in it. Kanu was a young man whereas he was an old man of 76. The monthly expense of his food was far more than that of Kanu but that did not mean that there was economic inequality between them. The elephant needs a thousand times more food than the ant, but that is not an indication of inequality. So the real meaning of economic equality was: "To each according to his need." That was the definition of Marx. If a single man demanded as much as a man with wife and four children that would be a violation of economic equality.

"Let no one try to justify the glaring difference between the classes and the masses, the prince and the pauper, by saying that the former need more. That will be idle sophistry and a travesty of my argument," he continued. "The contrast between the rich and the poor today is a painful sight. The poor villagers are exploited by the foreign government and also by their own countrymen—the city-dwellers. They produce the food and go hungry. They produce milk and their children have to go without it. It is disgraceful. Everyone must have balanced diet, a decent house to live in, facilities for the education of one's children and adequate medical relief." That constituted his picture of economic equality. He did not want to taboo everything above and beyond the bare necessities but they must come after the essential needs of the poor are satisfied. First things must come first.

### STATUTORY TRUSTEESHIP

As for the present owners of wealth they would have to make their choice between class war and voluntarily converting themselves into trustees of their wealth. They would be allowed to retain the stewardship of their possessions and to use their talent to increase the wealth, not for their own sakes, but for the sake of the nation and therefore without exploitation. The state would regulate the rate of commission which they would get commensurate with the service rendered and its value to society. Their children would inherit the stewardship only if they proved their fitness for it.

"Supposing India becomes a free country tomorrow," he concluded, "all the capitalists will have an opportunity of becoming statutory trustees." But such a statute will not be imposed from above. It will have to come from below. When the people understand the implications of trusteeship and the atmosphere is ripe for it, the people themselves,



beginning with *gram panchayats*, will begin to introduce such statutes. Such a thing coming from below is easy to swallow. Coming from above, it is liable to prove a dead weight.

#### HIS QUARREL WITH THE SOCIALISTS

Q. "What is the difference between your technique and that of the Communists or Socialists for realizing the goal of economic equality?"

A. "The Socialists and Communists say they can do nothing to bring about economic equality today. They will just carry on propaganda in its favour and to that end they believe in generating and accentuating hatred. They say, 'When they get control over the State they will enforce equality.' Under my plan the State will be there to carry out the will of the people, not to dictate to them or force them to do its will. I shall bring about economic equality through non-violence, by converting the people to my point of view by harnessing the forces of love as against hatred. I will not wait till I have converted the whole society to my view but will straightaway make a beginning with myself. It goes without saying that I cannot hope to bring about economic equality of my conception, if I am the owner of fifty motor cars or even of ten *bighas* of land. For that I have to reduce myself to the level of the poorest of the poor. That is what I have been trying to do for the last fifty years or more, and so I claim to be a foremost Communist although I make use of cars and other facilities offered to me by the rich. They have no hold on me and I can shed them at a moment's notice, if the interests of the masses demand it."

#### THE NON-VIOLENT SANCTION

Q. "What is the place of Satyagraha in making the rich realize their duty towards the poor?"

A. "The same as against the foreign power. Satyagraha is a law of universal application. Beginning with the family its use can be extended to every other circle. Supposing a land-owner exploits his tenants and mulcts them of the fruit of their toil by appropriating it to his own use. When they expostulate with him he does not listen and raises objections that he requires so much for his wife, so much for his children and so on. The tenants or those who have espoused their cause and have influence will make an appeal to his wife to expostulate with her husband. She would probably say that for herself she does not need his exploited money. The children will say likewise that they would earn for themselves what they need.

"Supposing further that he listens to nobody or that his wife and children combine against the tenants, they will not submit. They will quit if asked to do so but they will make it clear that the land belongs to him who tills it. The owner cannot till all the land himself and he will have to give in to their just demands. It may, however, be that the tenants are replaced by others. Agitation short of violence will then continue till the replacing tenants see their error and make common cause with the evicted tenants. Thus Satyagraha is a process of educating public opinion, such that it covers all the

elements of society and in the end makes itself irresistible. Violence interrupts the process and prolongs the real revolution of the whole social structure."

The conditions necessary for the success of Satyagraha are: (1) The Satyagrahi should not have any hatred in his heart against the opponent. (2) The issue must be true and substantial. (3) The Satyagrahi must be prepared to suffer till the end for his cause.

Poona, 4-3-'46

PYARELAL

#### COMMUNAL UNITY AND NON-UNTOUCHABILITY IN THE I. N. A.

The Azad Hind movement in East Asia solved many problems. And one of them was the major and intricate problem of communal unity. Although efforts towards this direction were made ever since the inception of the movement in 1942, it became a reality only after the arrival of Netaji Subhash Chandra Bose. There was another question and that was of untouchability, though on a minor scale. In East Asia, the question of untouchability did not confront us so much as it did or does in India. Anyhow, this ill too was remedied as a result of universal training of Indians in the I. N. A. camps and offices after Netaji's arrival.

What were the ways and means adopted to achieve these objects may be a long story. But the achievement can be attributed to three main factors: Firstly, absence of the third power; secondly, Netaji's direct approach to the problems and thirdly, Netaji's apparent ignoring of the problems.

Now, what the people may be interested in, is how this achievement of communal unity and eradication of untouchability was evident. For that, I may pen the following, covering both the combatant and non-combatant sections of the militant organization of Azad Hind.

With the elimination of the British power from East Asia, the communal differences among Indians also started fading away. The first scene of communal harmony was observed in Bangkok in June 1942, when about 120 representatives of the Indian community in East Asia gathered there for Conference. There were among them Hindus, Muslims, Sikhs, Christians and others. They stayed together, ate together, and resolved together to organize the Indian community into one body and under one banner.

Then came February 1943, and Gandhiji's historic fast. Throughout East Asia, rallies were held where all Indians belonging to different religions and of different castes and creeds gathered and demanded release of the Mahatma. Prayers were held in temples, mosques, *gurdwaras* and churches for the long life of Gandhiji. That presented an admirable and thrilling scene of communal unity.

Then came the advent of Netaji, and along with that a revolutionary change in society and in the organization. Netaji had asked for 'Total Mobilization' for the coming armed struggle for India's freedom. To this call of Netaji, the response was universal from all sections of the community—from Hindus, Muslims, Sikhs, Christians and others. They offered their services as combatant and non-combatant volunteers.



Some of these volunteers were absorbed in the Azad Hind Sangh, the Party behind the Azad Hind Fauj and the Azad Hind Government. Others — a majority of the volunteers — joined the ranks of the Fauj. The Sangh had a network of branches throughout East Asia. In every branch workers consisting of Hindus, Muslims, Sikhs and Christians worked together. Wherever there were large numbers of workers, as was the case in places like Bangkok, Singapore, Rangoon, Saigon, Hongkong, they used to live in messes. These were joint. There was no separate Hindu, Muslim, Sikh or Christian mess. There used to be one kitchen for all members of all religions. Hindus, Muslims, Sikhs and Christians lived together, ate at the same table and worked together.

Same was the case in the I. N. A.. Hindus, Muslims, Sikhs, Christians used to live in the same barracks. There were Brahmins, as well as Harijans, there were Maulvis as well as Ahirs; there were caste-Hindus as well as the so-called untouchables in the same barracks. There were no separate *langars*. All the soldiers ate together. The same rations were supplied to the soldiers and officers. Beef and pork were prohibited in the messes of the Azad Hind Sangh and the Azad Hind Fauj. There was no problem of *jhatka* and *halal*.

RAMSINGH RAWAL

[Note: Except for repetitions, the foregoing is published as it was received. The information is revealing. The natural question is: now that these soldiers have returned, will the same comradeship persist? It ought to. M. K. G.]

Bombay, 14-3-'46

### IDEALS FOR THE I. N. A.

Major General Shah Nawaz and Col. Sehgal took occasion during Gandhiji's stay in Bombay to discuss with him at length the question of the future of the discharged I. N. A. men. The men were anxious, they said, to distinguish themselves in national service along non-violent lines, but unless they were suitably absorbed in civil activities and properly guided they might be exploited and led into devious ways by unscrupulous agencies. What ideal should they follow, they asked. Gandhiji repeated to them the advice he had previously given to some discharged I. N. A. men who had met him in Madras. He had told them that it should be derogatory to the dignity and self-respect of a soldier to live upon charity. The ideal which they should set before themselves was to earn their bread by honest industry. The I. N. A. Relief Fund was there but it would be wrong to use it for providing doles. He described to them how in South Africa he had provided relief to dependents of Satyagraha prisoners by settling them on Tolstoy Farm where they had to labour according to capacity. The merit of this method was that it could be multiplied to any degree without proving costly and burdensome. The real test of the I. N. A., he told them, was to come only now. In the fighting line there was the romance and incitement, not so in civil life. The country was today faced with the spectre of famine. Would they help the people to

fight it with the same courage, cohesion, doggedness and resourcefulness which they had shown on the battlefield? Would they show the same diligence, mastery and skill in handling the spade, the pickaxe and the hoe as they did in shouldering the rifle? Digging of wells and breaking stony ground to grow food and plying the wheel and the shuttle to clothe the naked was the nation's need today. Would they respond to the call? They had physical stamina, discipline and, what was more, a feeling of solidarity and oneness, untainted by narrow communalism. All that ought to put them in a singular position of vantage for introducing non-violent discipline and organization among the masses.

Constructive activity could absorb every one of the I. N. A. men who was willing and worthy of his name. If they took up that work, not one of them need or would remain unemployed.

As one listened while Gandhiji outlined the ideals for the I. N. A. men one was irresistibly reminded of the following description by a distinguished English historian of another national army that has left its mark on history. The reference is to Cromwell's Ironsides:

"These persons, sober, moral, diligent and accustomed to reflect had been induced to take up arms, not by the pressure of want, not by the love of novelty and license, not by the arts of the recruiting officers, but by religious and political zeal, mingled with the desire of distinction and promotion. The boast of the soldiers was . . . that they were no janissaries but freeborn Englishmen who had of their own accord put their lives in jeopardy for the liberties and religion of England and whose right and duty was to watch over the welfare of the nation which they had saved.

"In war this strange force was irresistible . . . Other leaders have maintained order as strict, other leaders have inspired their followers with zeal as ardent, but in his (Cromwell's) camp alone the most rigid discipline was found in company with the fiercest enthusiasm. His troops moved to victory with the precision of machines, while burning with the wildest fanaticism of crusaders.

"But that which chiefly distinguished the armies of Cromwell from other armies was the austere morality and the fear of God which pervaded all ranks . . . In that singular camp no oath was heard, no drunkenness or gambling was seen, and during the long dominion of the soldiery, the property of the peaceable citizen and the honour of women were held sacred. . . ."

But their greatest victory, records the same historian, was won not in fighting but when they had ceased to fight.

"The troops were now to be disbanded. Fifty thousand men, accustomed to the profession of arms, were at once thrown on the world: and experience seemed to warrant the belief that this change would produce much misery and crime, that the discharged veterans would be seen begging in every street, or that they would be driven by hunger to pillage. But no such result followed. In a few months there remained not a trace indicating that the most



formidable army in the world had just been absorbed into the mass of the community. The Royalists themselves confessed that, in every department of honest industry, the discarded warriors prospered beyond other men, that none was charged with any theft or robbery, that none was heard to ask an alms, or that if a baker, a mason, or a waggoner attracted notice by his diligence and sobriety, he was in all probability one of Oliver's old soldiers."

Poona, 20-3-'46

PYARELAL

## FAMINES AND BIRTH RATE

(By M. K. Gandhi)

Major Gen. Sir John McGaw, President, India Office Medical Board, is reported by a correspondent to have said :

"Famines in India will recur; in fact India is today facing perpetual famine. Unless something is done to decrease the birth rate in India, the country will be leading straight for a calamity."

The correspondent asks what I have to say on this grave issue.

For me, this and some other ways of explaining away famines in India is to divert the attention from the only cause of recurring famines in this benighted land. I have stated and repeat here that famines of India are not a calamity descended upon us from nature but is a calamity created by the rulers — whether through ignorant indifference or whether consciously or otherwise does not matter. Prevention against drought is not beyond human effort and ingenuity. Such effort has not proved ineffective in other countries. In India a sustained intelligent effort has never been made.

The bogey of increasing birth rate is not a new thing. It has been often trotted out. Increase in population is not and ought not to be regarded as a calamity to be avoided. Its regulation or restriction by artificial methods is a calamity of the first grade whether we know it or not. It is bound to degrade the race, if it becomes universal which, thank God, it is never likely to be. Pestilence, wars and famines are cursed antidotes against cursed lust which is responsible for unwanted children. If we would avoid this three-fold curse we would avoid too the curse of unwanted children by the sovereign remedy of self-control. The evil consequences of artificial methods are being seen by discerning men even now. Without however encroaching upon the moral domain, let me say that propagation of the race rabbit-wise must undoubtedly be stopped; but not so as to bring greater evils in its train. It should be stopped by methods which in themselves ennoble the race. In other words, it is all a matter of proper education which would embrace every department of life; and dealing with one curse will take in its orbit all the others. A way is not to be avoided because it is upward and therefore uphill. Man's upward progress necessarily means ever increasing difficulty, which is to be welcomed.

Poona, 19-3-'46

## CONGRESSMEN APATHETIC

(By M. K. Gandhi)

Q. "I am glad that you have expressed yourself in the matter of opening a temple to Harijans in Nellore. It should open the eyes of many Congressmen. The reason given for unwillingness to open the temple was that it might adversely affect the chances of Congress success in the elections."

A. If this represents the general sentiment, it augurs ill for Congress. Even a popular democratic India-wide organization like the Congress cannot afford to be untrue to its policy (if it may not be called creed) of removing untouchability root and branch. Throughout my close contact with the Congress, ever since my return to India in 1915, I have found that the more the Congress has held to its main purpose, the more popular it has become. A democratic organization has to dare to do the right at all cost. He who panders to the weaknesses of a people degrades both himself and the people and leads them not to democratic but mob rule. The line of demarcation between democracy and mobocracy is often thin but rigid and stronger than steel unbreakable. The one leads to life and progress, the other is death pure and simple. In the ultimate analysis, the cause of our fall is to be sought from within and not from without. All the empires of the world could not have bent us, if as a people we had been above suspicion and temptation. This may not be regarded as a mere truism. If we recognize the fundamental facts, we would be true and patient and able to deal with whatever difficulty that may face us whether from within or without. Preparedness to lose all elections rather than sacrifice a principle, is the surest way to success at every election. The results prove that the policy laid down by the Congress in 1920 has led to success from stage to stage, but only to the extent that the Congress has been true to the fundamentals of the policy it accepted during that eventful year. Untouchability is to go, if India is to live and thrive as a nation.

Poona, 21-3-'46

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# HARIJAN

Editor: PYARELAL

10 Pages

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AHMEDABAD — SUNDAY, APRIL 7, 1946

[ TWO ANNAS

## QUESTION BOX

(By M. K. Gandhi)

Q. Horse racing is going on in many important cities. It is alike a lure for high and low, rich and poor, and it leads to moral degradation and in some cases penury. Many Princes spend lakhs of their people's money on buying race horses. What steps should our new governments take to check this evil?

A. There is no doubt whatsoever about the evil. The good it is supposed to do is extremely doubtful. And at this time of growing distress in the country it is criminal. The new national governments can do a great deal to check the evil. But let us recognize their limitations. Being popular, i. e. people's governments, they will never be able to go far in advance of popular opinion. That is specially a function belonging to reformers. But these governments can certainly, by their own example, rob the evil of the stamp of fashion that the bureaucracy has set upon it even to the point of wasting public money on the luxury. The Princes will copy the example of good manners that the national governments may set.

Q. We find that the Congress is reluctant to select women representatives on a large scale for elective bodies. It is surely just and necessary that more women are taken into the various bodies. How would you deal with the question?

A. I am not enamoured of equality or any other proportion in such matters. Merit should be the only test. Seeing however that it has been the custom to decry women, the contrary custom should be to prefer women, merit being equal, to men even if the preference should result in men being entirely displaced by women. It would be a dangerous thing to insist on membership on the ground merely of sex. Women and for that matter any group should disdain patronage. They should seek justice, never favours. Therefore, the proper thing is for women as indeed for men to advance the spread not of English or Western education among them but such education on general lines through their provincial languages as will fit them for the numerous duties of citizenship. For men to take a lead in this much needed reform would be not a matter of favour but a simple act of belated justice due to women.

Uruli, 30-3-46

## WEEKLY LETTER—I FIVE DAYS IN BOMBAY

### WHAT IS BEAUTIFUL?

"Won't you ask people to grow flowers on a small piece of land? Colour and beauty is necessary to the soul as food is to the body," asked Agathia Harrison twitting Gandhiji on his suggestion to Seth Rameshwar-das Birla to dig up the flower beds in his terrace garden in Birla House, Bombay, and grow vegetables instead. "No," replied Gandhiji. "I won't. Why can't you see the beauty of colour in vegetables? And then, there is beauty in the speckless sky. But no, you want the colours of the rainbow which is a mere optical illusion. We have been taught to believe that what is beautiful need not be useful and what is useful cannot be beautiful. I want to show that what is useful can also be beautiful." And so the vegetables were planted where flowers grew and I do not think that anybody's aesthetic sense has suffered any loss as a result.

### A MOMENTOUS STEP

The same passion for essentials and utter indifference to the outward trappings was reflected in his insistence on drafting the resolutions for the Working Committee this time in Hindustani, an English translation being provided alongside for the convenience of those members who did not know Hindustani well enough. The Congress President was enthusiastic over the change. He took a momentous step when he decided that hereafter all the resolutions of the Working Committee shall be in Hindustani in the first instance and the original Hindustani text would be made available to the Press. The chief difficulty is about transmission over the wires. For the time being it can only be overcome by putting Hindustani messages into Roman script. It is a pity and a shame that our news services are not equipped for transmission of news in Hindustani. Any news service agency that sets up an inland telegraphic news service in Hindustani will steal a big march over its rivals. One news agency, I understand, intends doing so.

### IN THE EVENING OF HIS LIFE

Although the bulk of his time during his five days' stay in Bombay was taken up with work in connection with the Working Committee's meetings, he found time to introduce to the Bombay public his latest born, i. e., the project of establishing a Nature Cure Centre for the poor. "What has been a hobby with me for the last fifty years has now become a passion," he remarked in a letter to the Sardar recently. "If I find that I have a talent for the service of the poor and do not make full use of it I shall be set down as a fool," he remarked to another friend. And so at seventysix in the evening of his life, he has decided to add one more to his many activities.



### WHAT IS NATURE CURE ?

And why has it gripped him like this ? He explained the difference between the Nature Cure system of his conception and the other systems of cure to a casual visitor who saw him at Birla House. "In the case of the ordinary method of treatment the patient comes to the doctor to take drugs that would cure him. The doctors prescribe the drug. With the relief of abnormal symptoms in the patient his function ends and with that his interest in the patient. The Nature Cure man does not 'sell a cure' to the patient. He teaches him the right way of living in his home which would not only cure him of his particular ailment but also save him from falling ill in future. The ordinary doctor or *vaidya* is interested mostly in the study of disease. The nature curist is interested more in the study of health. His real interest begins where that of the ordinary doctor ends; the eradication of the patient's ailment under Nature Cure marks only the beginning of a way of life in which there is no room for illness or disease. Nature Cure is thus a way of life, not a course of 'treatment'."

"It is not claimed," he explained to the prayer gathering audience at Rungta House, "that Nature Cure can cure all disease. No system of medicine can do that or else we should all be immortals. But it enables one to face and bear down with unperturbed equanimity and peace of mind an illness which it cannot cure. If once we decide that what cannot be shared by the millions should be taboo for us, we are driven to nature as the only cure—all for the rich and the poor alike."

### THE MOST POTENT WEAPON

In the armoury of the Nature Curist *Ramanam* is the most potent weapon. "Let no one wonder at it," he remarked. "A noted Ayurvedic physician told me the other day, 'All my life I have been administering drugs. But since you have prescribed *Ramanam* as a cure for physical ailments, it has occurred to me that what you say has too the authority of Vagbhata and Charaka.' The recitation of *Ramanam* as a remedy for spiritual ailments is as old as the hills. But the greater includes the less. And my claim is that the recitation of *Ramanam* is a sovereign remedy for our physical ailments also. A Nature Cure man won't tell the patient: 'Invite me and I shall cure you of your ailment.' He will only tell about the all-healing principle that is in every being and how one can cure oneself by evoking it and making it an active force in his life. If India could realize the power of that principle not only would we be free, but we would be a land of healthy individuals too—not the land of epidemics and ill health that we are today."

### ITS USE AND LIMITATION

"The potency of *Ramanam* is however subject to certain conditions and limitations," he proceeded, "*Ramanam* is not like black magic. If some one suffers from surfeit and wants to be cured of its after effects so that he can again indulge himself at the table, *Ramanam* is not for him. *Ramanam* can be used only for a good, never for an evil end, or else thieves and robbers would be the greatest devotees. *Ramanam* is for the pure in heart and for those who want to attain purity and remain pure. It can never be a means for self-indulgence. The remedy for surfeit is fasting, not prayer. Prayer can come in only when fasting has

done its work. It can make fasting easy and bearable. Similarly the taking of *Ramanam* will be a meaningless farce when at the same time you are drugging your system with medicines. A doctor who uses his talent to pander to the vices of his patient degrades himself and his patient. What worse degradation can there be for man than that instead of regarding his body as an instrument of worshipping his Maker he should make it the object of adoration and waste money like water to keep it going anyhow. *Ramanam*, on the other hand, purifies while it cures, and therefore it elevates. Therein lies its use as well as its limitation."

### THE DISTURBANCES

The embers of the recent disturbances were still hot under the feet when Gandhiji visited Bombay. His first utterance before the evening prayer gathering at Rungta House therefore naturally referred to those events. It was a scathing denunciation of the policy of taking refuge in the "ambiguous middle" when the occasion required boldly speaking out and effective action.

The long deferred Shivaji Park meeting which he was to have addressed on the 9th of August 1942, but could not owing to his arrest at the dawn of the 8th, was a much bigger affair. The audience numbered over two lakhs. But such was the excellence of the arrangements and the discipline of the crowd that Gandhiji's speech was heard amid pin-drop silence. Its theme was 'Satyagraha as the art of living and dying' and its relation to prayer. The text of both the addresses will be found reproduced elsewhere in these columns.

### AT URULI KANCHAN

Gandhiji did not stay for many days in the Nature Cure Clinic at Poona on his return from Bombay. Uruli Kanchan into which Gandhiji moved on the afternoon of the 22nd inst. is a small station on the Sholapur-Poona line with a population of about 3,000. It has a railway telegraph office and a post office but no telephone. The mail and the express trains do not stop here. The climate is good, the air bracing. There is a plentiful supply of filtered water from the military camp water works nearby. The locality grows fruits like the grape, orange and *papaiya* in profusion.

A few days back a deputation of nearly all the leading men of the place had waited on Gandhiji at the Nature Cure Clinic, Poona, to request him to establish his proposed Nature Cure Centre for the poor there. They promised to provide enough land for the purpose and their full co-operation besides donating Rs. 10,000/- to the Nature Cure Trust for the experiment at Uruli. Shri Datar, a retired railway contractor, vacated his bungalow and offered it for Gandhiji's temporary residence.

Congregational prayer was held on the very first day at the outskirts of the village, the mass singing of *Ramadhun* being introduced here as in other places. Taking as his text the hymn that had been sung Gandhiji presented *Ramanam* to the village folk assembled there as a natural therapeutic No. 1 for the cure of bodily ailments: "In the song that we have just sung the devotee says:

'O Hari, You are the reliever of the people's distress.' The promise here is universal. It is not qualified or restricted to any particular kind of ailment." He told them of the conditions of success. The efficacy of *Ramanam* would depend on whether it was or was not



backed by a living faith. "If you are subject to anger, eat and sleep for indulgence, not solely for sustenance, you do not know the meaning of *Ramanam*. Your recitation of it is mere lip service. *Ramanam* to be efficacious must absorb your entire being during its recitation and express itself in your whole life."

#### FIRST PATIENTS

Patients began to come in from the next morning. There were about thirty of them. Gandhiji examined five or six of them and prescribed to them all more or less the same treatment with slight variations, according to the nature of each case, i. e. recitation of *Ramanam*, sun bath, friction and hip baths, a simple eliminative diet of milk, buttermilk, fruit and fruit juices with plenty of clean fresh water to drink. "It has truly been observed," he explained at the evening prayer gathering, "that all mental and physical ailments are due to one common cause. It is therefore but natural that there should be a common remedy for them too. There is a unity of cure as there is in disease. The *Shastras* say so. Therefore, I prescribed *Ramanam* and almost the same treatment to all the patients who came to me this morning. But we have a knack of explaining away the *Shastras* in life when they do not suit our convenience. We have deluded ourselves into the belief that the *Shastras* are meant only for the benefit of the soul in the life to come, that the end of *Dharma* is to acquire merit after death. I do not share that view. If *Dharma* has no practical use in this life, it has none for me in the next.

"There is hardly anyone in this world who is completely free from ailment whether bodily or mental. For some of these there is no earthly cure. For instance, *Ramanam* cannot perform the miracle of restoring to you a lost limb. But it can perform the still greater miracle of helping you to enjoy an ineffable peace in spite of the loss while you live and rob death of its sting and the grave its victory at the journey's end. Since death must come soon or late to everyone, why should one worry over the time."

#### THIS IS MY INDIA

The number of patients increased from 30 to 43 on the third day. "This is good," remarked Gandhiji, "because it shows that those who need Nature Cure treatment are coming forward to avail themselves of it." If the work proceeded according to plan, he explained at the evening prayer gathering, he intended to stay for at least four months in the year in their midst. During his absence his colleagues would continue to direct and guide them according to his instructions. "The practice of nature cures does not require high academic qualifications or much erudition. Simplicity is the essence of universality. Nothing that is meant for the benefit of the millions requires much erudition. The latter can be acquired only by the few and therefore can benefit the rich only. But India lives in her seven lakhs of villages — obscure, tiny, out-of-the-way villages, where the population in some cases hardly exceeds a few hundred, very often not even a few score. I would like to go and settle down in some such village. That is real India, my India, for which I live. You cannot take to these humble people the paraphernalia of highly qualified doctors and hospital equipment. In simple natural remedies and *Ramanam* lies their only hope."

He had been told that there was hardly any disease in Uruli. Probably what was meant was that no epidemic was prevalent, that being the popular conception of disease. But from the cases that had come to him during the last two days it was clear that ill health there was in plenty in Uruli. "If you do as I ask you to," he told the villagers, "Uruli will become an ideal village, to see which people will come from far."

He then proceeded to give them his first discourse on Nature Cure principles. The following is its gist.

#### NATURE CURE EXPOUNDED

"Man's physical body is composed of five natural elements, i. e. air, water, earth, fire or *tejas* (the energizing principle) and ether (space). The soul quickens it."

"The most essential of these is air. Man can live without food for several weeks, without water for some time, but without air he cannot live for more than a few minutes. God has therefore made air universally available. Shortages of food or water there may be at times but of air never. In spite of it we foolishly deprive ourselves of God's blessing of fresh and pure air by sleeping within doors with doors and windows shut. One may shut the doors and windows if he is afraid of thieves at night. But why should one shut oneself up?"

"To get fresh air, one must sleep in the open. But it is no good sleeping in the open only to breathe dust and dirt-laden air. The place where you sleep must be free from both. Some people cover their faces as a protection against dust and cold. It is a remedy worse than the disease. Then there is the evil habit of breathing through the mouth. Mouth is the organ of ingestion. It is not the organ of breathing. The air passing through the nasal passages is filtered and purified and at the same time warmed up before it enters the lungs."

"Anyone who fouls the air by spitting about carelessly, throwing refuse and rubbish or otherwise dirtying the ground, sins against man and nature. Man's body is the temple of God. Anyone who fouls the air that is to enter that temple desecrates it. He takes the name of *Rama* in vain."

In the end he warned them that they should be prepared to find in him a hard taskmaster. If he stayed in their midst he would neither spare himself nor them. He would visit their homes, inspect their streets, their drains, their kitchens, their latrines. He would tolerate neither dust nor dirt anywhere.

Uruli, 23-3-'46

PYARELAL

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## HARIJAN

April 7

1946

## IMPLICATIONS OF 'QUIT INDIA'

(By M. K. Gandhi)

In terms of non-violence 'Quit India' is a healthy, potent cry of the soul. It is not a slogan. It means the end, through means purely truthful and non-violent, of foreign rule and domination. It does not mean the foreigner's destruction but his willing conversion to Indian life. In this scheme there is no room for hatred of the foreigner. He is a man, even as we are. It is fear of him that gives rise to hatred. Fear gone, there can be no hatred.

Thus his conversion implies our conversion too. If we cease to be inferiors, he cannot be our superior. His arsenals and his weapons, typified in their extreme in the atom bomb, should have no terror for us. It follows that we may not covet them. We often make the mistake of thinking that we must first have things before we cease to covet them. This tempting argument leads to the prolongation of the agony. Must I do all the evil I can, before I learn to shun it? Is it not enough to know the evil to shun it? If not, we should be sincere enough to admit that we love evil too well to give it up.

Let us assume that foreign rule is ended. What should the foreigner do? He could hardly be considered free when he was protected by British arms. As a free man, he will discover that it was wrong to possess privileges which the millions of India could not enjoy. He will live doing his duty as behoves a son of India. He will no longer live at India's expense. On the contrary, he will give India all his talents and by his services render himself indispensable to the land of his adoption.

If this is true of the European, how much more true must it be for those Anglo-Indians and others who have adopted European manners and customs in order to be classed as Europeans demanding preferential treatment? All such people will find themselves ill at ease, if they expect continuation of the favoured treatment hitherto enjoyed by them. They should rather feel thankful that they will be disburdened of preferential treatment to which they had no right by any known canon of reasoning and which was derogatory to their dignity.

We have all—rulers and ruled—been living so long in a stifling unnatural atmosphere that we might well feel in the beginning that we have lost the lungs for breathing the invigorating ozone of freedom. If the reality comes in an orderly, that is a non-violent manner because the parties feel that it is right, it will be a revealing lesson for the world.

Uruli, 29-3-'46

## HINDUSTANI

(By M. K. Gandhi)

I have no doubt in my mind that Hindustani, i. e. a correct mixture of Hindi and Urdu, is the National language. But I have not yet been able to prove this in my own writings or speech. Let not readers of 'Harijansevak', however, be irritated. Perhaps it is as well that the attempt to create a national language has come into the hands of an inept. After all the general mass of people come in this category. It will be through the efforts of all such that linguistic *pandits* will be enabled to create the proper mixture, easily understood by all. If readers of 'Harijansevak' will keep on pointing out mistakes in language, it will help the journal to create and maintain a proper style. It will be the aim of 'Harijansevak' to make its language sweet to the ear and easily understandable to every Indian. A language which is not generally understood is useless. It is unreal if it cannot serve its purpose. All attempts at having a forced language have proved futile.

Uruli, 30-3-'46

(From *Harijansevak*)

## IS NETAJI ALIVE?

(By M. K. Gandhi)

Some years ago it was announced in the newspapers that Subhas Chandra Bose had died. I believed the report. Later the news was proved to have been incorrect. Since then I have had a feeling that Netaji could not leave us until his dream of Swaraj had been fulfilled. To lend strength to this feeling was the knowledge of Netaji's great ability to hoodwink his enemies and even the world for the sake of his cherished goal. These were the only reasons for my belief that he was alive.

I have not the ability for foretelling the future. I have no strength except what comes from insistence on truth. Non-violence too springs from the same insistence. God alone knows absolute truth. Therefore, I have often said, Truth is God. It follows that man, a finite being, cannot know absolute truth. Therefore, I had nothing but my instinct to tell me that Netaji was alive. No reliance can be placed on such unsupported feeling.

On the other hand, there is strong evidence to counteract the feeling. The British Government is party to that evidence. Capt. Habibur Rahman has said he was present at the time of Netaji's death and has brought back his charred wrist watch. Another of his companions Shri Iyer met and told me that my instinct was wrong and I should abandon the feeling that Subhas Chandra was alive. In the face of these proofs I appeal to everyone to forget what I have said and believing in the evidence before them reconcile themselves to the fact that Netaji has left us. All man's ingenuity is as nothing before the might of the One God. He alone is Truth and nothing else stands.

Uruli, 30-3-'46

(From *Harijansevak*)



## WITH AN ENGLISH FRIEND

An English friend who visited Gandhiji during his stay at Sodepur dropped a remark which set Gandhiji off to describe some of his experiences of the disability attaching to colour in South Africa. The question deeply interested the friend. He thought that it was perhaps at its worst in South Africa. Gandhiji, however, was doubtful. He feared it was probably as bad in America. The friend who had actually gone down to Richmond "to have a flavour of the South" could not gainsay the force of Gandhiji's remark but contended that the extraordinary conditions there presented a peculiar problem. "I can understand the American prejudice against the Negro," he added.

RACE PREJUDICE IN SOUTH AFRICA  
AND INDIA

"Arguing on those lines," replied Gandhiji, "you will be able to understand the prejudice in South Africa too. The root cause—a false notion of preservation of the race and economic status—is common to both. The difference is only one of degree. If you apply concrete facts to individual cases it is half a dozen of one and six of the other. It is on a par with the racial prejudice here."

"Oh, no. Here it is much less."

Gandhiji: "Yes, owing to the vast disparity in numbers. But take the case of the individual who actually suffers. His experience does not differ from that of the coloured man in South Africa or America."

The friend agreed. "We, Englishmen are apt to forget that side of the question," he remarked.

"Habit becomes second nature. There may be no deliberate intention either," replied Gandhiji.

"In the Punjab and Delhi," resumed the friend, "races mix much more freely than elsewhere." Was that due to the fact that the disparity in numbers was comparatively less there?

Gandhiji was of opinion that the contrast presented by Bengal in this respect was perhaps due to the violent spirit having manifested itself there on a much larger scale than in Delhi or in the Punjab. The Punjab did show the violent spirit in some measure. But it was not a patch upon Bengal. The daring of the Chittagong Armoury Raid was neither attempted nor duplicated anywhere else.

"I have often thought over it," remarked the friend, "and it has always baffled me how these Bengali young men, so gentle by nature, have drifted into violence."

## THE SPECTRE OF VIOLENCE

"I have solved it for myself," replied Gandhiji. "They feel they have been unjustly libelled in the past. Lord Curzon harped upon their softness. It soured them. So they say, 'We may not be wealthy, but surely we are not effeminate.' So they adopted this devious method and surpassed every other province in daring. They defied death, defied poverty and even public opinion. I have discussed this question of violence threadbare with so many terrorists and anarchists. It is terrible

whether the Arab does it or the Jew. It is a bad outlook for the world, if this spirit of violence takes hold of the mass mind. Ultimately in destroying itself it destroys the race."

"And it has spread all over the world for the last two or three years," interpolated the friend.

Gandhiji resumed: "Look at the latest ukase of Gen. MacArthur. He has divided the entire Japanese nation into two categories, those whom he calls war criminals and those who do not come under that label. As I read it, it struck me that this was not the best way to introduce democracy among the Japanese—a race so proud, so sensitive, so highly organized along Western lines. They will do what the Italians did in Garibaldi's time on a much larger scale. You cannot deal with the human race on these lines. Whatever happens in one part of the world will affect the other parts. The world has so shrunk."

## IS THE WORLD GOING BACK?

This evoked from the friend the observation that he did not think that the world had deteriorated so much theoretically as it might have during the last three years. Gandhiji agreed with him though his grounds, he remarked, were different.

"My reason for that belief," continued the friend, "is that in spite of the fact that suffering, for instance, in Indonesia and elsewhere has been appalling during the last three years, the human mind has not been equally warped."

Gandhiji: "My hope is based on a detached view of the situation. Whilst in detention in the Aga Khan Palace I had leisure to read and think. What struck me was that whilst practice showed deterioration the mind of men had very much progressed. Practice has not been able to keep pace with the mind. Man has begun to say, 'This is wrong, that is wrong.' Whereas previously he justified his conduct, he now no longer justifies his own or his neighbour's. He wants to set right the wrong but does not know that his own practice fails him. The contradiction between his thought and conduct fetters him. His conduct is not governed by logic. Then, of course, there is my standing prediction in favour of non-violence that it will prevail—whatever man may or may not do. That keeps my optimism alive. Extensive personal experience too confirms my belief that non-violence is self-acting. It will have its way and overcome all obstacles irrespective of the shortcomings of the instruments. "It makes no difference," he concluded, "how we arrive at our conclusion, but it keeps us fresh and green."

## LIVING UP TO 125 YEARS

The conversation next turned upon Gandhiji's pet theme of living up to 125 years. Gandhiji's visitor wanted to know how he managed to keep physically fit. Gandhiji replied that outwardly he owed his physical fitness to strict adherence to regular habits in eating, drinking and sleeping and to his partiality for nature cure principles which he had adopted strictly in life since 1901. Reminiscently he described how up till 1901 he used the medicine bottle but had almost thrown it away,



and for fortyfive years he had lived more or less according to nature cure principles.

"But in a still greater measure," emphasized Gandhiji, "it is due to the practice, of detachment of mind. By detachment I mean that one must not worry whether the desired result follows from your action or not, so long as your motive is pure, your means correct. Really, it means that things will come right in the end if you take care of the means and leave the rest to Him." He based his belief on the teachings of the *Bhagawad Gita* which he had called his "dictionary of action".

The friend remarked on the close analogy between the teaching of the *Bhagawad Gita* and the thesis presented in Aldous Huxley's "Ends and Means". The mention of Aldous Huxley's name revived in Gandhiji's mind memories of old days about Aldous Huxley's father whose writings he used to read during his student days in London in 1889.

"But there is a physical side all the same?" questioned the friend.

Gandhiji : "Yes, only I attach greater importance to the mental. What you think you become. Thought is never complete unless it finds expression in action and action limits your thought. It is only when there is a perfect accord between the two that there is full, natural life."

#### ALCHEMY OF DETACHMENT

"But what about the legacy of one's past life? It cannot be written off the balance sheet."

"I have my answer for that," replied Gandhiji. "If my past conduct does not warrant the full span of life, no matter how correct my present life may be, I can still counteract the effect of past mistakes by attaining complete detachment between the mind and the body. Detachment enables one to overcome the effects of past faulty practice as well as handicaps of heredity and environment. Normally speaking, every deviation from the rule of nature, whether ignorant or wilful, e. g. anger, ill temper, impatience, errors in conjugal life, exacts its toll. But there is this promise that if you have arrived at complete detachment you can rub out all these. 'Except ye be born again, ye cannot have everlasting life.' Conversely, you can have everlasting life if you are 'born again'. There is no hurdle placed before death. You can turn over a new leaf and begin life anew here and now; the past will not disturb its tenor provided you have completely severed yourself from it and its legacy by the axe of detachment."

#### LIFE AS SACRAMENT

As I listened to the argument I was reminded of a passage in the Upanishads which Pandit Malaviyaji had recited to Gandhiji when they last met at Benares on the occasion of the convocation ceremony of the Kashi Vishvavidyalaya. In that passage the various periods in man's life are likened to the various sacrificial rituals enjoined in the different periods of the day on the householder. If a person eats, drinks, laughs and lives, not for the satisfaction of the senses but for service only and

to glorify God, his life becomes a veritable cycle of sacrifice which disease or death dare not interrupt. Hunger, thirst and self-denial of such a person will correspond to the *Diksha* (initiation) of the sacrificer; eating, drinking and recreation to *Upasada*, i. e. the nourishment taken at the time of the breaking of the fast to prevent the vital air from going out; laughter and enjoyment to the hymn of praise to the Lord of Sacrifice which the sacrificer chants.

On the previous occasion when this friend had visited Gandhiji, Gandhiji had done all the talking and the friend had listened. This time Gandhiji had intended that he would only speak in answer to questions and let the friend do the talking but the friend again had the better of his resolve.

"I admit defeat. After all you are a practised journalist," Gandhiji remarked, discomfited, at the end of their talk.

"I am only human," replied the friend as he took leave with a warm handshake.

Poona, 2-3-'46

PYARELAL

#### CONSTRUCTIVE NON-VIOLENCE

The Friends Ambulance Unit is a war time organization which first came into being in 1914. In 1939 its scope was extended and it was organized again "to give men and women holding pacifist views the opportunity to serve during war time by relieving suffering and distress".

Akin to F. A. U. is the American Friends Service Committee. It represents the Meeting of the Society of Friends in North America. It was organized in 1917. Since then it has been attempting "through practical service in relief and reconstruction, to demonstrate the Quaker belief in the power of love and goodwill to develop kinship and understanding between peoples". It was the late Pierre Ceresole who tried to work out on an international scale the idea of combating war through constructive non-violence by organizing the International Voluntary Service for Peace. His work in pursuance of this ideal in Bihar after the great earthquake in 1934 is well known. Following his trail, members of the F. A. U. came to India from England in June 1942 and devoted themselves to the alleviation of destruction caused by the Midnapore cyclone of 1942 and the Bengal Famine of 1943. They were joined by members of the American Friends Service Committee in May 1944. Since then the two have been working as a single agency. Their activity included operating food canteens and orphanages for children, organizing and supervizing milk canteens, providing medical relief, setting up industrial centres in devastated areas to provide employment to the destitute and forming fishermens', weavers' and agricultural co-operatives. Their general plan is to "work through Indian organization as much as possible", it being their belief that "they will have achieved success in any project only when they have made themselves unnecessary to its continuance".

With the threat of an India-wide famine in the offing, the Friends Ambulance Unit has again begun to organize for action. "As outsiders we hope we can play a useful part by providing a link between



the people and the Government," said Horace Alexander to Gandhiji, whom he accompanied to Poona to renew contact with him after a period of nearly four years. "The Government is not suspicious of us and they have the reassurance that we won't suspect their motives. What is more, we are not regarded with suspicion by the people as the Government is. If you think that we should go ahead you might say something which would encourage and help us and also strengthen the hands of our agents in America in obtaining an adequate quota of food supplies." Gandhiji in reply commended the example of Ruey Alley the New Zealander and his companion George Hogg in connection with the organization of Indusco in China. Although they were foreigners they inspired the Chinese with self-confidence. There was, of course, the other side of the picture too. As for F. A. U.'s plan of work for the prevention of famine, while generally approving of it, Gandhiji did not like the idea of what he called "begging for food from outside". "If food comes it would be welcome. But we should not depend on it. India is the granary of the East and now she has to go a-begging for food to America and other countries. I do not like this. Somehow or other, if we rely on self-help, strength comes, we do not know from where. Probably it comes from the original source and people feel they need not die. Moreover, arrival of food in the ports by itself would not solve the problem unless it is made available where it is most needed. Distribution is the real problem. Unless it is tackled there is danger that the food will rot in the ports while people are dying in the interior. At present it seems almost a hopeless task through the present corruption. A Government official sent a note the other day showing how it would be at least two months between the arrival of the food ships in the ports and the food actually reaching the affected areas. In the meantime what are the people to do? I have, therefore, suggested that they should utilize the subsoil water to grow whatever they can by their own effort. If crores take up the cue, they can do much to save themselves even before the food arrives from outside."

Horace next told Gandhiji that the F. A. U. are developing work of a more permanent nature for the upliftment of Bengal villages. For instance, they are trying to attack the problem of poverty from four or five different angles simultaneously. They had discussed the question with Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru who had approved of the idea for two reasons. "With the coming of freedom, he felt, we might help in post war economic rehabilitation so that the high expectations entertained by the people of the national government might not be belied. Besides, a body of people from the West serving the people here would act as an antidote to racial feeling which might otherwise oversweep the country in the first flush of freedom." Gandhiji agreed entirely with Pandit Nehru. "Any person who does such work is worth his weight in gold," he said. He shared Pandit

Nehru's fear too. "Pandit Nehru has done well to point to the danger signal," he added. But he felt that the danger was even deeper. The face of the picture as he viewed it seemed horrifying. The feeling towards Europeans was rising all through the East. There were so many complex forces working on the mass mind. If the maelstrom broke out the F. A. U. might have to bear the brunt of it. They must be prepared for that sacrifice. But whilst they should be prepared for the worst he wanted them to share with him the hope that all would be well in the end. "To see the danger clearly and yet to remain unperturbed in the face of it, trusting to God's goodness, is true wisdom," he concluded.

Uruli, Saturday, 23-3-'46

PYARELAL

### SATYAGRAHA—THE ART OF LIVING AND DYING

At the mammoth gathering numbering over two lakhs in Shivaji Park on 14-3-'46, Gandhiji delivered an important address in Hindustani, of which the following is the gist:

"The singing of *Ramadhun* is the most important part of congregational prayer. The millions may find it difficult to correctly recite and understand the Gita verses and the Arabic and *Zend Avesta* prayers, but everybody can join in chanting *Ramanam* or God's name. It is as simple as it is effective. Only it must proceed from the heart. In its simplicity lies its greatness and the secret of its universality. Anything that millions can do together becomes charged with a unique power.

"I congratulate you on your success in the mass singing of *Ramadhun* without any previous training. But it is capable of further improvement. You should practise it in your homes. I am here to testify that when it is sung in tune to the accompaniment of *tal*, the triple accord of the voice, the accompaniment and thought creates an atmosphere of ineffable sweetness and strength which no words can describe.

"I introduced the practice of having congregational prayer some time before the commencement of the South African Satyagraha struggle. The Indian community there was faced with a grave peril. We did all that was humanly possible. All methods of seeking redress, agitation through the press and the platform, petitions and deputations, were tried but proved of no avail. What was the Indian community consisting of a mere handful of illiterate indentured labourers mostly, with a sprinkling of free merchants, hawkers etc. to do in the midst of an overwhelming majority of Negroes and Whites? The Whites were fully armed. It was clear that if the Indians were to come into their own, they must forge a weapon which would be different from and infinitely superior to the force which the White settlers commanded in such ample measure. It was then that I introduced congregational prayer in Phoenix and Tolstoy Farm as a means for a training in the use of the weapon of Satyagraha or soul force.

"The root of Satyagraha is in prayer. A Satyagrahi relies upon God for protection against the tyranny of brute force. Why should you then be always afraid of



the British or anybody playing you false? If someone deceives you, he will be the loser. The fight of Satyagraha is for the strong in spirit, not the doubter or the timid. Satyagraha teaches us the art of living as well as dying. Birth and death are inevitable among mortals. What distinguishes the man from the brute is his conscious striving to realize the spirit within. The last eighteen verses of the second chapter of the *Gita* which are recited at the prayer give in a nutshell the secret of the art of living. It is given there in the form of a description of a *shūtaprajña* or the man of steady wisdom i.e. a Satyagrahi, in reply to Arjun's query to Lord Krishna.

"The art of dying follows as a corollary from the art of living. Death must come to all. A man may die of a lightning stroke or as a result of heart failure or failure of respiration. But that is not the death that a Satyagrahi can wish for or pray for himself. The art of dying for a Satyagrahi consists in facing death cheerfully in the performance of one's duty. That is an art which the people of Bombay apparently have not yet learnt. It is not enough not to want to hurt or take the life of your enemy. You are no Satyagrahis if you remain silent or passive spectators while your enemy is being done to death. You must protect him even at the cost of your life. If thousands in India learnt that art, the face of India would be changed and no one would be able to point his finger of scorn at her non-violence as being a cloak for weakness. We would not then try to shift blame for ugly happenings on the hooligan elements. We would convert and control the hooligan elements too.

"We are passing through a crisis in our history. Danger besets us on all sides. But we shall convert it into our opportunity if we realize the power of Satyagraha than which there is nothing more potent on earth."

Uruli, 24-3-'46

PYARELAL

### FOR SHAME!

The following is the text of Gandhiji's speech at Rungta House prayer gathering in Bombay on the evening of 11-3-'46.

"The news of the recent events in Bombay has filled me with shame and humiliation as it must have you too. Let me hope that none of those who are here took part in these disgraceful happenings. But that alone would not entitle you to my congratulations. We have reached a stage when nobody can afford to sit on the fence or take refuge in the 'ambiguous middle'. One has to speak out and stand up for one's convictions. Inaction at a time of conflagration is inexcusable. Is it too difficult an ideal to follow? Let me tell you, however, that this is the only course that will take us safely through the present difficult times.

### NO MORAL ALIBIS

"It has become the fashion these days to ascribe all such ugly manifestations to the activities of hooligans. It hardly becomes us to take refuge in that moral alibi. Who are the hooligans after all? They are our own countrymen and so long as any countryman of ours indulges in such acts we cannot disown responsibility for them consistently with our claim that we are one people. It matters little whether those who were responsible for the happenings are denounced as *goondas* or praised as patriots — praise and blame

must equally belong to us all. The only manly and becoming course for those who are aspiring to be free is to accept either whilst doing our duty.

### "THE WAY OF THE LORD"

"In eating, sleeping and in the performance of other physical functions, man is not different from the brute. What distinguishes him from the brute is his ceaseless striving to rise above the brute on the moral plane. Mankind is at the cross roads. It has to make its choice between the law of the jungle and the law of humanity. We in India deliberately adopted the latter twentyfive years back but I am afraid that whilst we profess to follow the higher way our practice has not always conformed to our profession. We have always proclaimed from the housetops that non-violence is the way of the brave but there are some amongst us who have brought *ahimsa* into disrepute by using it as a weapon of the weak. In my opinion, to remain a passive spectator of the kind of crimes that Bombay has witnessed of late is cowardice. Let me say in all humility that *ahimsa* belongs to the brave. Pritam has sung: "The way of the Lord is for the Brave, not for the Coward." By the way of the Lord is here meant the way of non-violence and truth. I have said before that I do not envisage God other than truth and non-violence. If you have accepted the doctrine of *ahimsa* without a full realization of its implications you are at liberty to repudiate it. I believe in confessing one's mistakes and correcting them. Such confession strengthens one and purifies the soul. *Ahimsa* calls for the strength and courage to suffer without retaliation, to receive blows without returning any. But that does not exhaust its meaning. Silence becomes cowardice when occasion demands speaking out the whole truth and acting accordingly. We have to cultivate that courage, if we are to win India's independence through truth and non-violence as proclaimed by the Congress. It is an ideal worth living for and dying for. Every one of you who has accepted that ideal should feel that inasmuch as a single English woman or child is assaulted it is a challenge to your creed of non-violence and you should protect the threatened victim even at the cost of your life. Then alone you will have the right to sing "The way of the Lord is for the Brave, not for the Coward." To attack defenceless English women and children because one has a grievance against the present Government hardly becomes a human being.

### TO SUSPECT IS UNMANLY

"The British Cabinet Ministers' Delegation will soon be in our midst. To suspect their *bona fides* in advance would also be a variety of weakness. As brave people it is our duty to take at its face value the declaration of the British Ministers that they are coming to restore to India what is her due. If a debtor came to your house in contrition to repay his debt, would it not be your duty to welcome him? On the other hand, would it not be unmanly to treat him with insult and humiliation in remembrance of past injustice? Let the British Government prove for the final time that they do not mean to act according to their professions. It will be time to act, if they do so. Till then the only manly course is to maintain dignified silence."

PYARELAL



## WEEKLY LETTER—II

## NO LONGER MERCENARY

In Uruli there is a big military camp. Hardly a day passed after Gandhiji's arrival in Uruli when a group of Indian military men did not contact him. They met him during his morning walks, they were at his evening prayer gatherings, but particularly interesting were the two batches who saw him at his residence.

"We are soldiers," they said apologetically and added, "but we are soldiers of Indian freedom."

"I am glad to hear that," replied Gandhiji. "For, so far you have mostly been instrumental in the suppression of Indian freedom. Have you heard of Jallianwala Bagh?"

"Oh, yes. But those days are past. We were in those days like the proverbial frog-in-the-well. We have now seen the world, our eyes have been opened."

"We admit we are mercenaries," interpolated another. "But our hearts are no longer so." The reference was to the use by Gandhiji five or six years ago of the expression 'mercenary', to describe Indian troops.

"I am glad to hear that," answered Gandhiji. "But, let me tell you my use of that expression was not intended to cast any reflection upon you. It was only descriptive of a soldiery that serves a foreign government for a living. My use of that expression at the time brought a hornet's nest round my ears. But I could not withdraw it; I said our present army system should go."

## WHEN INDIA IS INDEPENDENT

"What would be our position when India is independent," asked still another soldier.

"Why, you will fully share that independence and breathe the air of freedom with your countrymen," replied Gandhiji. But that was not the point of his question. Gandhiji proceeded: "Independent India will have need of you. You have had military training. You will give India the benefit of that training. You have learnt the lesson of camaraderie under common danger. It would be a bad day if the moment that peril is lifted, the lesson is lost."

"But in Free India you won't be pampered as you are today," he continued. "You won't have these lavish privileges with which a foreign government bribes you at the expense of India's poor. India is destitute. You cannot serve her unless you are prepared to share her destitution. I told Captain Shah Nawaz that if the I. N. A. people succumb to the lionization of an India pining for freedom and forget her destitution, they will earn not the blessings but the silent execration of their countrymen. The same applies to you. Unless you are prepared to forego your privileges you will feel sorry when independence comes and sigh for the return of old times and old masters."

## A NEW FERMENT

"There was a time," remarked one of them, "when we were not allowed to read any civil newspaper. And now we go and tell our officers that we are going to see our greatest leader, and no one dares to stop us."

"I know," replied Gandhiji, "there is a new ferment and a new awakening among all the army ranks today. Not a little of the credit for this happy change belongs to Netaji Bose. I disapprove of his method but he has rendered a signal service to India by giving the Indian soldier a new vision and a new ideal."

"How anybody can think of dividing India into two, three or more parts, we army men are at a loss to understand. We know only one India for which we have fought and shed our blood," remarked a senior ranker among them.

"Well, it requires all sorts to make the world," replied Gandhiji. And they all laughed.

"May we shout slogans?" they finally asked in a chorus with the naivete and eclat of children.

"Well, you may," replied Gandhiji and there was a deafening roar as they shouted 'Jai Hind', 'Netajiki-Jai', and so on repeatedly.

The next day a special train carried about eight hundred of them to another camp. As it passed in front of Gandhiji's residence, from the patriotic exuberance of their slogans, it might as well have been a congress special carrying delegates to an extraordinary session.

## IN HARIJAN QUARTERS

Gandhiji has given the reasons for his deciding to stay in Harijan quarters during his forthcoming visits to Bombay and Delhi. The news from Gujarat had set him, furiously thinking. "Your day dawns, they say, from the moment you wake up. Having woken up I cannot now rest. . . ." He wrote to Thakkar Bapa on the nineteenth. "You know, I used to stay in the East End even during the Round Table Conference. East End might be described as the Harijan quarters of London. In the room I occupied there was hardly accommodation enough for two. A chest of drawers was the only furniture—no table, no chairs. One slept on the floor. All around were the slums. And yet Kingsley Hall itself would be called a model of cleanliness." Thakkar Bapa's reply—the inveterate Harijan that he is like Gandhiji himself—was characteristic. He would himself hereafter stay with him in the Harijan quarters!

The Sardar's reaction was equally characteristic. "It will be as you wish," he wrote in reply to Gandhiji's letter. "But at present one cannot get enough room in Bombay to bury one's dead and you want fresh accommodation to be improvised for the living!" Wired Devdas Gandhi from New Delhi: Would not Gandhiji, in view of the specific nature of his mission this time, agree to stay with the Birlas as before? But Gandhiji was adamant. The iron had entered into his soul. Even his present mission would be better served from Harijan quarters, he replied. India's slavery under the British rule is hardly two centuries old. Yet we are impatient to see it ended here and now. How dare we, now that India is on the threshold of the promised land, ask Harijans to subsist on the promise of a distant Utopia? Gandhiji's decision dramatizes his reply to this challenge. The emancipation of Harijans cannot wait. It must be 'now or never'. If in Free India the Harijans still continue to be the underdog his place will be with them.

## TEST OF BONA FIDES

Gandhiji was discussing some time back with an English friend the difficult task ahead of the Cabinet Mission. There was an unprecedented upsurge for independence among the masses on the one hand and on the other what he had called "the unholy combination" at bottom among the Hindus and Mussalmans for a joint violent purpose. "I could have understood it if they had combined from top to bottom. That would, of course, have meant delivering India over to the rabble. I would not want to live up to 125 to witness that consummation. I would rather perish in the flames."

"The Mission are coming fresh after a bloody victory," he continued. "They have now an opportunity to add to it the laurels of a bloodless peace. It will be a glorious thing for them and the world if they rise to the occasion and do justice to India even though it might mean reducing themselves (it won't be so in fact) to insignificance. That would be the height of non-violence. But miracles have happened in the world."

"So you believe in miracles?" twitted the friend.

"I do and I do not," replied Gandhiji. "God does not work through miracles. But the divine mind is



revealed in a flash and it appears like a miracle to man. We do not know God, we know Him only through the working of His law. He and His law are one. There is nothing outside His law. Even earthquakes and tempests do not occur without His will—not a blade of grass grows but He wills it. Satan is here only on His sufferance, not independently of Him."

"By justice do you mean that they should agree to withdraw the British army without stipulating any conditions?" asked the friend.

SINISTER?

"I do," unhesitatingly replied Gandhiji. "Freedom will be truly won only when the British army is withdrawn from the whole of India, not excluding Indian States."

"Otherwise, it would be sinister," remarked the friend.

This raises the question of the status of the States in an independent India. There has been of late some loose talk of their claiming independence with the termination of British suzerainty and being free to enter into fresh, independent treaty relations with Great Britain. All this is moonshine. It has been pointed out by eminent jurists that although in law the relations of the Indian States are with the Crown, the British Constitution and its Indian auxiliary are so built that the theory of Crown relations has no other way of expressing itself than in the practice of Government of India relations. In the natural course of events the would-be Free Government of India must inherit and exercise all the prerogatives and functions that the Government of India exercises either in its own right or under delegated authority of the Crown, just as the Government of India exercised all the Company's powers when it succeeded the latter in 1858. The theory of "independent treaty States" bearing direct personal allegiance to the British Crown is an exploded myth not worthy of a moment's consideration. To quote from the Butler Committee's report:

"It is not in accordance with historical facts that when the States came into contact with British Power they were independent. Some were rescued, others were created by the British."

It was Sir Samuel Hoare who outspokenly told the Princes in the House of Commons that paramountcy must remain paramount. The only way in which they could lighten the paramountcy for themselves was by exchanging it with the control of the Federal Government. If they had the most of Federation, they would be under the least of paramountcy. Any attempt to retain the States as pockets of British influence and power or, as Lord Canning—referring to the anxious days of 1857-58—put it in his famous dispatch, as "breakwaters to the storm which would otherwise have swept over us in one great wave", would be looked upon by the people of India with the gravest suspicion and render all British *bona fides* unacceptable.

Lastly, the ante-diluvian classification of States into Hindu, Muslim and Shikh States must go by the board. The future complexion of the administration of a State shall be determined only by the composition of its population, not by any vested interest within or outside it. The Princes can retain their present title only as constitutional symbols of sovereignty which must ultimately vest in their subjects. In no other capacity can they claim a place in the councils of an Independent India. To quote the late Prof. Keith:

"There is in fact no answer to Mr. Gandhi's claim that the princes are bound to follow the Crown in the transfer of authority to the people."

On the train to Delhi, 31-3-'46 PYARELAL

## KASTURBA SMARAK TRUST

(By M. K. Gandhi)

There were two meetings at Uruli Kanchan on the 28th, 29th and 30th March; one of the Agents of this Trust and the other of the Executive. The meeting of the Agents was the first of its kind. The Agents had many interesting questions. Why could not the Agents be members of the legislatures? The obvious answer is that if they are to do justice to their work, they should have no time for legislative duties. The decisive reason is that the villagers will have a wrong example set to them, if they have members of legislatures to look up to.

Whatever the sphere of work they choose they should not be nonentities. It should be remembered that the Agents have displaced the committees that were appointed for the last year. If they cover the whole province, they have their work cut out for them. If they cannot cope with it, they have to run model *shibirs* in one or more places to prepare women workers for villages. These may be teachers, nurses, spinners, weavers, sanitarians, etc. Work by women among women in the villages of India is an unbeaten track. Men are hardly fit for it. But the women have so long remained without experience of such work that it is difficult, especially in the initial stages. If the Agents attempt at intensity and confine their activity to certain centres, they will find the work to be simple and instructive.

Then they have their advisers. They are not meant to be ornamental. Their advice should always be at the disposal of the Agents. If they are well-chosen, they must prove towers of strength to the Agents in their difficult task.

The experiment of having women only as Agents is new. It can only succeed if they are wisely guided by the Centre and ably advised by the advisers. Much as it is to be wished that they too were women, the fear is that in the beginning they will be mostly men. The advisers should never aspire to be more than such and never be less. It should be their proud privilege to give the Agents their advice whenever it is sought. The members of the defunct committees, it is hoped, will never feel that they have been displaced for any other reason save the patent and potent one of manning the organization with women from top to bottom. The secret of success in this as in any other organization lies in the spirit of service actuating its every limb and self being subordinated to the organization.

On the train to Delhi, 31-3-'46

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# HARIJAN

16 Pages

Editor: PYARELAL

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AHMEDABAD — SUNDAY, APRIL 14, 1946

[THREE ANNAS]

## WHAT IS IN A NAME?

(By M. K. Gandhi)

Q. From the psychological point of view, I think, the name 'Harijan' instils into the minds of the people to whom it is applied a feeling of inferiority, however sacred that name may be. This feeling is very difficult to wipe out from them — to whatever extent they are advanced — if they are always called 'Harijan'. Similarly, if a man in the street is asked about a 'Harijan' the first thing he will speak of is 'untouchability and the depressed class'. Would it not be possible to save the 'Harijan' from involuntarily acquiring such an inferiority feeling and other people from thinking about them without the 'qualification' usually ascribed to them? Would it not be preferable to choose a name which could also bring in its fold people from other sects?

A. This subject was years ago dealt with in the pages of "Young India". The name 'Harijan' has sacred associations. It was suggested by a Harijan as a substitute for *Asprishya* (untouchable), *Dalita* (depressed), or for the different categories of 'untouchables' such as *bhangis*, *mehtars*, *chamars*, *pariahs*, etc. The Government officers put them in a schedule and therefore called them the Scheduled Classes, thus making confusion worse confounded. Those who were not untouchables were classed among the scheduled and the ones who could be so called were excluded. We have now arrived at a stage, thanks to the Government policy, when to be included among the Scheduled Classes is to be coveted. The Government have created a separate electorate agitating for seats in all elective institutions. I do not mind such ambition, if it carries honest merit with it. But it becomes positively mischievous, when seats are coveted irrespective of merit. The wish to be so educated as to be qualified for the highest post is to be appreciated and encouraged, the wish to be appointed to such a post on the basis of belonging to a caste or a class is essentially to be deprecated and discouraged.

The real remedy has been suggested by me. The feeling of inferiority must go. It is going, but too slowly. The process can be accelerated, if every Hindu would deliberately shed his superiority and in practice become a Harijan or, if you like, a *mehtar*, the lowest class among Harijans. Then we will all become true children of God as the word 'Harijan' means. Until this is done, no matter which word signifies 'Untouchables', it will smell of inferiority. The process has to be carried out thoroughly in

every walk of life till the last trace of untouchability is removed. When that happy day arrives, every quarter will be a Harijan quarter and cleanliness of the heart and the home will be the order of the day.

New Delhi, 5-4-'46

## WEEKLY LETTER

### FIRST STEP NOT THE LAST

As in Bombay so at New Delhi Gandhiji has put up in Harijan quarters. Two small tents and a *shamiana* have been put up on the precincts of the Valmiki Mandir to improvise extra accommodation for his party. Years ago he had sent the late Shri Mahadev Desai to visit these quarters and in reporting the fine work among the Harijans that was being done by some philanthropic *Savarna* Hindus, the late Shri Desai had expressed the wish that Gandhiji might some day be able to go and stay in those quarters. It therefore gave him supreme satisfaction to be able to do so. "I have of late been saying," he remarked in his first public utterance after the evening public prayer on the day of his arrival in Delhi "that the Hindus have to become *atishudras* not merely in name but in thought, word and deed. For that token scavenging is not enough. I have therefore decided that I must go and actually live among Harijans in Harijan quarters."

"I however do not delude myself with the belief," he continued, "that by staying here I am sharing the actual life with the Harijans. I have seen some Harijan quarters and the squalor, the dirt and the filth in the midst of which the Harijans live. I know too that this place has been brightened up. Indeed, I feel embarrassed by the amenities that have been provided here by Sheth Birla for me and my party. My coming to stay here, I hope, is my first step, not the last. It is my constant prayer and I look forward to the day when I would actually go and stay in a Harijan hut, and partake of the food they may provide me there. In the meantime, it gives me some satisfaction to be able to live in this *dharmashala* surrounded by Harijan dwellings on all sides."

Referring next to a hostile demonstration which a certain section of the Harijans had tried to stage on his arrival, he observed: "How can I feel angry with them? I can quite understand their pent up resentment at the way in which they have been treated by the so-called *Savarnas*. They might even want to wreak vengeance. There is such a glaring contradiction between our profession and practice. They have a right to feel impatient. I can only



plead with them to bear with the Hindu society. An age-old evil cannot be eradicated in a day. I know it has to go or Hinduism must perish. In the meantime the least expiation that we can make is to share with the Harijans their disabilities and to deny ourselves the privileges which the latter cannot share. The present conditions under which they live should be intolerable even for a day to a decent-minded person. I pray for the time when the condition of life, as regards sanitation, cleanliness etc. in Harijan quarters will be such that even a person like myself might be able to go and stay there without any compunction."

Public prayer which in the beginning "used to be held on the precincts of the Valmiki Mandir had soon to be shifted to the spacious maidan outside Ajmeri Gate for lack of sufficient accommodation. He had appealed on the first day that no one should come to the prayer gatherings merely for the sake of *darshana*. Only those should come who were earnest about prayer. But the crowd continued to swell daily and necessitated the change.

#### ZERO HOUR

The mission which brought Gandhiji here has been keeping him wholly occupied from early in the morning till night. To the strain of work is added the concern as to how the people will behave when the zero hour of India's independence arrives after the long servitude under the British rule full of bitter memories which are hard to forget. He is aware of the deep hatred of the British rule that is in the people's breast. What if it should break out in a conflagration? To forestall and prevent such a tragedy all his energies are bent. On Saturday last it kept him awake for the better part of the night. "I have been praying to God to give me the right word," he remarked to one of his companions in describing the night's vigil, "so that it will induce those to whom it is addressed to act with the courage and wisdom which the occasion demands."

During the week he accepted an invitation to attend a silent prayer service of the Friends and paid a visit to the I. N. A. camp and hospital. He summed up his reactions to the latter in a speech which will be found reproduced elsewhere.

New Delhi, 9-4-46

PYARELAL

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#### THE MESSAGE OF THE I. N. A.

The day after his visit to the I. N. A. prisoners Gandhiji said at the evening public prayer:

"Let me share with you the thoughts that have been crowding in my mind since yesterday. India has accorded to the released I. N. A. men a right royal welcome. They have been acclaimed as national heroes. Everybody seems to have been swept off his feet before the rising tide of popular sentiment. I must, however, frankly confess to you that I do not share this indiscriminate hero worship. I admire the ability, sacrifice and patriotism of the I. N. A. and Netaji Bose. But I cannot subscribe to the method which they adopted and which is incompatible with the one followed by the Congress for the last twentyfive years for the attainment of independence. Yesterday I spoke to you of a *Sthitaprajna* (स्थितप्रज्ञ) i. e. "the man of steady wisdom", i. e. a Satyagrahi. If we accept that ideal we would not regard anybody as our enemy; we must shed all enmity and ill will. That ideal is not meant for the select few—the saint or the seer only; it is meant for all. I have described myself as a scavenger having become one, not only in name but in fact, while I was in Phoenix. It was there that I took up the bucket and the broom, impelled by the inner urge to identify myself with the lowest of the low. As a humble fellow toiler, then, let me bear witness that anyone, even a simple-minded villager who wants to and tries, can, attain the state of mental equipoise described in the Gita verses which are recited at the prayer. We all lose our sanity at times, though we may not care to admit it or be even aware of it. A man with a steady mind will never lose patience, even with a child, or indulge in anger or abuse. Religion as taught in the Gita is a thing to be practised in this life. It is not a means for attaining merit in the next irrespective of what you may do here. That would be a negation of religion.

"For me the visit to the I. N. A. men in detention was a matter of pure duty. It gave me supreme satisfaction to be able to meet them, and they on their part received me with a warmth of affection which I shall always treasure. I have interpreted their welcome as a token of their recognition in me of a devoted servant of the country.

"Netaji was like a son to me. I came to know him as a lieutenant full of promise under the late Deshabandhu Das. His last message to the I. N. A. was that, whilst on foreign soil they had fought with arms, on their return to India they would have to serve the country as soldiers of non-violence under the guidance and leadership of the Congress. The message which the I. N. A. has for India is not adoption of the method of appeal to arms for settling disputes (it has been tried and found wanting), but of cultivating non-violence, unity, cohesion and organization.

"Though the I. N. A. failed in their immediate objective they have a lot to their credit of which they might well be proud. Greatest among these was to gather together under one banner men from all religions and races of India and to infuse into



them the spirit of solidarity and oneness to the utter exclusion of all communal or parochial sentiment. It is an example which we should all emulate. If they did this under the glamour and romance of fighting, it was not much. It must persist in peace. It is a higher and more difficult work. We have to die performing our duty and without killing. For that we shall need to cultivate the attributes of a *Shitaprajna* as set forth in the Gita.

"Far more potent than the strength of the sword is the strength of Satyagraha. I said so to the I. N. A. men and they were happy to tell me, as I was to hear, that they had realized this and would hereafter strive to serve India as true soldiers of non-violence under the Congress flag."

New Delhi, 8-4-'46

PYARELAL

## VANASPATI AND GHEE

(By M. K. Gandhi)

Sardar Sir Datar Singh has been putting up a fight on behalf of the cow in India. The cow includes the buffalo. In that case both can live. If the buffalo includes the cow then both die. "The cow is the mother of prosperity." To understand how this is so, the reader should see Shri Satish Chandra Das Gupta's two instructive volumes.\* Here I want to confine myself to ghee which is in danger of being swamped by *Vanaspatti*, as the so-called vegetable ghee is called. In reality ghee is pure animal product. One thoughtlessly uses the expression vegetable ghee or *Vanaspatti*, but it is a contradiction in terms. Sardar Datar Singh has shown in a considered note that the sale of *Vanaspatti* has risen from 26,000 tons in 1937 to 137,000 tons in 1945, i. e., it has increased more than 400 per cent. during seven years. *Pari passu* the ghee industry has declined. Those who would study the whole note should procure a copy from Sardar Datar Singh or the Goseva Sangh in Wardha. I condense below the Sardar's conclusions:

1. *Vanaspatti* as an article of diet is a very poor substitute for ghee. It not only lacks absorption by the human system, but has no vitamin potency.

2. Due to its similarity with ghee in texture and flavour, most of it is being used as an adulterant or is passed off as genuine ghee and is therefore a great menace to ghee.

3. Due to great margin of profit in this industry, it has developed from 26 thousand tons per annum in 1937 to 105 thousand tons in 1943 and there are proposals afoot to at least double this production in the near future.

4. The ghee industry is India's greatest cottage industry involving production of 23,000,000 maunds of ghee per annum at a cost of one hundred crores of rupees.

5. The destruction of the ghee industry will not only adversely affect the welfare of the cultivators, but it will have a very deleterious effect on the cattle industry upon which the prosperity of the whole nation directly depends.

\* 'The Cow in India' vol. I Rs. 10/-, vol. II Rs. 7/-; both together Rs. 16/-. Postage Rs. 1-9-0. Can be had from the office of this paper, or Khadi Pratishthan, Sodepur, Calcutta.

In order to overcome the difficulties explained above, the following remedial measures are suggested:

1. If due to some reasons the Government cannot actually ban the manufacture altogether of *Vanaspatti*, it must at least be brought under strict control immediately.

2. All manufacturers, and wholesale and retail dealers of *Vanaspatti* should be licensed. Such persons should not be permitted to trade in or stock ghee on their premises.

3. It should be made compulsory to colour all *Vanaspatti*, at the source of its manufacture in India and to colour all such imported product immediately on its landing at an Indian port. Manufacturers must mix ten per cent. of *til* oil with *Vanaspatti*. The advantage of this would be that if pure ghee is adulterated with *Vanaspatti* containing 10% *til* oil, the detection will become extremely simple. The presence of *til* oil can be most easily detected by well-known chemical reactions.

4. The addition of synthetic essences to give *Vanaspatti* a semblance of ghee should be prohibited.

5. Persons selling food products in the preparation of which they use *Vanaspatti* should be required, under marketing law, to display a sign to that effect. The presence of *Vanaspatti* on the premises not displaying the sign should be made an offence under law. This will eradicate the evil of *Halwais* and confectioners using *Vanaspatti* for their preparations and passing them off as made from genuine ghee.

6. *Vanaspatti* should not be allowed to go in the market under names such as 'Vegetable ghee' or '*Vanaspatti* ghee' or any other name which is apt to deceive the customers as to its real origin of composition.

7. *Vanaspatti* should not be allowed to be marketed in packages of the same pattern as used for packing ghee and all packages containing *Vanaspatti* should be distinctly labelled.

It is clear that the mischief arises principally from the greed of the very persons who worship the cow. *Vanaspatti* is wholly superfluous. Oils may be refined of injurious property, but they do not need to be solidified nor need they be made to look like ghee. An honest manufacturer will not stoop to counterfeits. The market is flooded with them. Counterfeit coins are heavily punishable. Why not counterfeit ghee, since the genuine article is much more precious than coins? But the sovereign remedy lies in all round honesty among dealers who are in a hurry to become rich even at the cost of the health of the nation.

New Delhi, 8-4-'46

## TO AGENTS

Permission for issuing sixteen pages of the three Harijan weeklies on special occasions has been granted. In view of this we have decided to price copies of the weeklies with 12 or more pages at annas three. Agents will please take note of this and add necessary amount to their deposit,

MANAGER



# HARIJAN

April 14

1946

## LET US PRAY

(By M. K. Gandhi)

There is little doubt that India is about to reach her cherished goal of political independence. Let the entrance be prayerful. Prayer is not an old woman's idle amusement. Properly understood and applied, it is the most potent instrument of action.

Let us then pray and find out what we have meant by non-violence and how we shall retain the freedom gained by its use. If our non-violence is of the weak, it follows that we shall never be able, by such non-violence, to retain freedom. But it follows also that we shall not, for some length of time at any rate, be able to defend ourselves by force of arms if only because we have neither them nor the knowledge of their use. We have not even the requisite discipline. The result is that we shall have to rely upon another nation's help, not as equals but as pupils upon their teachers, if the word 'inferiors' jars upon our ears.

Hence there is nothing but non-violence to fall back upon for retaining our freedom even as we had to do for gaining it. This means exercise of non-violence against all those who call themselves our opponents. This should not mean much for a man who has used himself to non-violence for nearly three decades. It is summed up in "die for your honour and freedom" instead of "kill if necessary and be killed in the act". What does a brave soldier do? He kills only if necessary and risks his life in the act. Non-violence demands greater courage and sacrifice. Why should it be comparatively easy for a man to risk death in the act of killing and almost superhuman for him to do so in the act of sparing life? It seems to be gross self-deception to think that we can risk death if we learn and practise the art of killing but cannot do so otherwise. But for the hypnotism induced by the repetition of an untruth we should not grossly deceive ourselves.

But the critic or the scoffer will ask, why bring in prayer if the matter is so simple as you put it. The answer is that prayer is the first and the last lesson in learning the noble and brave art of sacrificing self in the various walks of life culminating in the defence of one's nation's liberty and honour.

Undoubtedly prayer requires a living faith in God. Successful Satyagraha is inconceivable without that faith. God may be called by any other name so long as it connotes the living Law of Life—in other words, the Law and the Law-giver rolled into one.

New Delhi, 6-4-'46

## QUESTION BOX

(By M. K. Gandhi)

Q. God is a creation of man's imagination. It is not God who has created man but man who has created God. Is this not true?

A. I have taken this from a correspondent's letter. There is a semblance of truth in what he says. The writer has, however unwittingly, created the illusion by a play upon the two words "creation" and "God".

God Himself is both the Law and the Law-giver. The question of anyone creating Him, therefore, does not arise, least of all by an insignificant creature such as man. Man can build a dam, but he cannot create a river. He can manufacture a chair, but it is beyond him to make the wood. He can, however, picture God in his mind in many ways. But how can man who is unable to create even a river or wood create God? That God has created man is, therefore, the pure truth. The contrary is an illusion. However, anyone may, if he likes, say that God is neither the doer nor the cause. Either is predicable of Him.

New Delhi,

4-4-'46

(From Harijanbandhu)

## KASTURBA LEPROSY WORK

(By M. K. Gandhi)

This work has been going on under Prof. T. N. Jagdisan's supervision since 19th May 1945. He has produced a short summary of the work done from day to day. Dr. T. S. S. Rajan is the chairman of the committee specially formed for this work. Dr. V. P. Ramaswami has specially trained himself for the work under Dr. R. G. Cochrane. He is doing out-patient work as well as conducting surveys of villages.

The first survey in Kandachipuram schools of 655 children revealed that apart from leprosy there was a high incidence of scabies and guinea worm. Over 100 children have to be followed up and 30-40 treated for leprosy. In Madavilagam village 18 definite cases of leprosy have been discovered out of 593 inhabitants. Four of these are infective and fourteen neural. Infection is spread by indiscriminate contact of infective cases with children.

In Adukkam village 15 cases have been found out of a population of 323. Five of these are infective. Two other places have 29 and 15 definite cases respectively of which 9 are lepromatons.

Dr. Ramaswami has also surveyed five more villages and has so far detected 300 cases out of which 157 only, being women or children under seven years, can benefit from the Trust.

Prof. T. N. Jagdisan's summary points out that poor men patients though in need of attention cannot get the benefit of the funds. This defect cannot be removed by any departure from the terms of the Trust, but the professor can easily raise a small fund locally and bring them within the scope of his work.

New Delhi,

4-4-'46



## GANDEHIJI'S IDEAL OF A PRIVATE SECRETARY

(Continued from No. 1)

### II

The late Shri Mahadev Desai was the beau ideal of a secretary of Gandhiji's conception. Gandhiji once described him as son, secretary and lover rolled into one. On another occasion he described the latter's relationship with him as that of a "Hindu wife"—mutually complementary and indissoluble; it was a "marriage of true souls". It would not be therefore out of place to give here an epitome of his career with Gandhiji.

After his university career and a varied experience, first as a clerk in the Oriental Translator's Office during which he was much in request as a friend in need not only by his colleagues but his superiors also, then as a lawyer and as an Inspector of Co-operative Societies, followed by a short spell of private secretaryship to a well-known Bombay Home-Rule Leaguer. He came to Gandhiji in 1917 at Kochrab Ashram and immediately realized that he had found the master. His first experience here was as a copyist and amanuensis. He not only won Gandhiji's admiration by producing faultless copies in his elegant, print-like hand at an incredible speed but brought to bear his intelligence and critical faculty on his work, suggesting alterations and improvements in the original wherever necessary. When, some time later, he held back from publication, on his own initiative, an article that Gandhiji had sent, as it seemed to contain a statement or an argument of doubtful character, Gandhiji on his part felt that he had found his ideal secretary.

In those early days, before the Mahatmic handicap forced upon Gandhiji the irony of travelling in third-class reserved bogies, he used to travel often in the ordinary third-class all by himself. After Shri Desai joined him he accompanied him on these journeys and acted as his (Gandhiji's) *hammal*. He looked after Gandhiji's travelling kit, made his bed, cooked his food, washed his thick, heavy Khadi clothes and cleaned his commode, besides rendering secretarial assistance. After the successful Champaran Satyagraha campaign, he settled down with Gandhiji in Motihari, where with his wife and other co-workers he taught the three R's to the village children. It was also during this period that he had his real schooling in those values and norms that have come to be associated with Gandhiji's name, e. g. simplicity coupled with elegance, meticulous regard for neatness and cleanliness, capacity for concentration in the midst of turmoil and chaos, preference for manual skill over mechanical perfection and a passionate love of the mother tongue. "He would insist on my writing the most important dispatches on the crudest hand-made paper and that too with a reed pen!", he once told me. "He was proud of my hand-writing, said, it was good enough for any Viceroy, no matter how and on what paper I wrote. Sometimes, he even snatched away the steel pen from my hand and flung it out of the railway carriage window." In the use of Gujarati the disciple

soon learnt to excel the master and in later years often claimed for himself the role of Gandhiji's instructor in Gujarati, a claim which Gandhiji has since often admitted.

Right through the War Conference days (1916) and the Anti-Rowlatt Act Agitation, he followed Gandhiji like a shadow, quietly watching, assimilating, rehearsing. Then came the Khilafat and non-cooperation movements and Gandhiji was sucked into the vortex of the unprecedented storm that overswept the country. That gave Shri Desai his chance; he found himself. He began writing his compendious Boswellian diaries which continued without a break till practically his last day. The last entry, I think, is dated August 14, 1942. On the morning of the 15th he was no more. Wisdom was gleaned and garnered in these tomes straight from the master's lips. So great was his passion for recording that lacking paper, I have actually seen him taking down jottings of important talks on the margin of newspapers, backs of currency notes, sometimes even on thumb and finger nails, to be transferred to the regular note book at the first opportunity. He constituted himself into a living encyclopædia of Gandhiji's thoughts and ideas and a final court of appeal where the authenticity of a particular act or utterance ascribed to Gandhiji could be checked and verified. No one dared to misquote or misrepresent Gandhiji during Shri Desai's lifetime without the Nasmyth hammer of the latter descending upon him with all the weight of the evidence of his contemporary notes.

It would be difficult to enumerate all the varied assignments, some of them of a highly confidential and even unbelievable nature (alas! they cannot be divulged), which he fulfilled for Gandhiji with a D'Artagnanlike unflinching fidelity and success. Throughout his career I do not remember a single occasion when he failed Gandhiji in an emergency or left him in the lurch. As co-editor with the late George Joseph of the 'Independent' of Allahabad and later, on the latter's arrest, as the sole editor of that daily, he won warm encomiums from the fastidious and exacting late Pandit Motilal Nehru by his personal charm and highly specialized knowledge of Gandhiji and his non-cooperation technique, no less than by his trenchant and versatile pen. When security was demanded of that paper he closed it and under Gandhiji's instructions brought it out in manuscript form. Some of his colleagues on the staff, new to Gandhiji's ways, could not appreciate the new venture and felt it to be a bit *infra dig* to cooperate in it. I happened to be there at that time, having been sent by Gandhiji to "keep the flag flying" in the event of Shri Desai's arrest which was considered imminent. Nothing daunted by the non-cooperation of his colleagues, Shri Desai told them that he had not served apprenticeship under Gandhiji in vain and would bring out the paper unassisted, if it came to that; and brought out it was, that very evening, the first copy being all in Shri Desai's own beautiful hand. I think it fetched a fancy price of Rs. 250/-.



After the Bardoli Satyagraha of 1928 he was sent by Gandhiji to assist Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel in the collection and marshalling of evidence before the Broomfield Inquiry Committee. Such was the impression he created by his ability and integrity that before the end of the inquiry both Judge Broomfield and Sir Reginald Maxwell claimed him as a 'friend'. That each expressed his 'friendship' in his own typical way, the one by writing him "love letters", the other by issuing orders for his rigorous isolation, almost amounting to solitary confinement in Belgaum prison, is a different story.

By nature Shri Desai was rather of the contemplative and scholarly type. Action was not his forte. Taking orders, rather than issuing them was his chief delight. "I am more accustomed to stand behind a chair than in front of one", he once wittily remarked when called by the chairman to come alongside of him and address a public meeting. But when occasion demanded it he plunged into the fray with the same wholeheartedness and sense of devotion as characterized him in other fields. A typical illustration of this was afforded in 1930 at the time of the Dandi March, when in the absence of the Sardar, he set the whole of Gujarat from one end to the other ablaze with Satyagraha.

As he progressed from apprenticeship to maturity, he showed more and more initiative and capacity for handling important missions all by himself. But to the last he remained like Arjuna, with all his marvellous bowmanship, essentially a virtuoso, a faithful instrument in the hand of the master, the inspirer.

At the time of the Rajkot fast he was at New Delhi undergoing treatment for an illness from which he really never recovered. But as soon as he got the news, he left his sick bed without a moment's thought and set to work contacting the highest officials, including Lord Linlithgow. It was his faithful and able presentation of Gandhiji's viewpoint before those concerned that contributed not a little to the settlement in favour of Gandhiji and the Sardar. After the Gwyer Award, he accompanied Gandhiji to Rajkot, where even Darbar Veerawalla found it impossible to resist him after the glowing account he had of him from the cynical, hard-boiled Sir Bertrand Glancy, whom Shri Desai had met at New Delhi as the head of the Political Department of the Government of India.

During the individual Satyagraha of 1940, he denied himself the luxury of jail-going as he did not want to leave Gandhiji short-handed. But soldier-like he set out later to collect the 5 lakhs fund for the Gujarat Flood Relief work in the absence of the Sardar and completed it by working even when he was laid on his back with double pneumonia. Again, he set out to organize peace brigades in Ahmedabad at the time of the Hindu-Muslim riots, leaving his wife on what was believed by the doctors to be her death bed, with the same unflinching devotion to duty as he had shown on a previous occasion, when with streaming eyes, he finished his writing for *Navajivan* before setting

out for his village home on receiving the news of his father's death.

In the intervals there was of course the killing daily grind of office routine which sometimes made him complain of what he humorously used to call his "dog's life". His versatility was equal to his industry. He was equally at home in taking on visitors who came to discuss high politics with Gandhiji as in settling intricate "domestics" of the Ashram. He kept accounts, drew up tour programmes for Gandhiji with the help of railway maps and Bradshaw, kept dates for him, answered letters, looked after guests, often trudged from Maganwadi to Sevagram Ashram and back—a distance of over five miles either way—in the blazing hot sun, day after day and week after week, to take instructions, besides writing for *Harijan* with a clock-work regularity. This last was a marvel, considering that his work had often to be done in the caravanserai that his office was or in overcrowded third-class railway compartments with undisciplined, shouting crowds struggling at the carriage windows at every station. The wonder of it was that in the midst of it all he was able to do all the encyclopaedic reading, hard thinking and research which went into his writings.

He was not merely an interpreter of Gandhiji's ideas, he was a "fisher of men" and brought scores of enthusiastic, idealistic workers to his fold by the charm of his magnetic personality. Wherever, under whatever circumstances he was, that place became a centre and citadel of the master. And who could go forth on a 'goodwill mission' on behalf of Gandhiji better than Shri Desai? The late Deshabandhu Das doted on him, his sister having constituted herself into his adoptive mother, Dr. Jayakar could not do less than respond to his appeal by raising his subscription to the Tilak Swaraj Fund from Rs. 5,000/- to Rs. 25,000/ whilst the Rt. Hon. Shastri welcomed his visits as a 'spiritual exercise'.

In Gandhiji's 'family' of workers he was the cementing bond, the shock absorber, the activizer. He smoothed differences, soothed frayed tempers, solved personal problems, resolved doubts, pulled people out of trouble when they landed themselves in it and negotiated delicate points with Gandhiji when it called for extraordinary tact and his 'masterly manner', for which he had become famous. He was extremely popular owing to his overflowing kindness, goodness of heart, broad sympathy and understanding and his willingness and capacity to serve and lend a helping hand whenever there was a chance, to all and sundry.

For instance, Gandhiji could give only limited time to his visitors who came for consultation. He could speak to them in *sutras* only. But Shri Desai made up for Gandhiji's "Be quick, be brief, be gone" motto that hangs on the wall of his hut above his head, and the visitors as a rule did not feel satisfied unless they could round off their interview with Gandhiji with a good heart-to-heart talk with his secretary. It was also his unpleasant duty to keep off undesirable visitors. And what a



motley crowd he had sometimes to deal with, ranging from dyspeptics and food faddists to dilettantes, literateurs, blue stockings, tourists, pressmen and politicians, seekers after metaphysical knowledge, sometimes even lunatics! All this required a Job's patience. No wonder sometimes when a particularly sticky customer claimed him, even his suavity could not keep down a persecuted and martyred look on his face which was pathetic to behold. Friends discreetly avoided his gaze on such occasions lest they might betray a smile on the wrong side of the in face! But he was happy in the knowledge that it meant saving thousands of precious hours of the master for the service of the country and humanity.

Let no one, however, imagine that he was merely a "faithful echo" of the master. When occasion demanded he could also speak up to him, since Gandhiji expects his secretary, and in fact any one who is closely associated with him, to be his conscience keeper too. He was often prized as a tower of strength by those who brought to Gandhiji a different viewpoint from his own, and he himself was able on one occasion to avert an unconditional fast unto death on the part of Gandhiji when every one else had failed. It is the only instance of its kind in Gandhiji's entire life within my knowledge.

On occasions, but very rare occasions, there were brushes. These were invariably of the nature of "lovers' quarrels". Once Shri Desai likened his association with Gandhiji to sitting on the top of a volcano which might erupt at any moment. At Delang the "quarrel" even found its way into the weekly letter when, in a moment of desperation, the devoted secretary exclaimed with Dr. Halliday Sutherland (*Arches of the Years*) that "to live with saints in heaven" was "a bliss and a glory", but "to live with a saint on earth" was "a different story". The article itself was of a piece with the quotation. With characteristic coolness, Gandhiji blue-pencilled portions of the truant disciple's outpourings to "save him against himself", suitably corrected the rest and published the whole in Harijan! On another occasion, when exasperated by the heavy demands made by rules\* of Ashram life, he tendered his resignation, Gandhiji tore it up saying that it did not bear evidence of "coherent thinking" and therefore could not be accepted as an indication of "Mahadev's real mind". The ending was equally characteristic. Before many hours the "blues" had completely worn off and the ardent secretary was explaining to the appreciative master the beauties of a gorgeous sunset. But it reduced the sensitive Shri Desai to tears when Gandhiji once gently rebuked him (it was reproach more than rebuke) for an inadvertant error in description by remarking, "Is it thus you are going to interpret me after my death?"

It has become the fashion these days to compare the late Shri Desai with Boswell. The comparison might hold good so far as passion for gathering and recording biographical material of their respective masters was concerned. But there the comparison

ends. In moral and intellectual stature they were as poles asunder. Shri Desai was great in his own right. Boswell's attitude towards his master was that of an ardent hero-worshipper and a cheap and vulgar one at that at times. Shri Desai's attitude towards Gandhiji was that of a spiritual devotee to his guru and a lover of the motherland towards the promised deliverer.

Shri Desai's was a consecrated life characterized by a rare singleminded devotion to Gandhiji and his ideals. Gandhiji lived for the world but Shri Desai lived for Gandhiji. In one of Goethe's plays every one who gazes into the face of the heroine sees in it the countenance of his beloved. In the case of the late Shri Desai, it was the reverse; he lived only to read the lineaments of his master in every celebrated character of history or legend that he contemplated whether it was Asquith or William of Orange, Ruskin or Tolstoy, Marx, Lenin or Masaryk, Fenelon or St. Francis of Assisi. In the immortal lines of Moore:

"The moon looks into many brooks

The brook can see no moon but this."

I have been asked to set down as addenda the experiences of Shri Mahadev Desai's successor in office. The truth of the matter is that the late Shri Mahadev Desai was not a mere occupant of an office, he was an institution. His office began and ended with himself. He left behind him no successor.

9-9-45

PYARELAL

## CHRISTIANS AND POLITICS

If we hold ourselves to be Christians we have to follow the principles laid down by Jesus in every walk of life. Politics is only one aspect of our social relations but we must carry these principles into that sphere also if we enter politics. Let us therefore analyse Jesus' attitude to such a career.

At the very beginning of His ministry we have a record of the temptations He met with. These will give us the main lines of approach.

He was hungry after a fast of forty days. He was tempted to convert stones into bread. He brushed that idea aside as "man does not live by bread alone". Do we want to enter politics to make a livelihood out of it? This is too base an ideal for those who would follow Jesus.

He was asked to jump down from the steeple as angels would bear Him up. Do we wish to enter the councils to demonstrate our powers of oratory and personal talents? God did not endow us with powers to glorify ourselves.

Satan wanted Jesus to fall down and worship him promising Him the gift of all the kingdoms of the Earth. Is politics a means of getting control over our fellowmen? Do we aspire to becoming ministers to wield power over our neighbours? That is not the way of Jesus.

What is this service of God? "I was an hungered and ye fed me, naked and ye clothed me, sick and ye visited me". "Inasmuch as ye have done it unto the least of these, ye have done it unto me". This is then the field for all who would

\* The rule in question was soon after rescinded.



follow Him who went about doing good. His whole life was based not on man's rights but on his duties to his neighbour. Can we under such allegiance form ourselves into a community fighting for its rights and privileges? Is it not a denial of our Lord to seek after these things? Did not Jesus teach us by the parable of the good Samaritan that we should help those in need irrespective of whether the needy belong to our group or not. The priest the Levite passed by on the other side of the one who was wounded and robbed by thieves but the Samaritan, though he was despised, came to the rescue and ministered to him. Shall we not do likewise?

Generally when people talk of communities in relation to politics they mean to secure power for safeguarding their own interests. This is diametrically opposed to the teachings of Jesus and it is definitely unchristian.

A few days ago a small deputation of Indian Christians waited on the M. P. Delegates to represent their case! How far have we drifted from the Master who when he was reviled, reviled not again; when He suffered, He threatened not.

Some of the leaders of the community waited on the Viceroy on another occasion begging him to form an Indian Christian Regiment! Do we realize the blasphemy of this? We seek to learn cold-blooded murder as a profession and we call ourselves by the name of the Prince of Peace who taught us not to resist with evil "but whosoever shall smite thee on thy right cheek, turn to him the other also". Here we are petitioning Government to teach us to kill those whom we have never met and who have never done us any personal harm.

The irony of fate has it that this community has enlisted freely into this murder gang otherwise euphemistically called the military. Even the softer sex has been so tempted by mammon as to join in the auxiliaries forgetting the gentleness of their sex. Does not all this arise out of our illegitimate desire for the things of the world? Let us always remember that the Master we profess to serve had not where to lay His head. Can we expect better treatment or reward than what was meted out to Him? He died on the cross and His crown was a crown of thorns. Are we prepared to drink of the cup He drank or do we think that He drank the bitter cup to procure for us licence for unrestricted indulgence?

Do we seek to get into politics so as to be honoured of men? Worldly ones seek to exercise authority over others. But it should not be so amongst us. Whoever will be chief must be the servant of all. Jesus says He came not to be ministered unto but to minister and to give His life a ransom for many. If we must compete let us compete in serving others. Let us win the love and confidence of others by our dedicated lives. Let us give up this humiliating begging for favours and high seats.

The only community Jesus recognizes is a community of servants. He that doeth the will of the Father the same is my brother, sister and mother.

Let us strive to be numbered within this select family. The Master calls, "If any man will come after me, let him deny himself and take up his cross, and follow me. For whosoever will save his life shall lose it; and whosoever will lose his life for my sake shall find it." Shall we not pay heed to this invitation?

J. C. KUMARAPPA

## BEWARE OF BUREAUCRATIC PLANS

In September last, Reuter cabled from Washington that a mission headed by a British knight was visiting the United States, 'after five months' stay in England' in connection with the present irresponsible Government of India's project to set up a factory for the manufacture of  $3\frac{1}{2}$  million tons of ammonium sulphate yearly at an expenditure of 40,000,000 dollars or over 13 crores of rupees.

But no greater misfortune could perhaps befall the people of India than that their land should be poisoned with artificial fertilizers, the use of which has been condemned by British authorities on agriculture themselves.

We must replace what we take from the soil. The harvesting of crops leads to the impoverishment of the soil which should be replenished by cattle dung and by ploughing in of grasses (see Joseph James' *Must We Starve?* distributed by F. Muller). But chemical fertilizers affect the soil in much the same way as drugs affect the human body. They produce temporary exhilaration, and then there is a relapse. Bumper crops are obtained but they cause new diseases and deficiencies in the soil. Balfour in *Living Soil* quotes from a circular letter sent by Sir Albert Howard:

"In the South of France grapes are raised very largely by means of artificials: the many diseases are combated by poison sprays.

"In Baluchistan on the other hand the vine is always manured with farm-yard manure; artificials are not used; the crops have no need for fungicides and insecticides, because diseases are practically non-existent."

British writers hold that crop diseases which are on the increase in England are due to artificials. James quotes from Lord Lymington who says:

"Twenty years ago potatoes were sprayed with copper sulphate mixtures once or perhaps twice in a year, but now they are sprayed twelve or fifteen times a season. Nearly all this is due to loss of organic manure for land and proper balance of farming" (*Famine in England*).

Chemical sprays affect the crops adversely and shorten considerably the life of the soil itself.

Lord Lymington is of the opinion that artificial manures are highly dangerous:

"The processes of life depend as much on decay as on growth. Healthy growth can only take place when there has been proper decay of organic matter which becomes humus. This can only be brought about by the working of soil bacteria. Reckless use of sulphate of ammonia, nitro-chalk, potash and other salts kills these bacteria, and so the plant cannot remain healthy when there is no humus in the soil."



Animal and human diseases no less than crop diseases are caused by artificials. £6 a year is the amount of money spent in England per head on medicines, and the cost of animal disease is estimated at one tenth of the farmer's total return from stock.

Foot and mouth disease is prevalent in England and the infected animals are sent to the slaughter house, stock movements being prohibited within a radius of fifteen miles from the parts affected by the disease. But Howard testifies that his oxen in India fed on compost-grown food failed to contract the disease, even when 'rubbing noses' with infected animals.

Balfour quotes from a correspondent who wrote :

"Cabbages . . . grown too fast with nitrate and phosphate are a curious 'wrong' colour. If over 50 p. c. of the green stuff given to rabbits is of this sort the rabbits die. If the phosphate goes beyond a certain point the field takes on an unnatural green and is deserted by wild rabbits." Salesmen use this as a recommendation: 'Use our soluble phosphate fertilizer and keep the rabbits away', or 'Use enough nitro-chalk, and you will get big greens that rabbits will scarcely touch; if they do, they die'.

It was found that cattle refused to graze in a field dressed with artificials.

Balfour also cites the case of a school which at first raised its vegetables with artificials and then with the Indore compost. The Head Master said that at first cold, measles and scarlet fever used to run through the school, but afterwards they tended to be confined to single cases imported from outside. There was also definite improvement in the taste and the quality of the vegetables.

McCarrison, when in charge of the Deficiency Diseases Inquiry in India, found that when wheat was grown on soil treated with farm-yard manure, its nutritive value was 17 per cent higher than when grown on soil treated with complete chemical manure. Wheat grown under the latter condition contained a smaller amount of vitamin A, which is essential in maintaining the resistance of man and his domestic animals to infectious diseases.

McCarrison also found that 'if the vitamin B value of cattle manure millet be taken as 1, that of chemical manure millet is approximately .66'.

## II

Another item in these plans is the mechanization of agriculture. But as Lord Northbourne warns us in his *Look to the Land* (Dent), "mechanization can be a terrible snare, as it makes possible the kind of soil exploitation which has led to desert making on a scale hitherto unparalleled."

British farmers who have mechanized their agricultural operations have many lessons to teach us, and it is up to us to profit by what they themselves admit to be their mistakes.

For one thing the machines are too heavy for the maintenance of soil health. Lawns deteriorate when a motor lawn-mower is used.

The many-shared plough works too fast. With a single-share ox or horse-driven plough it took quite

a number of days to finish a big farm. Flocks of birds alert for grubs and worms followed the plough. But what took quite a week before is now done in a single day, so that birds have no time to clean the soil. British farmers therefore complain of serious increase in wireworm.

But the loss in soil cleanliness is only half the story. The loss in humus is still more disquieting. The horse or the ox never moved over a field without enriching the soil. The motor tractor moves over the field but gives nothing. Five lakhs of horses have been eliminated from the British army and from British towns during the last twenty years with the result that a million acres of land in Britain get no dung and there is a corresponding loss of soil fertility.

The plant-animal-man cycle has been broken in England in a variety of ways, and the consequences have been always bad. As Michael Graham points out in *Soil and Sense* (Faber) the British housewife limits the size of her family, thus throwing shepherds out of work and reducing farmers to bankruptcy. The number of sheep is down by one million a year, so that although Britain badly needs wheat, there are not enough sheep to tread and manure the soil.

In fact, so-called scientific farming is too exhaustive and therefore ultimately destructive all over the world, as for instance in Egypt, where "the soils have steadily deteriorated with the introduction of a more efficient technique" (*Rape of the Earth*).

Mechanized farming in England also called for the wholesale destruction of hedges which according to E. B. Balfour is responsible for the increase in insect pests, for "with the hedge has gone the shelter for the small birds who prey on insects." Fields in England were formerly small. There was an abundance of hedge-rows and frequent trees which did much in the windy climate of Britain to "maintain the soil in position and to increase its productivity." But the size of the fields is now enlarged in order to accommodate modern farming machinery.

Such being the experience of British farmers, may it not be that the failure of the United States to supply us with even 500 tractors while she is delivering 50,000 tractors to Russia and 20,000 more to France is only a blessing in disguise?

Two years before A. E. died, the Government of the United States invited him to come and see what was wrong with agriculture. The apparatus had been perfected, but workers were refusing to carry on. A. E. found excessive organization had destroyed the soul of the thing; machinery so intruded between man, soil and beast that man could not bear work any longer.

Let us bear in mind these wise words of Lord Northbourne:

"The very best in farming as in all other crafts can only be produced by hand, and less than the best will not do."

V. G. D.



## GLEANINGS FROM CORRESPONDENTS

The Soya Bean has already been mentioned in these columns. A friend from Bareilly writes:

"I have grown Soya Beans in my fields in this district. As a *kharif* crop it has proved very successful and some friends who have tasted its different preparations like it much. A friend of mine has been using Soya Bean milk during all these war days of milk scarcity.

"In the coming rainy season it can be grown widely in all fields where rain water does not stand for long. It will be specifically a very suitable crop for sowing in any vacant land attached to bungalows. People in Western U.P. and the Punjab cannot take much rice without detriment to their health. *Bajra* and maize do not suit many persons. Wheat is scarce. Soya Bean may be a useful substitute in some if not many cases."

\* \* \*

Shrimati Lilavati Munshi threw out some useful suggestions to the Bombay Municipal Corporation and the general public when presiding the other day over the annual general meeting of the Agri-Horticultural Society.

(a) To convert the Malabar Hill Slopes, with the exception of the hanging gardens at the top, from the Bombay Garage to Kemp's Corner, into vegetable gardens. This space could easily supply vegetables to a thousand persons,

(b) to use all house terraces with the help of modern methods for small scale cultivation of vegetables like tomatoes and greens,

(c) to convert by chemical means the City's refuse into manure,

(d) to encourage in children the healthy pastime of cultivating fruit plants, vegetables and cereals, both in school and at home, and thus early instil into them a sense of social service.

She rightly says that a vegetable garden, if laid out properly, can be a thing of beauty. The society is willing to give expert advice if needed.

\* \* \*

A correspondent welcomes Gandhiji's suggestion of more raw vegetables and occasional complete or partial fasts. Simple diet plus yogic exercises will make many people lose their superfluous fat and improve their digestion. Most of the well-to-do man's maladies are due to wrong diet or overeating, both of which handicaps can easily be overcome by wise restriction in these difficult times.

\* \* \*

Goat's milk can be produced very cheaply. In several large families there is enough food material thrown away daily, like peelings and the coarser parts of vegetables etc. to feed at least one goat.

In a country like ours where pasture lands today are unavailable and a very small percentage of farmers is able to keep milch cattle, it is the milk goat that must become the poor man's cow.

Clean milking and boiling helps to eliminate the odour and flavour objected to by some people in goat's milk.

Uruli, 28-3-'46

A. K.

## AFTER NEARLY FOUR YEARS

It was a joy to return to Sevagram after the best part of four years and receive a warm welcome from the family here. Change is the one unchanging law of life. Small wonder, then, that I was greeted by many new faces and new landmarks.

Of the old, familiar landmarks Ba's and Mahadev's cottages are desolate without those loved figures. It is difficult to get used to their absence or not to be reminded of them daily, for they were more a part of Babu's life than anyone else. But "why should we mourn for the blest?"

My time here has been very full and too short for me to take everything in or see all that I would like to see more closely and at greater leisure.

The Mahadev Mandir is a fine structure and a worthy memorial to him. It is used for meetings, for collective spinning and lectures. The acoustics are good and there is room to seat 400 persons. It is intended, in its vicinity or in a portion of it, to have a permanent museum for Khadi and all its implements as well as maps and charts showing progress etc. of our constructive work all over India.

The Khadi Vidyalaya has grown beyond recognition and now includes an all-round training course for village workers. There is a fine boarding hostel for boys. Accommodation can be provided for 80, but it is big enough for 100 students. The hostel is simple with large dormitories in which each student has a wooden bed, a stool, a small mat and a locker. All the processes of Khadi are taught and apart from improvements made so far, constant research is going on all the time. There are 36 looms, also housed in new buildings, all of them pit except four, which are "frame" looms. These latter are removable and therefore useful for schools. The equipment for the institution is made in the workshop and the buildings have all been put up with local material and village labour. The all-round village worker is trained, in addition to the science of Khadi, in sanitation, hygiene, cooking, dietetics, village economics, elementary history of India, history of the Congress and general knowledge. For Khadi training the qualification is VII Vernacular (or full primary). For all-round workers the equivalent of the matriculation is requisite. There are 60 students at the moment undergoing training which lasts two years. There is room for ten women but no girls, alas! have been so far forthcoming. This is a pity, for women village workers are just as much, if not really more, needed than men.

The Talimi Sangh has added a kitchen and dining room and a hall to their buildings since I was last there. They have taken over the buildings that used to belong to the Khadi Vidyalaya and utilize them for hostels for their boarders. Co-education exists. At the moment there are 60 children from the ages of seven upwards out of which number ten are girls. More girls would like to come but there is no room for them. A plot of land is available for a girls' hostel but owing to the high cost of labour and material as little as possible in the shape of new buildings is being undertaken. The children seem happy and contented. They come from neighbouring



villages, and have improved in every way. Spinning continues to be the main craft through which education is imparted but in addition, there are numerous activities for the children. They have a small plot of land, where they grow flowers in beds allotted to groups. It was good to see sweet peas, hollyhocks, nasturtiums and larkspur making a colourful frontage to the building. Now, however, with the necessity for growing more food I imagine this plot of land too will grow carrots and cabbages instead of flowers! Not so joyous to look at but definitely joyous if it means so many more vegetables for some hungry mouths.

The kitchen proves an excellent training ground for the little ones. They do all the cooking under supervision of a member of the staff. They work out food values daily, weigh out the ingredients themselves and thus get practical lessons in arithmetic. The daily menu has been planned on a system of vitamins. The following account is educative. It has been given to me by the daughter of the Principal of the school who is receiving her education with the village children. She is eleven years old.

"Today, 7-1-'46, it was our turn for kitchen work. We were twelve boys and girls. Two boys were suffering from itch, so they were sent for work in the garden. We first went in a line to the well and washed our faces, hands, feet and nails. The captain then asked us to stand in a line in front of the kitchen and inspected our hands, our nails, our hair and our clothes. He sent back boys whose nails were dirty to cut them. He then distributed our work. One for the cooking of *Khichadi*, one girl for the cooking of vegetables, one to cut and prepare raw vegetables, one to arrange for clean linen and vessels, one for recording and the rest for making *bhakis*, i. e. *Jowari rotis*.

Today's meal consisted of *Khichadi*, Brinjal curry, *bhakis* (*Jowari rotis*), salt, lemons, green chillies, water and milk 4 ozs."

More milk daily per head is aimed at but has not yet been attained. The cost of food per head is Rs. 10/- p. m..

The children do all the washing up of vessels and cleaning of their rooms. They have the care of two bullocks with whom they are on the friendliest terms. A *ghani* (oil press) has recently been purchased. I saw a boy of ten, presumably, in charge the day I visited. He was responsible for recording how much oil had been pressed in an hour and for putting it carefully away in the proper tin where it is stored. Physical exercises are compulsory in the morning. Games, folk dances and gardening provide outdoor relaxation in the afternoons. On the food provided it has been noted that children put on weight in the winter months.

The following gives an account in detail of the yarn produced:

Yarn produced during July 1944 to February 1945 (8 months) Grades I to V.

Grades	Average attendance	Weight.		Ave. count.	Equivalent in sq. yds. of cloth	Wages		
		Hanks	srs. ch.			Rs.	As.	Ps.
I & II	21	294½	15 1½	9	90	32	1	8
III	10	690½	28 12½	12	197	82	10	8
IV	5	499	20 12½	12	142	62	12	9
V	17	1300½	46 7	14	342	164	8	6
Total	53	2784	111 1½	...	771	Rs. 342	1	7

53 children spun 2784 hanks of yarn in 8 months which can produce 771 sq. yds. of cloth from July 1944 to February 1945. During the period of July 1945 to February 1946 the students themselves wove 443 sq. yds. of cloth in the school.

It would be well for those who are prejudiced against spinning to see the children enjoying this portion of their studies. They are able, without knowing as it were, to produce enough cloth to clothe themselves. When one sees what can be achieved in a comparatively short time against heavy odds one longs more than ever for a government of the people which would give to this life-giving scheme the money and encouragement of which it stands in need. Here, as elsewhere, the need for teachers who will look upon their task as a calling and not a profession, and training centres for them in every province, is very urgent.

There is a pre-basic school in Sevagram village itself run by Shantabai Nerulkar. She works for adult education also. Nursery schools and adult education are very necessary items in our curriculum of education. I was unable to see the school in action. But in a brief visit to the village I was struck by the improvement in cleanliness and a kind of aliveness in the inhabitants.

The training school is one of the main activities of the Hindustani Talimi Sangh. There are 36 students being trained at the moment from various provinces, barring Madras, where a training centre is already being carried on. The training lasts one year. Andhra has sent a strong contingent of women which is all to the good.

The hospital stands out, apart from its great utility, by the only colourful building in the neighbourhood. Why its walls were coloured a deep terra cotta is not known but it is a happy accident. Neatness and colour add to the charm of life and may not be disregarded when we start building model villages. There is no doubt as to the need for medical relief in all areas. Sevagram Hospital serves all the neighbouring villages in addition to Sevagram. The building is simple and cleanly kept. 16 in-door patients can be accommodated. There is a room for minor operations, a dispensary and examination room. For the hundreds of out-patients a thatched *shamiana* has been put up in the compound. The staff consists of a lady doctor, a *vaidya*, a fully trained dispenser with three helpers and three nurses who have been trained here. They are all heavily worked, because, in addition to this hospital there is an antenatal clinic in Sevagram village and two dispensaries in neighbouring villages which have to be visited at least twice a week. The need for qualified nurses and midwives for village service is very great. The surgeon performs the operation, the physician prescribes, but the burden of constant care and carrying out of orders is the nurse's task, without which no success can attend the work of doctors. Sevagram medical relief shows how much can be done by the right type of worker and is worthy of emulation. In all maiden effort, such as everything in Sevagram is, workers have to make shift and accommodate and adjust themselves as best they can. Those who are able to do so are true servants who count no cost too great for the cause they have espoused. I feel that Sevagram is not belying the name the ashramites chose for it themselves in the early years.

Sevagram, 15-2-'46

A. K.



## INSPIRING FOR WOMEN

It is a far cry from Assam to Kerala and yet Uruli village, unknown to anyone except its residents until Gandhiji took up his abode there the other day, was the meeting place of all the women agents so far appointed by the Kasturba Trust to organize and supervise work in the different provinces.

We of the towns have no idea of the uphill task that lies before village workers. When Thakkar Bapa suggested to Gandhiji that an Agents' meeting would be advisable, Gandhiji welcomed the idea. Fears and doubts are natural when one is faced with difficulties and these sisters had many things to ask. As Agents they had been asked why Gandhiji who talked of democracy should have been party to the appointment of single persons to run the work of Provinces instead of the originally formed committees? Tracing his line of thought Gandhiji explained how it was women's work and how he had felt he must make women shoulder the responsibility of it. In no other organization, not even in the Congress, had such a tremendous responsibility been thrown on women. The Agent's post throws all the burden of work on her in her area. It is immense but given industry and intelligence not only will the work grow but the Agent herself will grow in stature. She is there to serve and to give, not to possess. By this giving she will become the people's trusted servant. This is the royal road to democracy.

Gandhiji gave them a clear answer in respect to political work such as volunteering at polling booths. They were not there for that purpose. It was perfectly possible for them not to be in the Congress and yet be of it as he was himself. The work before them was to make women fit to take their place in society. If they succeeded in teaching them the correct way of life they taught them all they needed. Today they were steeped in the Stygian darkness of ignorance and superstition. With the removal of that, women would make freedom worth while.

He cited the good example of Kanu Gandhi who had said that in his camp soon to be started it would be his aim to teach the students how to battle against famine by tilling the ground, scavenging, cooking, bringing their own expenses with them, so that they need not be a liability on any one. Women have to work in famine areas with this ideal. It is ours to mitigate, not to aggravate the burden.

Asked as to what work he would lay most emphasis on so far as women were concerned, Gandhiji felt that sanitation and hygiene, owing to the lack of knowledge of which our people suffered so greatly, should take first place. Then there were evil customs which had to go, the useless expenditure on jewellery, and he made everyone laugh by his graphic description of a much bejewelled woman patient with a huge nose ring, earrings, necklace, bracelets and anklets complete who had visited him as a patient that very morning! It was hard

to know what should come first. "Really all work in its own place is of equal importance." There is the very great necessity of teaching women the care and upbringing of children, discipline in their own lives in every department including eating. He placed maternity almost last in comparison with the above-mentioned. But nothing could be achieved without friendship with the women. That was the first and basic desideratum.

The pay of workers had caused much discussion. For Gandhiji it was the spirit of the worker that meant everything. Inasmuch as the labourer was worthy of his hire a decent living wage must be paid, but it was the work and not the pay that should attract.

Were the women to be given the wheel as a revolutionary weapon as he had said it was in the hands of a Jawaharlal? The answer was 'no'. How could it be such in the hands of an ignorant woman? But if every woman in India span then a silent revolution would certainly be created of which a Jawaharlal could make full use. Unless steam generated was put to proper use the engine would not run and the person generating the steam might himself be scalded by it even unto death.

Amongst the members were some staunch feminists who are anxious for women alone to run the show. To them Gandhiji said that the men who were there were serving the memory of one who was instinctively a village woman. Long before he himself had taken to village life as being the ideal life for service, Kasturba had shown her preference for it. Her heart was in Phoenix even in the far off South African days when he himself worked in a town. The men who were honouring her memory were only serving until such time as women were ready to take their place. "I am the only one-whom you may find it hard to get rid of for I have always counted myself as a woman. I believe I know your sex and your needs better than you do yourselves."

He said the Kasturba Trust would have even a bigger place in national service when freedom was ours than it had today. For all would go to the winds if women were not properly trained. He hoped that every worker in the Trust would have a great deal to give to the new government. But we have got to generate that strength within us. We may not be frightened of making mistakes. Man is born to make mistakes but the great thing is to see our mistakes and learn from them. We should magnify our own errors so as to be deterred from falling into them again. Those who imagine that they never make mistakes are to be feared. He agreed with one of the members when she said that it was a great tragedy that the uplift of women has to be an item on the constructive programme. "Have we yet to find ourselves?" she asked. "Yes, indeed," was the reply. "And where better can you find yourselves than by being true to the highest traditions of Indian women by serving your unhappy sisters today?"

On the train to Delhi,  
31-3-46

A. K. -



## SELF-SUFFICIENCY VERSUS COMMERCIAL KHADI

(By M. K. Gandhi)

We are ourselves responsible for the creation of this problem. We did not know the science of Khadi. We do not know it fully even now. Therefore, like children, we stumble again and again and thereby learn to walk. In order that we may not fall so as never to rise again we made use of a go-cart and are still using it. Having realized this the A. I. S. A. has to make a tremendous effort to vindicate its existence or else be wiped out. By A. I. S. A. is meant all its workers and includes even the spinners. It must be borne in mind that to make the spinners self-reliant and through their activity to achieve India's freedom is and ought to be the Association's goal. That we may not reach that goal should not cause undue worry. It is enough for us to know that it is the correct goal and having started the activity we have to correct our mistakes and go forward. That is the essence of the scientific method. No science has dropped from the skies in a perfect form. All sciences develop and are built up through experience. Perfection is not an attribute of science. Absolute perfection is not possible either for man or for the science that he creates. For example, astronomy is continually progressing. Many mistakes have been made and corrected. The process still continues. The same may be said of the science of Khadi.

If this is intelligently understood and fearlessly acted upon, replies to the questions presented from time to time become easy. The spinner must have full knowledge of all the processes from the beginning to the end, right up to weaving. In this lies the way to Swaraj. Up till now, knowingly or unknowingly, we have been producing Khadi solely for purposes of commerce. But this too has always been linked with the ideal of Swaraj. Had it not been so, even commercial Khadi would have failed and most probably Khadi for Swaraj would have remained a mere dream.

Commercial Khadi has been and still is our go-cart, so to speak. To the spinner to have her cotton carded by others has been and still is an additional prop. Only as we progressively give up these props will we bring into being Khadi for Swaraj. Those branches where commercial Khadi is being produced and carding carried on as an independent activity should, if possible, be closed down. Life is, however, made up of compromises. Therefore, let it be said that the props should be given up as quickly as possible. Those who have faith and knowledge will be the first to do so. Where sincere and earnest efforts are made, the question of competition should not arise.

One aspect of the present situation needs attention. Those who spin for their livelihood will willingly learn the new processes because thereby their earning capacity will increase. Today this section is diminishing because other and easier

sources of income are open to them. For them it is not a moral question. They take what is easiest as, for example, collection of leaves for making *bidis*. It is our duty to impart true knowledge to them and help them up the steep road to Swaraj and make them healthy and hardy in the process of climbing. If we cannot do this we shall deservedly lose our existence. Therefore, we can only have dealings with the man or woman who spins with understanding.

Another thing that has to be remembered is that spinning is now one of the recognized avocations and will, therefore, continue. So we need not worry about the production of commercial Khadi. Whatever difficulties may arise from the above have to be overcome by the workers. To ask whether this or that comes within this framework is a sign of mental laziness and ignorance. He who cannot draw deductions cannot be said to know geometry. The same is true of all sciences.

New Delhi, 3-4-'46

(From *Harijanbandhu*)

## WHAT IS THE LAW?

(By M. K. Gandhi)

'Confused' writes:

"I grant that Italy, Germany and Japan have lost their power, but is the loss due to their faith in violence, as you would say, or is it due to their exhaustion brought about by fortunes of war? Will you hold that Britain, Russia and America have been successful because of their non-violence?"

Thus argues a correspondent whom I have paraphrased without diminishing the force of his argument. The questioner has failed to perceive that in the writing quoted by him, I have said nothing about the so-called victorious Powers. But I have said elsewhere that their victory is an empty boast if they do not learn the lesson while there is time and do not shape their life in accordance with the law of non-violence. I believe wholly in the truth that "those who take the sword will perish by the sword". There is no doubt that the victors employed the same means as the vanquished. There was only a question of degree. The victorious parties already seem to be on the verge of quarrelling among themselves. If another war has not already begun, it is because no one is ready to enter upon it. After all men are not machines. They cannot be continually fighting without being reduced to the state of beasts. One has to hope, for the sake of humanity, that they will do some hard thinking and discover the truth that the common man of whom the world is composed gains nothing by cutting his fellowman's throat and that the fruits of peace are infinitely superior to those of war. Ingenuity employed in devising methods of destruction lowers, whereas when employed in devising ways of building it befits mankind.

New Delhi, 5-4-'46



## GANDHIJI ON NEW SPIRIT\*

(By H. N. Brailsford)

When last I was in Poona, Gandhi was a prisoner and I was not allowed to meet him. Then, the town, gloomy and angry, was involved in a general strike. Today it is celebrating the spring carnival in a mood of gaiety.

Gandhi in his turn was happy when I met him, for Mr. Attlee's speech in the Indian debate had just opened the road to independence. He looked well and very much less than his age. He talked easily without a trace of tension. His manner was never solemn and often he relaxed in a humorous chuckle. In a way hard to define, one felt that this man was speaking for India. Though his moral stature lifts him high above the average man, he interprets what is typical and enduring in this nation's outlook. He warned me, none the less, that he would be speaking only for himself and not for the Congress.

Our talk took its start from the Prime Minister's recognition of India's right to choose independence. This, Gandhi welcomed, and not only this, but the whole tone of the speech. "But I can't forget," he went on, "that the story of Britain's connection with India is a tragedy of unfulfilled promises and disappointed hopes. We must keep an open mind. A seeker of truth will never begin by discounting his opponent's statement as unworthy of trust. So I am hopeful, and indeed, no responsible Indian feels otherwise. This time I believe that the British mean business. But the offer has come suddenly. Will India be jerked into independence? I feel to-day like a passenger who has been hoisted in a basket-chair on to a ship's deck in a stormy sea and has not yet found his feet. There should have been some psychological preparation, but even now it is not too late. The tide of bitterness had risen high and that is not good for the soul. The last two months should have been filled with generous gestures. This is a milestone not only in India's history and Britain's, but in the history of the whole world."

Gandhi's meaning was clear. The British Government had done the right thing, but in its manner of doing it, he missed the big touch. When I asked him for concrete illustrations, he chose two. The release of the political prisoners had been gradual and was still incomplete. "There was no danger to fear. If independence is coming, would these men have opposed it? A complete amnesty would have captured the people's imagination. When you are about to transfer power, you should do it boldly."

He went on to speak of the salt tax. "Its abolition would be a gesture the poorest peasant could understand. It would mean even more to him than independence itself. Salt in this climate is a necessity of life, like air and water. He needs it for himself, his cattle, and his land. This monopoly will go the instant we get independence. Then why not abolish it today? By such acts the Government could have created a feeling among the masses that the new era has already dawned."

\* Reproduced from the 'Hindu', Madras,

## INDEPENDENCE v. DOMINION STATUS

So much for the preparation for independence. I now reminded Gandhi that many Englishmen find it hard to understand why Indians prefer independence to Dominion Status. His answer was startling: "There was a time when I used to swear by Dominion Status and actually preferred it to independence. That was my attitude during the first World War. I even used, in writing to Lord Chelmsford, the Viceroy of those days an expression that has often been quoted against me. I wanted to evoke in the Indian breast the same loyalty to the British Crown that there is in the breast of an Englishman. It was an English footballer who converted me to independence. With a laugh, Gandhi explained that he was referring to C. F. Andrews, who had been a notable athlete at Cambridge, as well as a don. Gandhi added: "Andrews made me understand the significance of the King-Emperor's title. The British King is King also in the Dominions, but he is the Emperor of India. India alone makes the Empire. The Dominions are peopled by your cousins. But we Indians, with our different culture and traditions, can never belong to the British family. We may belong to a world-wide family of nations, but first we must cease to be under-dogs. So, I set myself to win independence. You may object that by so doing I am throwing away the protection of the British army and navy. India would not need them, if she were truly non-violent. If, in the glow of freedom, she could live up to that creed no power on earth would ever cast an evil eye upon her. That would be India's crowning glory and her contribution to the world's progress."

"If only Englishmen could follow this argument of mine, they would make their offer of independence in a different tone altogether. Today, they insist that Dominion Status is the best gift they can possibly bestow: still, if Indians do choose independence, they shall have it. No, that is the wrong attitude. I should like to hear Englishmen saying: 'For the world's sake and for ours as well as your own, you shall have independence today, even as we have it.'"

## ALLIANCE WITH BRITAIN

With some sense of incongruity, for I was descending to a lower level, I now asked Gandhi to face the anxieties of his English listeners and tell them whether Indian independence would make for Britain's security and the world's. He answered that the British need never fear an independent India. If they leave India as willing friends, she in her turn will always remain friendly. But Britain, I told him, might hope for some assurance of friendship. Would an independent India be willing to enter into an alliance with Britain?

Gandhi's answer came promptly: "Supposing India said no, would you make the recognition of India's independence contingent upon her entering into an alliance with Britain? If you did that, it would immediately lower the value of your offer and rob it of all grace. The proper attitude is to meet India's claims as a matter of right, even if she wanted



to be unfriendly and pay you back in your own coin. No calculations entered into the British mind, when they settled with the Boers at the end of a bloody war, and the Boers have stayed friends ever since."

I replied that Britain has made up her mind to end the coercive connection with India. But living as she does in a perilous world, it is inevitable that she should ask the question whether as an ally in a defensive war she would be entitled to use India's strategic bases and ports against the aggressor. If that question were asked in no bargaining spirit, could India give a reassuring reply?

"Englishmen", Gandhi answered, "must learn to be *Brahmins*, not *Banias*." The *Bania* I should explain is the trader, or as Napoleon put it, the shopkeeper. The *Brahmin* is the man who is intelligent enough to rank the moral above the material values of life."

"A Gujarati novelist," Gandhi went on, "has said that Englishmen are soldiers and *Brahmins*, but not *Banias*. That was a generous verdict, but it was mistaken. Englishmen have still to evolve the British *Brahmanical* spirit. Even the British soldier still calculates and bargains like a *Bania*, and fails to reach the highest type of courage. I still cherish the hope that the British will respond to the non-violent spirit of India. As the author of that movement, I know what it has meant for the world. The non-violent spirit is the greatest thing in life. I feel it is my responsibility to help my brothers not to degrade themselves by bargaining. If you and we can rise to this moral height, no danger can alarm us. It is probable that many members of the Congress will not take this view and may be willing to discuss an alliance today. But independence should come free as air: don't let us bargain over it."

In reply to a further question, whether a defensive alliance might be discussed when independence is ratified by treaty, Gandhi replied: "If India feels the glow of independence she probably would enter into such a treaty of her own free will. The spontaneous friendship between India and Britain would then be extended to other Powers and, among them, they would hold the balance, since they alone would possess moral force. To see that vision realized, I want to live for 125 years."

This was the high moment of our talk. I had heard Gandhi's message. But there are still some details I ought to report. He said that he hoped for a mutually helpful commercial treaty between a friendly Britain and an independent India. For goods that India needed to import, he was even ready to give Britain a preference,

#### PAKISTAN QUESTION

While we talked of Pakistan, Gandhi said that, if no other method of solution succeeded, he was prepared to submit the whole issue to international arbitration. Nor should we forget that expedient, if any insoluble question arose between Britain and India, for example over debts. But he saw no

blank wall of difficulty ahead. His last words were that difficulties make the man.

I came away with the sense that I had been talking to a brave man who has the courage to believe that human society can be built only on moral principles. Amid our preoccupations over military perils he stands aloof and repeats with unshaken faith his creed that safety is attainable, only when men learn to treat each other as brothers and equals. No lesser means will avail.

#### THE CASE FOR THE BULLOCK

Now that machinery threatens to overrun our agriculture and transport as a part of so-called planning, it is necessary to sum up the case for the bullock who is doomed to destruction if that threat materializes.

We must have milk, more milk and still more milk. We must therefore have cows, and if we have cows, the bullocks will be always with us, for whom we have to provide and can provide full employment only if we yoke them to the plough, to the cart and to the *ghani*. If we fail to do this, we shall be reduced to the same plight as the Western nations who slaughter all bull calves except a few which are reared as stud bulls.

The tractor is a machine; the bullock also is a machine, though not so powerful as the tractor. But the bullock is a living machine, and contact with such harmless animals has been a potent factor in the onward march of human civilization. I am not sure that the elimination of animal power and the installation of lifeless machinery in the Western countries has not something to do with the brutalization of human nature to which frequent and fierce wars bear witness in common with other evils peculiar to the West.

This is the humanitarian argument, which must be reinforced by the economic argument. We shall now deal with this latter, and in doing so make free use of a chapter in Shri N. G. Apte's *Thoughts and Work about Villages* entitled 'Economics of the Bullock' (Publisher: Shri Sardesai, Samarth Bharat Press, Poona 2).

The bullock is not only a living tractor; it is also a living fertilizer factory and gives us farmyard manure which supplies nitrogen and improves the porosity of the soil, thus helping to increase the moisture content of the soil as well as proper aeration. These three factors are essential to plant growth. 'No amount of concentrated manure would help if the porosity of the soil and consequent aeration of the soil are not improved.'

Arcificial manures are an unmitigated curse, as has already been shown in these columns. Then there is green manuring with *sann* hemp and other leguminous plants, but that too compares unfavourably with farmyard manure. For, the green manure occupies the soil for a season from the time of planting till it is sufficiently decayed, but cannot be fed to the animals. On the other hand if we grow a fodder crop instead of the green manure on the same piece of land, at the end of the season we would get fodder enough for two



animals. These animals would work for us the whole year and give us the fodder back in the form of manure better adapted for assimilation by the soil, with probably some additional nitrogen derived from metabolic processes of the animal body.

Most of the nitrogen taken from the soil will be returned in the dung as the bullock requires only carbohydrates for work. These carbohydrates are no good as a manure as most of the carbohydrate material in the crop is fixed from the atmosphere during the process of metabolism in the plants and is not drawn from the soil. Thus the bullock utilizes the energy which is wasted when a green manure is ploughed into the soil. Then again farmyard manure feeds the soil better than the green manure, having passed through the animal system and thus having been acted upon by decomposing agents present in that system.

The bullock's function as the manufacturer of a first class fertilizer is not the only point where it scores over the machine. For, no machine ever invented can perform the various duties that the bullock discharges. The bullock can work fast as well as slow. It can not only be yoked to the plough, it can be used in crushing the earheads as well as in carting the grain to the market. All this it does, while subsisting on the straw or the cake left after the grain and the oil have been utilized for human consumption. This oil too is extracted by the same animal. A pair of bullocks costs a few hundred rupees, but if it is supplanted by machinery, the farmer must go in for an oil engine, a motor truck, a tractor, small motor-driven harrows and what not, which would cost him goodness knows how many times as much. Then again he must purchase fuel in the shape of oil, which cannot be produced not only on his own field but even in his own country.

The main agricultural operations of ploughing, harrowing, sowing and interculturing keep the bullocks busy for only three or four months in the year. During the rest of the year they can be and should be used for carrying goods as well as passengers, for crushing oilseeds and so on. The bullocks are capable of doing all this, while the specialized machinery would remain idle during the long dull season.

Extraction of oil by machinery is profitable on the face of it, but the profits reappear on the debit side of the cultivator's account, with nothing on the credit side to counterbalance the debit.

We shall close with a final quotation from Shri Apte's valuable study:

'Machinery may be introduced when the existing man and animal power is fully occupied. At present this power is not fully utilized, and therefore there is no occasion for the introduction of machinery.'

V. G. D.

## Notes

### Eating With Harijans

Q. How can a vegetarian caste Hindu sit down to food in the home of a meat-eating Harijan?

A. A vegetarian caste Hindu can eat vegetarian food in the home of a meat-eating Harijan. Interdining does not imply that one should eat everything that is put before one. All that is necessary is that the food, the plates on which it is served, and the hands that have cooked it should be clean. The same applies to water. Nor does interdining mean that people should eat out of the same plate or drink out of the same glass. There should be no breach of hygiene.

### Ramanam

Q. Is it not enough to have *Ramanam* in one's heart or is there something special in its recitation?

A. I believe there is special merit in the recitation of *Ramanam*. If anyone knows that God is in truth residing in his heart, I admit that for him there is no need for recitation. But I have not known such a person. On the contrary, my personal experience tells me that there is something quite extraordinary in the recitation of *Ramanam*. Why or how is not necessary to know.

(From *Harijansevak*)

### Ministerial Salaries

Ministers and members of the provincial assemblies are in their respective places as servants of the people in every sense of the term. The British scale of pay cannot be copied by them except at their cost. Nor need all draw payments because a certain scale is allowed. The scale fixes the limit up to which they may draw. It will be ludicrous for a monied man to draw the full or any payment. The payments are meant for those who cannot easily afford to render free service. They are representatives of the poorest people in the world. What they draw is paid by the poor. Let them remember this salient fact and act and live accordingly.

New Delhi, 6-4-'46

M. K. G.

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# HARIJAN

Editor: PYARELAL

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[ TWO ANNAS

## FASTING IN THE AIR

(By M. K. Gandhi)

"Fasting has become a veritable epidemic. The blame lies at your door." So writes a correspondent and adds: "One can understand the efficacy of a fast for purposes of inward purification as also for the outward. But fasts are undertaken nowadays for an increment in one's own pay or in that of one's group, for being selected as a candidate for the Assembly or for various other causes. You encourage one man for fasting for the removal of untouchability and yet you are willing to let another die who is doing the same for a different cause. Is this not injustice? Should you not lay down rules as to when to fast and when not to, what should be its duration, should fruit juices be taken or only water? You talk of the inner voice where you are concerned. Would it not really be best if you were to stop undertaking fasts yourself and stop others too?"

There is force in the above argument. It is, however, impossible to lay down rules. Experience alone can suggest rules. In particular cases it is open to a person to frame his own law or he can refer to me, if he believes me to be an authority. I have had the temerity to claim that fasting is an infallible weapon in the armoury of Satyagraha. I have used it myself, being the author of Satyagraha. Anyone whose fast is related to Satyagraha should seek my permission and obtain it in writing before embarking on it. If this advice is followed, there is no need for framing rules, at any rate, in my lifetime.

One general principle, however, I would like to enunciate. A Satyagrahi should fast only as a last resort when all other avenues of redress have been explored and have failed. There is no room for imitation in fasts. He who has no inner strength should not dream of it, and never with attachment to success. But if a Satyagrahi once undertakes a fast from conviction, he must stick to his resolve, whether there is a chance of his action bearing fruit or not. This does not mean that fasting cannot or can bear fruit. He who fasts in the expectation of fruit generally fails. And even if he does not seemingly fail, he loses all the inner joy which a true fast holds.

Whether one should take fruit juices or not depends on one's physical powers of endurance. But no more fruit juice than is absolutely necessary for the body should be taken. He probably has the greatest inner strength who takes only water.

It is wrong to fast for selfish ends, e. g. for increase in one's own salary. Under certain circumstances it is permissible to fast for an increase in wages on behalf of one's group.

Ridiculous fasts spread like plague and are harmful. But when fasting becomes a duty it cannot be given up. Therefore I do fast when I consider it to be necessary and cannot abstain from it on any score. What I do myself I cannot prevent others from doing under similar circumstances. It is common knowledge that the best of good things are often abused. We see this happening every day.

New Delhi, 13-4-'46

(From *Harijanbandhu*)

## QUESTION BOX

(By M. K. Gandhi)

Q. On what principle is the question of the salaries of ministers in Congress majority provinces going to be settled this time? Does the Karachi resolution in this regard still hold? If the question is to be settled on the basis of the present high prices is it possible, within the limits of their revenues, for the provincial budgets to increase the pays of all their servants threefold? If not, will it be proper for the ministers to be paid Rs. 1500/- while a *chaprasi* or a teacher is told to make two ends meet on Rs. 15/- and 12/- p. m. and not make a fuss about it because Congress has to run the administration?

A. The question is apt. Why should a minister draw Rs. 1500/- and a *chaprasi* or a teacher Rs. 15/- p. m.? But the question cannot be solved by the mere raising of it. Such differences have existed for ages. Why should an elephant require an enormous quantity of food and a mere grain suffice for the ant? The question carries its own answer. God gives to each one according to his need. If we could as definitely know the variations in the needs of men as those of the elephant and the ant, no doubts would arise. Experience tells us that differences in requirements do exist in society. But we do not know the law governing them. All therefore that is possible today is to try to reduce the differences as far as possible. The reduction can be brought about by peaceful agitation and by the creation of public opinion. It cannot be done by force or by *duragraha* in the name of Satyagraha. The ministers are the people's men. Their wants even before they took office were not those of *chaprasis*. I would love to see a *chaprasi* become worthy of holding the office of a minister and yet not increase his needs. It should also be clearly understood that no ministers need draw up to the maximum of the salary fixed.

It is worth while pondering over one thing that arises out of the questions. Is it possible for the *chaprasi* to support himself and his family on Rs. 15/- p. m. without taking bribes? Should he not be



given enough to keep him above temptation? The remedy for this is that as far as possible we should be our own *chaprasi*. But even so if we need them we must pay them enough for their requirements. In this way the big gulf that exists between minister and *chaprasi* will be bridged.

It is another matter as to why the pay of the ministers has been raised from Rs. 500/- to 1500/- p. m. But this is nothing as compared with, and does not solve, the main problem. With the solution of the latter it will *ipso facto* be solved.

New Delhi, 14-4-'46  
(From *Harijansevak*)

### THE SACRED WEEK

The following is the text of Gandhiji's Hindustani speech at the prayer gathering on the evening of the 6th of April:

"Twentyseven years ago when the late Swami Shraddhanandji was alive, Satyagraha against the Rowlatt Act was inaugurated on this day. History was made during the following week. For the first time the entire masses of India from one end to the other rose like one man. It was an entirely spontaneous demonstration.

"That was the time when Hindus and Muslims for the time forgot all their differences. The Ali Brothers and I used to go all over the country together like blood-brothers. We spoke with one voice and delivered the message of Hindu-Muslim unity and Swaraj to the masses. We resolved that thereafter we should address our prayers to God alone instead of the British Government and so Satyagraha was born in India. The Ali Brothers readily fell in with the programme of a national day of fasting and prayer. People fasted on the 6th and 13th of April. They realized that they were all children of the one God, destined to live together and die together in the land of their birth, which was India. They assembled together in their thousands and offered prayers in temples, churches and mosques. The climax was reached when in Delhi a monster gathering consisting of both Hindus and Musalmans was held in the Juma mosque and was addressed by the late Swami Shraddhanand. It was a glorious day in India's history, the memory of which we shall always treasure."

Now they had fallen upon evil times, proceeded Gandhiji. The hearts of Hindus and Musalmans were sundered. The air was poisoned with communal bitterness and rancour. A section of the Musalmans had begun to claim that they are a separate nation. Into the logic of that claim he would not go at present, he said. He confessed that it baffled his understanding.

The speaker added: "We commenced our proceedings today with prayer. If we believe in prayer we cannot fly at one another's throat, or regard anybody as our enemy. At Amritsar people lost their heads. But we promptly confessed our mistake and made expiation for it by fasting and praying to God for forgiveness. To err is human. By confessing we convert our mistakes into stepping stones for advance. On the contrary, a person who tries to hide his mistakes becomes a living fraud and sinks down. Man is neither brute nor God but

a creature of God striving to realize his divinity. Repentance and self-purification are the means. The moment we repent and ask God for forgiveness for our lapse we are purged of our sin and new life begins for us. True repentance is an essential prerequisite of prayer.

"Prayer is not mere lip service. It must express itself through action. How shall we then pray during the Sacred Week? We can pray by purging our hearts of any taint of communal hatred and ill will that might be lurking there and invoking God's aid for the same. Achievement of communal harmony would thus be one form of prayer. Then we can pray by doing sacrificial spinning for the attainment of non-violent Swaraj. I have a vivid recollection of how in 1919 every home in the Punjab hummed with the music of the spinning wheel. A mountain of yarn was presented to me on one occasion during my tour, which was never equalled before, nor has it been since except recently at Madura during my Madras tour. What are the sisters of Punjab doing today? That is the question which you must ask yourselves during this week of introspection. If the four hundred millions of India took to spinning in earnest, and span for sacrifice, i. e. not for self, with the name of God in their hearts and with the common purpose of winning India's freedom through non-violence, their united effort would not only bring us freedom assuredly, but also provide us the means for safeguarding it after it is won and enable us to point the way out of darkness to the whole world.

"The other day I was talking to the I. N. A. men in the Red Fort. We were discussing as to what they should do on their release. They assured me that they would on their release serve India as true soldiers of non-violence under the Congress flag. I told them that today a true soldier of India is he who spins to clothe the naked and tills the soil to grow more food to meet the threatening food crisis. The Congress has declared that she would carry on the struggle for India's independence through the method of non-violence. But she has not yet decided whether she would adhere to that method for the protection of that freedom against possible foreign aggression. To me it is a self-evident truth that if freedom is to be shared equally by all—even physically the weakest, the lame and the halt—they must be able to contribute an equal share in its defence. How that can be possible when reliance is placed on armaments my plebeian mind fails to understand. I therefore swear and shall continue to swear by non-violence, i. e. by Satyagraha or soul force. In it physical incapacity is no handicap and even a frail woman or a child can pit herself or himself on equal terms against a giant, armed with the most powerful weapons.

"The eighteen-fold constructive programme with the spinning wheel as its centre is the concrete expression of that spirit in organized society. Let us realize that spirit by devoting ourselves prayerfully to the carrying out of the constructive programme during the National Week."

New Delhi, 15-4-'46

PYARELAL



## WEEKLY LETTER

## THE WAY TO DO IT

The visit to I. N. A. prisoners in Kabul Lines about which I wrote last week was followed by a similar visit by Gandhiji to some thirtyfive I. N. A. prisoners who are detained in the Red Fort. What particularly delighted him during both these visits was to see so many officers and men representing so many different religions and races of India drawn together in a common cause—the cause of India's freedom—and living together like members of one family. It was like a whiff of fresh invigorating air from the free India that is to be. The absence of the third-party had enabled them to obliterate all communal distinctions and develop a perfect spirit of camaraderie in exile, but in detention those distinctions were again being brought home to them.

"We never felt any distinction of creed or religion in the I. N. A.," remarked one of them. "But here we are faced with 'Hindu tea' and 'Musalman tea'. What are we to do?"

"Why do you suffer it?" asked Gandhiji, half seriously, half in banter.

"No, we do not," they replied. "We mix 'Hindu tea' and 'Musalman tea' exactly half and half, and then serve. The same with food."

"That is very good," replied Gandhiji laughing, pleased with their ingenuity.

Summing up his reactions of his second visit, Gandhiji in the course of his remarks at the evening prayer narrated how Col. Niranjan Singh, speaking for the I. N. A. prisoners in the Red Fort, had told him that they were finally convinced that India could not win or retain her independence except through non-violence. They had further assured him that after their release they would serve India as true soldiers of non-violence. "We shall disdain to depend on anybody's charity for our support," they had told him. "We would rather dig the ground and till the land than compromise our self-respect by living on subscriptions."

"I told them," said Gandhiji, "that they would be sadly disillusioned if they thought that a free India would be able to provide them all those emoluments, honours and perquisites which a foreign government gave to the army men by the exploitation of the masses, while education, public health and the allied nation-building activities were starved. India was a poor country, her children were born in poverty and grew up in poverty into anaemic, stunted specimens of humanity. If they wanted to become true soldiers of India they must be prepared to share her destitution and try to ameliorate it to the best of their capacity, not expect to be pampered at the cost of the poor. A true soldier would prefer death to charity."

"In reply," continued Gandhiji, "they assured me that Netaji had inculcated upon them the twin lessons of poverty and equality. 'Among us, officer and men live together and dine together without any distinction. There is no high, no low.'"

## A MESSAGE FOR THE I. N. A.

Sardar Ramsing Rawal whose note on "Communal unity and non-untouchability in the I. N. A." has appeared in "Harijan" already saw Gandhiji the other day and asked him what his message for the I. N. A. was. Gandhiji's reply covered not only the I. N. A. but all Indian army men. Although the I. N. A. men had declared open rebellion under Netaji's lead the spirit of rebellion was not confined to them. It had permeated even the Indian Army ranks. Some of the latter had seen him at Poona and sought his advice. Gandhiji had told them that it was open to them to give notice to the authorities that though they were in their pay, their loyalty was mortgaged to India, not to the King of England. Hitherto they had yielded obedience to military orders and been prepared even to shoot down their countrymen to order. But now that the spirit of independence had taken possession of them they would do so no more under a foreign Government's orders.

For the I. N. A. men there were two alternatives. They could serve free India as soldiers-in-arms or they could convert themselves into soldiers of non-violence if they were convinced that non-violence was the higher and the more efficacious way. They should make use of their training and discipline to introduce non-violent organization among the masses, learn spinning and become veteran constructive workers. If they did that, they would set a glorious example to the whole world.

"The I. N. A. men," observed Gandhiji, "have shown great strength, heroism and resourcefulness. But I must confess that their achievements have not dazzled my eyes. To die without killing requires more heroism. There is nothing very wonderful in killing and being killed in the process. But the man who offers his neck to the enemy for execution but refuses to bend to his will shows courage of a far higher type."

"Troublous times lie ahead of us. Our non-violence has brought us to the gate of independence. Shall we renounce it after we have entered that gate? I for one am firmly convinced that non-violence of the brave, such as I have envisaged, provides the surest and most efficacious means to face foreign aggression and internal disorder just as it has done for winning independence." The British were going to quit. What place would India have in the comity of nations? Would she be satisfied with being a fifth-rate power like China? China was independent only in name. India would have long to wait before she could become a first-class military power. "And for that she would have to go under the tutelage of some Western power. A truly non-violent India will have nothing to fear from any foreign power nor will it look to British navy and air force for her defence. I know that we have not as yet the non-violence of the brave."

New Delhi, 16-4-'46

PYARELAL



## HARIJAN

April 21

1946

## SWEEPERS' STRIKE

(By M. K. Gandhi)

There are certain matters in which strikes would be wrong. Sweepers' grievances come in this category. I do not want to go into others here. My opinion against sweepers' strikes dates back to about 1897 when I was in Durban. A general strike was mooted there and the question arose as to whether scavengers should join in it. My vote was registered against the proposal. Just as man cannot live without air so too he cannot exist for long if his home and surroundings are not clean. One or other epidemic is bound to break out especially when modern drainage is put out of action.

Therefore I was perturbed when I read about the sweepers' strike in Bombay. Fortunately it has come to an end. I understand, however, that the sweepers, both men and women, refused to submit their case to arbitration.

In spite of my close attachment to sweepers, better because of it, I must denounce the coercive methods they are said to have employed. They will thereby be losers in the long run. City folk will not always be cowed down. If they were, it would mean the collapse of municipal administration. Coercion cannot but result in the end in chaos. An impartial tribunal for settling disputes should always be accepted. Refusal is a sign of weakness. A *bhangi* may not give up his work even for a day. And there are many other ways open to him of securing justice.

Townpeople should, on the other hand, forget that there is such a thing as untouchability and learn the art of cleaning their own and the city's drains, so that if a similar occasion arises they are not non-plussed and can render the necessary temporary service. They may not be coerced. I go so far as to say that the military who know this work should be used for such emergency. If Swaraj is round the bend, we can now look upon the military as ours and need have no hesitation in taking all the constructive work we can from them. Up till now they have only been employed in indiscriminate firing on us. Today they must plough the land, dig wells, clean latrines and do every other constructive work that they can, and thus turn the people's hatred of them into love.

Now that the *hartal* is at an end, it is the duty of everyone to stretch out the hand of fellowship to the *bhangis*, educate them, see that they are properly housed, permit them, like anyone else, to live wherever they choose, look in the matter of an equitable wage for them and see that justice is meted out to them without their having to demand it. If this is done throughout India we shall definitely prove ourselves worthy of Swaraj and be able also to maintain it.

New Delhi, 15-4-'46

(From *Harijanbandhu*)

## WHAT ABOUT WOMEN?

(By M. K. Gandhi)

"I am glad to read your reply to the complaint that enough women have not been put up for elections or selected for official posts. You reply that merit should be the only criterion in the choice of candidates. Your dictum is perfectly correct and every thinking man and woman will agree with it. There is a saying that "neither age nor sex but merit alone should be the object of adoration." The reality, however, is far from the truth. You are not unaware that the maxim is everywhere observed in the breach. Neither in the ministries and legislatures, nor in local bodies is merit given first consideration in the matter of selection of candidates. Considerations of caste, community and province come into the picture and are the determining factors. The argument proffered in favour of such action is that none of these interests can be ignored. If the argument holds, what about the interests of women? In view of the maxim does not the basis of selection need clarification?"

The above is from the letter of an esteemed sister. The sister's argument boils down to this, that where everything is on a wrong basis another wrong will not matter. But if we go on thus, the evil will grow and we shall be hopelessly caught in a vicious circle. My appeal to women, therefore, is that they should intelligently become the personification of renunciation and thereby not only adorn but also raise the status of their sex and the nation.

So long as considerations of caste and community continue to weigh with us and rule our choice, women will be well advised to remain aloof and thereby build up their prestige. The question is as to how best this can be done. Today few women take part in politics and most of these do not do independent thinking. They are content to carry out their parents' or their husbands' behests. Realizing their dependence they cry out for women's rights. Instead of doing this, however, women workers should enroll women as voters, impart or have imparted to them practical education, teach them to think independently, release them from the chains of caste that bind them so as to bring about a change in them which will compel men to realize woman's strength and capacity for sacrifice and give her places of honour. If they will do this they will purify the present unclean atmosphere. So much for women.

As to men, they should consider it their duty to come out of the impure atmosphere wherever it exists. They will not be guided by considerations of caste and community if these are banished from their own minds. The best and easiest way to achieve this is for both men and women to stoop to conquer by becoming Harijans and that too of the last class, i. e. *bhangis* or *mehtars*.

Where capable women have been left out men should make amends. It is their duty to give such encouragement to women as will enable them to outshine men. If both parties act as suggested the atmosphere will soon become pure. Whether men do so or not, women's duty is, to my mind, clear.

New Delhi, 12-4-'46

(From *Harijanbandhu*)



## A MINISTER'S WOE

(By M. K. Gandhi)

Dr. Katju sends the following note :

"Owing to the comparative failure of winter crops in many parts of India, there is a widespread apprehension about serious food shortage in the country. In order to afford equal opportunity to the rich and the poor alike regarding food supplies, rationing has been introduced in many urban areas in the United Provinces. Rationing entails responsibility on the Government to feed the inhabitants in such areas. The apprehended scarcity is so severe that the U. P. rations have been cut down to the barest minimum viz., six *chhataks* of cereals. This includes 2 *chs.* of wheat, 2 *chs.* rice and 2 *chs.* of mixed *atta*. Mixed *atta* is not generally liked by the people and any further reduction in rations is almost impossible. To feed the urban areas, continuous supplies from the villages is an evident necessity. The Government of India has suggested to Provincial Governments that in order to ensure continuous supplies, it would be desirable to enforce compulsory levies on agricultural produce in surplus districts, i. e. in districts where it is expected that the produce exceeds the requirements of the rural area concerned. This question of a compulsory levy is greatly agitating the public mind. It is said that the control price fixed by the Government is too low and should be raised. The answer to that is, that the price structure is an all-India affair and it is not possible to raise the price in any particular province without affecting the structure as a whole. Furthermore, the control price in the United Provinces has been fixed at Rs. 10-4 per maund of 40 *seers* which is not really a low price. It is sufficiently remunerative and makes due allowance for the rise in costs of cultivation and general living. Formerly in pre-War days wheat used to sell at about 13 *seers* a rupee; the control price is 4 *seers*. Supplies being apprehended to be much less than the demand, there is bound to be a black market where selfish people can buy foodstuffs at higher prices to satisfy their individual needs. No compulsion would be necessary if cultivators realize that it is their social and patriotic duty to do their utmost to feed their brothers and sisters in urban areas, and also landless people living in the rural areas. The cultivator is in every sense of the word the *Anna-dala* and I ask you to appeal to him at this critical juncture not to hoard, not to sell in the black market but to supply in the greatest measure possible to the Government stores, so that food may be distributed equitably and equally to all people, rich and poor alike and hunger and destitution may be avoided. Your voice goes far and wide and I therefore appeal to you to take up this work. Very many schemes have been considered for the purpose of ensuring adequate supplies in our urban areas, but whatever the proposals may be, the net result is that in every case the cultivator is asked to part with his grain. Unless the consumers in rural and urban areas are fed, there are bound to be dis-

turbances of every kind. We are doing our very best to encourage the 'Grow More Food' and 'Grow More Vegetables' campaigns in the United Provinces. The various suggestions made by you have all been adopted. Instructions have been issued to plough all Government lands in Government buildings etc. Private owners have also been offered expert advice and are being given facilities by the supply of free seeds and free water from irrigation channels. Assistance in the digging of wells has also been given. After all is said and done, without public co-operation little progress can be made and co-operation must take the form of the *Anna-dala* giving the gift of food grains to the utmost of his capacity."

This note from Dr. Katju is worthy of close attention by the Kisan and his guides as also urban people. The impending calamity can be turned to good use. Then it will be a blessing in disguise. Otherwise, curse it is and curse it will remain.

Dr. Katju writes as a responsible minister. Therefore, people can either make or mar him. They can remove him and replace him by a better. But so long as ministers of the people's choice are in office as their servants, the people have to carry out their instructions. Every breach of law or instructions is not *satyagraha*. It can easily be *duragraha* rather than *satyagraha*.

New Delhi, 14-4-'46

## INDIAN PRESSMEN v. EUROPEAN

(By M. K. Gandhi)

An Indian journalist complains that our great men have a weakness for foreign journalists to the extent of excluding Indians at their press conferences, and wonders whether I am myself free from this weakness. For myself, I can say without fear of contradiction that I have never been guilty of such partiality. Having suffered a good deal for the crime of being an Asiatic, I am not likely to be guilty of such weakness. And I must say that I know of no such example as my friend adverts to, if only because public men can ill afford to face a boycott by Indian Pressmen. What has happened with me and, so far as I am aware, with others too is that they and I have found it necessary at times to give special interviews to foreign journalists when it has been found necessary in the interest of the common cause to get messages across the seas. It is impossible in the present circumstances to do otherwise. It would be as foolish to invite a boycott by foreign journalists as by Indian. Any industrious person will find out that Indian journalists have been more often than not preferred by Indian public men again for the sake of the common cause. As a fellow journalist I would urge journalists, whether Indian or foreign to prefer their particular causes to their own or their employers' pockets or to descending to recriminations or personalities.

New Delhi,

14-4-'46



## SHELLEY'S PROPHETIC VISION

When Shelley was living in Italy, he received with indignation the news of the Manchester Massacre in which unarmed English weavers stood at bay against the yeomanry and suffered in consequence. 'The great truth that the many, if accordant and resolute, could control the few, . . . made him long to teach his injured countrymen how to resist', as Mrs. Shelley tells us. Shelley therefore wrote the *Mask of Anarchy* in which he unfolded his scheme of non-violent rebellion.

Shelley pictured first the slavery of the common man in England in those days. He had to work hard, but received such low wages that he could barely keep himself alive for the benefit of the 'tyrants'. He had to work at 'loom and plough and sword and spade', but the fruits of his labour were not for him to enjoy and he defended his masters but not himself. His ill-fed and ill-clothed wife and children

' . . . are dying whilst I speak,  
When the winter winds are bleak.'

He cast longing eyes on the food that the rich man in his riot cast to his fat dogs. He was paid in paper currency, 'the ghost of gold' for which he had to toil infinitely harder than people groaning under the tyrannies of old toiled for its substance. 'Paper coin' is characterized by Shelley as

'that forgery  
Of the title-deeds, which ye  
Hold to something of the worth  
Of the inheritance of Earth.'

English people had become slaves in soul, had no wills of their own and were

'All that others make of ye.'

And when at last the worm turned, and they ventured to complain

'with a murmur weak and vain',  
'the tyrants' crew rode over their wives and them, and blood was on the grass like dew.' Even savage men or 'wild beasts within a den' would not put up with that sort of oppression, to which however they were utter strangers.

After this Shelley gave English people an idea of the promised land of Freedom to which he would lead them, but where was the path to that New Jerusalem? In answer to this question Shelley revealed his splendid vision of mass Satyagraha.

'The blue sky overhead,  
The green earth on which ye tread',  
all that was eternal must witness the solemnity. From every nook and corner of England, from every hut, village or town,

'Where those who live and suffer moan  
For others' misery or their own,'  
let there be a vast assembly of men, and let them declare with 'measured words' that they  
'Were, as God had made them, free.'

The tyrants would then pour around them  
'Troops of armed emblazonry'.  
But the assembly must stand calm and resolute,  
'Like a forest close and mute,

With folded arms and looks which are  
Weapons of unvanquished war.'

Panic must pass,  
'a disregarded shade,  
Through their phalanx undismayed.'

And if then the tyrants dare  
'Let them ride among you there,  
Slash and stab and maim and hew,—  
What they like, that let them do.  
With folded arms and steady eyes,  
And little fear and less surprise,  
Look upon them as they slay  
Till their rage has died away.'

Then they will return with shame to the place  
from which they came,

'And the blood thus shed will speak  
In hot blushes on their cheek.'

Every woman in the land will point the finger of  
scorn at them as they stand. 'They will hardly  
dare to greet their acquaintance in the street'.

'And the bold, true, warriors  
Who have hugged Danger in wars  
Will turn to those who would be free  
Ashamed of such base company.'

That slaughter shall steam up like inspiration to  
the Nation, eloquent, oracular: a volcano heard  
afar. And the doom of oppression will be proclaimed  
by the following words which will ring through  
each heart and brain,

Heard again—again—again:  
'Rise, like lions after slumber,  
In unvanquishable number,  
Shake your chains to earth like dew  
Which in sleep had fallen on you.  
Ye are many—they are few.'

Poona, 23-2-'46

V. G. D.

## Notes

### The National Week

The National Week is intended to be observed as a week of introspection and prayer, the latter including service through constructive work. The 6th and 13th of April, marking its opening and close were observed in Gandhiji's camp by fasting and common spinning. In the latter 183 spinners including several members of the Working Committee took part on the last day. Gandhiji delivered the message of the National Week in two discourses at the evening prayer gathering on the 6th and 13th of April respectively. The text of these discourses will be found reproduced elsewhere in this issue.

New Delhi, 16-4-'46

P.

### A Request

Change of address to be effective for the week should please be intimated to us by *Tuesday*. The subscriber number should be quoted with the intimation.

Please note that change of address cannot be effected *within one month*.

Subscribers are not enrolled for a period of less than six months.

J. DESAI



## KHADI IN TAMILNAD, 1944-45

We have received a copy of the Annual Report for 1944-45 of the Tamilnad Branch of the All India Spinners' Association, Tirupur. It is in the fitness of things that it has been printed on hand-made paper manufactured by the Branch itself.

During the year under report Tamilnad produced Khadi worth Rs. 32 lakhs and sold Khadi of the value of Rs. 36 lakhs out of which the province itself consumed Khadi worth Rs. 32 lakhs. It ministered to about 75,000 spinners, about 2,500 weavers and about 500 other artisans in about 3,500 villages among whom it distributed Rs. 21 lakhs as wages, while the total salaries paid to the staff (440 people) amounted to only Rs. 1½ lakhs. In fact when we purchase a rupee worth of Tamilnad Khadi, we spend 2 annas for the cotton, 12 annas as a charge for carding and other processes up to weaving and 2 annas for all overhead charges including freight, packing and establishment. We suggest that when the report for next year is published, it should also supply the corresponding figures for mill cloth. Seventy-five per cent of the Khadi produced by the Branch was made in Coimbatore district alone.

In 1923 Tamilnad produced Khadi worth less than Rs. 5 lakhs, compared with the present figure of Rs. 32 lakhs. Allowing for wartime inflation, it will be safe to say that the province has trebled its output in 22 years. [Khadi production year by year should be shown in square yards as well as in rupees]. In fact Tamilnad at present is the biggest producer of Khadi (30 lakhs of square yards) among all the provinces, the second biggest being Bihar which however produces less than half the Khadi manufactured by Tamilnad, i. e. about 12½ lakhs of square yards. Maharashtra and the United Provinces are the rest of the Big Four.

What a pity that after a quarter of a century of Khadi production under wise and able guidance the Tamilnad Branch has not still succeeded in overcoming what it calls the 'persistent tendency of the weavers to prefer mill yarn when available to hand-spun yarn and to take to the latter when mill yarn is not available'. According to the report this tendency mainly accounts for the rise and fall in production and is a limiting factor in the progress of the Khadi movement.

A chain can never be stronger than its weakest link. If we take care of every single link, the chain will take care of itself. It is high time the workers of the A. I. S. A. took to the method of doubling and twisting yarn even in the process of unwinding the cone on the spindle. This can compete fully with any mill-spun yarn.

As regards sales, we note that out of over Rs. 33 lakhs worth of Khadi sold in 1944, rural areas accounted for less than Rs. 4 lakhs. According to the 'new dispensation', we have to aim at disposing of our entire output in villages, the spinners and weavers themselves being Khadi-clad.

We commend one new feature of Khadi production in Tamilnad to workers in charge of other provinces, viz. that out of 6 lakhs lbs. of cotton consumed in a year, only a third was supplied by the A. I. S. A., the remaining two thirds being the spinners' own. This

enabled the Branch to effect a considerable saving in capital required for stocking cotton.

The Khadi woven for self-sufficient spinners was less than 10,000 square yards in 18 months. Self-spinners' yarn was worse than the yarn spun for wages, so that weavers would not weave it at scheduled rates.

The Branch conducted cheap grain stores and classes in spinning on the Magan Charkha. We would have welcomed more details about the working of these classes.

Gandhiji's *Sayings on the welfare of women* compiled by Shri Shankarlal Banker was distributed to the artisans free of charge.

The Branch collected 75,000 hanks of yarn worth over Rs. 11,000 for the Kasturba Fund.

Exhibitions were organized in connection with fairs and were visited by two lakhs of people. These were so designed as to stress and demonstrate the crafts rather than merely dispose of Khadi stocks.

The Shankarlal Charkha Works at Tirupur produced implements and accessories of the value of about Rs. 1,25,000 in 18 months.

Jamnalal Vidyalaya undertook an experiment in sericulture and produced 18 lbs. of Endi silk cocoons which were also spun and woven at the same institution.

Let us close this notice of the report with a paragraph in it which explains the re-orientation of Khadi in a few words:

"Spinning is not for wages but in order to meet our own clothing requirements. Khadi is not a commodity for sale but for consumption by the spinner himself. Every spinner should wear Khadi and every Khadi wearer should spin. The spinning wheel is a symbol of *ahimsa*, and it aims at creating a non-violent society free from all forms of exploitation."

V. G. D.

## SIGNS OF THE TIME

Addressing the evening prayer gathering on the Jallianwala Bagh day Gandhiji said:

"Today is the last day of the National Week which I have also called the Sacred Week. It was on this day that the tragedy of the Jallianwala Bagh was enacted. The 6th of April saw the birth of Satyagraha in India. The awakening among the masses resulting from it was so phenomenal that the Government could suppress it only by having recourse to the method of frightfulness. It culminated in the Jallianwala Bagh massacre when Gen. Dyer with a party of fifty sepoy opened fire on an unarmed and peaceful gathering, resulting in the death of at least 500 people and the wounding of thrice that number. There was only one exit and it was held by the firing party so that the innocent men and women who were trapped there had no alternative but to be shot down like rabbits in a hole. It is true some excesses were committed by the mob before the massacre. But they were nothing as compared to the savage reprisals taken by the Government. That is the way of all imperialisms. In no other way could a handful of foreigners maintain their rule over a nation of 400 millions."

"Why have I recalled these incidents? Not to stir up bitter, old memories or to keep alive the



embers of hatred, but only to emphasize the distinction between the old order which they symbolized and the new that is in sight. I have not the slightest doubt as to the *bona fides* of the Cabinet Mission. I am convinced that they have finally made up their mind to withdraw *in toto*. The question which is exercising their minds is how to effect the withdrawal in an orderly manner and to that end their energies are bent. Gentlemanness requires that if a person is sincerely trying to make amends he should be thanked and congratulated for it, not that his past should be flung in his face.

"You know Shri Jaiprakash Narain and Dr. Lohia. Both of them are daring men of action and scholars. They could easily have become rich. But they chose the way of renunciation and service. To break the chains of their country's slavery was their one passion. Naturally the alien Government regarded them as dangerous to its existence and put them into prison. We, however, have different scales to weigh merit and we regard them as patriots who have sacrificed their all for the love of the country which has given them birth. That they would be found wanting in the scales of non-violence is irrelevant today. What is relevant is that independence of India is today common ground between the British and ourselves. Their freedom, therefore, is no longer considered dangerous by the Government. Viewed in that light, their release as also the release of the I. N. A. men yesterday must be regarded as an earnest of the honesty of the Cabinet Mission and the Viceroy. We must be thankful to them for this earnest, and prayer of thankfulness should ascend to heaven for the wisdom with which God seems to be endowing them.

"The Satyagraha Week which is closing today is devoted always to communal unity and Khaddar. Communal unity is not confined to Hindus and Muslims only, it extends to all including Englishmen. It must not become a menace to anybody or group. That is the message of non-violence.

"The National Week is a week of self-introspection and prayer. Prayer is not for the impure in heart."

New Delhi, 15-4-'46

PYARELAL

### "ROMAN URDU"

(By M. K. Gandhi)

If there is Roman Urdu, why not Roman Hindi? The next step will be to romanize the alphabets of all the languages of India. They have done this for Zulu which had no alphabet of its own. The attempt in India would be on a par with the attempt to foist Esperanto on the world. It cannot succeed in the near future. Believers in the Roman script in the place of all the known Indian scripts will have a circle of adherents but the movement cannot permeate the masses. It should not. Crores of people need not become so lazy as not to learn their own respective scripts. A laudable attempt is being made

not to replace the alphabets in vogue in India but to teach Nagari in addition in the hope that in course of time millions may learn to read the Indian languages in the Nagari character. And since Urdu characters cannot for well known reasons be replaced by Nagari, it should be learnt by all the patriots who love their country too well to find the learning of the Urdu alphabet a burden. All these attempts seem to me to be worthy.

With all my readiness to grasp new ideas, I have failed to find a substantial reason for inducing the spread of the Roman alphabet for the purpose of replacing the Nagari or Urdu scripts. It is true that in the Indian Army the Roman alphabet has been largely used. I should hope that the Indian soldier, if he is saturated with the national spirit, will not mind learning both Nagari and Urdu characters. After all, amid the ocean of Indian humanity, the Indian soldier is a mere drop. He must shed the English mode. Probably the reason for romanizing Urdu will be found in the English officer being too lazy to learn to read Urdu or Nagari characters.

New Delhi, 15-4-'46

### HE LIVES

(By M. K. Gandhi)

Death has removed not only from us but from the world one of India's best sons. That he loved India passionately, every one who knew him could see. When I saw him last in Madras, he could talk of nothing but India and her culture for which he lived and died. I am sure that he had no thought of himself even when he seemed to be on his deathbed. His Sanskrit learning was as great if not greater than his English. I must not permit myself to say more, save this that though we differed in politics our hearts were one and I could never think that his patriotism was less than that of the tallest patriot. Sastri the man lives though his body is reduced to ashes.

New Delhi, 18-4-'46

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# HARIJAN

12 Pages

Editor: PYARELAL

VOL. X, No. 12]

AHMEDABAD — SUNDAY, APRIL 28, 1946

[THREE ANNAS

## THE LESSON OF THE CROSS

Good Friday is, perhaps, the greatest day in the Christian year, inasmuch as it is the day that reminds the followers of Jesus of the supreme sacrifice by means of which he showed the way of life to man. As one reads or dwells afresh on the story of the Cross, the pathos and beauty of it never fail to stir one to the depths. Could man's cruelty to man have gone further, and could man's forbearance with man have been more manly? 2000 years have rolled away but Jesus lives, and the noble example is there to inspire man for all time. For me he is more man than God.

It was fear of the truth which was in Jesus, that made his enemies slay him. It is fear in the hearts of men at all times, that breeds hatred and suspicion, the root cause of strife. The fear that stalks our land to-day cannot but distress everyone. During the recent meeting of the Kasturba Trust Agents in Uruli, one worker asked that while he (Gandhiji) did not advocate their taking any part in politics what would he (Gandhiji) advise them to do in case of violent outbreaks? The reply was quick and clear. "There is no question of any of you keeping aloof from the fiery furnace, should such ever come your way. I shall not shed a tear, I shall rejoice to hear if any or all of you are found to have laid down your lives in trying to quell the disturbance. To be killed but never to kill is the law that governs us, and women should surely excel in this field."

In talking to a friend the other day who was suggesting an expedient to solve the political tangle, contrary to his inner conviction of the wrong of it, Gandhiji told him that it was unworthy for a man of faith ever to believe that anything but evil could be born out of a poisonous germ. The friend replied, "The Cross was poisonous, full of hatred and ill will and yet redemption came out of it." "No," was Gandhiji's reply. "That is not my interpretation of the Cross. There was no poison there, no hatred, no fear. It was the way of self-suffering and therefore of love and hence the story of redemption."

The story of Calvary brings home to one the need for supreme faith in the hour of trial, which sees beyond the veil and gives one the courage to stand by truth at all cost.

New Delhi,

Good Friday, 1946

A. K.

## WEEKLY LETTER

### THE LURID BACKGROUND

The labours of the Cabinet Mission are proceeding against a lurid background. The Imperial City has for the last few days become a seething cauldron of wild rumours, with swirling eddies and counter currents. The air is thick with alarms and threats of rioting. Some dealers in daggers and knives and other lethal weapons are even said to be exploiting the panic which they assiduously foster for their own selfish purposes like their ante-type—the merchants of death in Europe and America. Deprecating this tendency in the course of his remarks one evening, Gandhiji said:

"The newspaper man has become a walking plague. In the East as in the West newspapers are fast becoming the people's Bible, Koran, Zend Avesta and the Bhagwad Gita, rolled into one. All that appears in the papers is looked upon as God's truth. For instance, a paper predicts that riots are coming, that all the sticks and knives in Delhi have been sold out and the news throws everybody into a panic. That is bad. Another newspaper reports the occurrence of riots here and there and blames the police with taking sides with the Hindus in one place and Muslims in another. Again, the man in the street is upset. I want you all to shed this craven fear. It is not becoming of men and women, who believe in God and take part in the prayers, to be afraid of anyone.

"What if riots do actually take place and some people get killed? Everyone must die one day. I will expect you to go in the midst of the fracas and tell the rowdies to be sensible. A friend remarked in the course of the conversation the other day that whilst it is poor rowdies that kill and get killed in the riots, the real responsibility lies not with them but with educated people, some of them occupying respectable places in society. It is they who incite others to violence from behind the scenes. It is for these educated and cultured people to stop the riots by laying down their lives in the process if necessary. Even a little girl can go up to the hooligans and tell them to desist. Most probably they will. But supposing they do not and kill her, it will be well with her all the same. She will live through her pure sacrifice. It is always well with those who believe in God and try to do His will to the best of their ability.

"Independence is coming," he concluded. "But our lungs appear to have lost the capacity to breathe the air of freedom. But when freedom actually comes, you will find that the loss of capacity



was only apparent. May be, the first impact of freedom will give you a rude shock, and before you regain your equilibrium some undesirable things might take place. All that you need to do is to keep yourselves on the alert and undaunted and it will be well with you in the end."

#### ON THE EVE

An English novelist in one of his immortal stories has left us a picture of a doctor who, when suddenly brought into broad daylight after his long confinement in a dark dungeon, blinks uncomfortably and wants to go back into the unlighted gloom of the dungeon. Similarly, the question arises, how will India react to independence after nearly two centuries of subjection? Would she have the courage to face up to the realities, or would she be frightened by them and want to go back to the so-called ease and security of her servitude? For, it is getting more and more clear that independence, when it comes, is not going to be all beer and skittles. Are we ready to pay the price of freedom and make the necessary sacrifices or do we want to cling to the privileges and perquisites to which a foreign government might have accustomed a few of us as a part of its policy of divide and rule? These must be willingly sacrificed before we are fit to enter the temple of freedom. The fact that everybody is just now going through a fierce process of self-examination and introspection is a healthy sign. It is an indication of the general realization that the hour of independence is close at hand.

"Where shall we stand when India is independent?" asked a friend representing the landholders' interests, the other day during his visit to Gandhiji.

"You will be as free as any scavenger," replied Gandhiji, "but whether you will be able to retain all the privileges which you are enjoying under the British Government is a question you can answer for yourself."

"We realize," proceeded the friend, "that we shall secure our salvation at the hands of Indian leaders, not the British Government."

"Everybody believes that today," said Gandhiji. "Even the British Government feel that they cannot do otherwise than to leave India to settle her own affairs."

"The landholders," resumed the friend, "derived their charter of rights and privileges from the Permanent Settlement of 1802, which was of the nature of a contract between the British and the Zamindars, but they are quite willing to negotiate an agreement with the leaders of the country on the future of their rights."

"Being a non-violent man by nature," replied Gandhiji, "I cannot countenance the usurpation of anybody's just rights. But some of the extraordinary privileges that pass muster under the British rule are themselves in the nature of an usurpation. The history of British rule is a history of usurpation. Those who helped the British Government in this process got certain rights as a reward for their services. These cannot be insisted upon."

"Many ancient Zamindaris existed long before the advent of the British and were exercising

sovereign power," rejoined the friend, "as a product of indigenous social and economic system of long standing. Don't you think they have a title to continue their existence? They are trying their best to discharge a philanthropic function in the shape of founding educational and social institutions."

"Anything that is ancient and consistent with moral values has a title to be retained," answered Gandhiji. "*Per contra* anything that does not conform to moral values has to go. Wrong has no prescriptive right to exist merely because it is of a long standing. If those who are on your Zamindaris feel one with you and you with them, like members of a family, you have nothing to fear from anybody."

The friend proceeded, "We want even-handed justice. We have no objection to an Independent India Government abolishing all manner of vested interests. But let there be no discrimination against the Zamindars especially. We only want a conciliatory gesture, an assurance that you won't wipe us out as a class, without giving us a sporting chance to vindicate our existence."

"A just man," replied Gandhiji "need have no fear of any kind from an Independent India. India may, however, fall into unjust hands. Every Congressman is not an angel nor is everyone who is not a Congressman a devil. Let us hope that, if Congress comes into power, it will try to be more than just. Otherwise all the good that it might have done would disappear in the twinkling of an eye."

"I do not deny that there are bad boys amongst us. But you can cure us. We only wish that nothing should be done without consulting us."

"That goes without saying," replied Gandhiji, pointing in a mute petition of mercy, as it were, to the heap of undisposed papers in front of him.

#### ITS OWN SEAL AND SANCTION

Another group of friends presented Gandhiji with a poser, 'Could he guarantee that under independence the right of proselytization would be guaranteed by a statute?' This provoked the counter question, 'Did they really believe in the ideal of independence or was their support to the independence ideal only for a consideration?' In the latter case, he would say, remarked Gandhiji, that they believed neither in independence nor in religion. Who could suppress the voice of truth, if it filled one's being? And of what avail was a statutory guarantee if there was not the fire within to bear witness to truth?

"It is true, no one can suppress the voice of truth," interpolated one of them. "We want a guarantee from you that no attempt would be made to suppress it."

"I cannot give you that guarantee because I have no authority," replied Gandhiji. It was the function of religion, he continued, to save the temporal power from losing its soul; religion did not depend upon it for protection. And he cited to them the illustration of Daniel, the servant of God, who used to pray behind closed doors. But when Darius the King issued a decree prohibiting



the worship of any God or man save himself under a penalty, he began to pray to God publicly, the windows of his chamber being open so that all could see him praying. He was thrown into the hungry lion's den but came out unscathed. The result was that the King rescinded his former decree which was 'unalterable' under the laws of Medes and Persians and made another decree to the effect that in every dominion of his kingdom, "men tremble and fear before the God of Daniel, for he is the living God and steadfast as ever." And "so Daniel prospered in the reign of Darius and in the reign of Cyrus." That was the only true way of proselytization and it needed no guarantee, statutory or otherwise. It was its own seal and sanction. "To take a leaf from the history of our own times, remember the words of the late Lord Salisbury who, when in office, had told a missionary deputation about China that they were a poor specimen, if for their mission they sought the protection of British guns," concluded Gandhiji.

#### A PILGRIMAGE

Gandhiji had thought of returning to his residence from the Balikashrama. But a number of students and some members of the staff from Jamia Millia came and requested him, some time, to pay a visit, to their institution too.

"Some time must mean now," replied Gandhiji. "Having come so far I cannot go back without going to you." The Jamia Millia group were overjoyed. They ran ahead of him to carry the happy tidings to their colleagues and returned with petromax lanterns to lead the way. The unexpected visit put the whole place in a flutter of excitement. Dr. Zakir Hussain was away at Bhawalpur. But Moujeeb Saheb was there with other members of the staff. Carpets were spread on the lawn and a happy family gathering was held there under the sky. Jamia Millia, founded at the commencement of the non-cooperation movement in 1920 is shortly to celebrate its silver jubilee. The seedling planted by the late Hakim Ajmal Khan Saheb, Dr. Ansari and the Ali Brothers has grown into a stately tree under the loving care of Dr. Zakir Hussain and his colleagues. It has now 200 students attending the primary classes, 100 in the secondary section and 28 in the college. Sixty teachers are besides undergoing training. The institution is running a day school and a *Maktaba* or a publishing house in Karol Bagh.

"I have proved my claim to being a member of the family by coming without previous notice," Gandhiji remarked touched by the spontaneous welcome. He then invited questions.

One student asked, "What can the students do to bring about Hindu-Muslim unity?" It was a question after Gandhiji's heart. "The way is simple," he replied. "Even if all the Hindus turn rowdies and abuse you, you may not cease to regard them as your blood-brothers and *vice versa*. Is it impossible? No, rather the contrary. And what is possible for the individual is possible for the mass.

"Today the whole atmosphere is poisoned. All kinds of wild rumours are circulated by the Press and are indiscriminately swallowed by the people. Panic results and both Hindus and Musalmans forget their humanity and behave towards one another like wild brutes. It behoves man to

act decently, irrespective of what the other party might or might not do. If one returns decency for decency, it is a bargain. Even thieves and dacoits do that. There is no merit in it. Humanity disdains to calculate profits and losses. It enjoins on one a unilateral obligation to put up decent behaviour. If all the Hindus listened to my advice, or in the alternative the Muslims listened to me, there would be peace in India which neither daggers nor *lathis* would be able to shatter. The mischief maker will soon be weary of the sorry business of stabbing, when there is no retaliation or counter provocation. An Unseen Power will arrest his uplifted arm and it will refuse to obey his wicked will. You may throw dust at the sun, it won't dim his lustre. All it needs is to hold one's soul in faith and patience. God is good and does not allow wickedness to proceed beyond a certain length.

"I had a hand in the building up of this institution. It, therefore, gives me much pleasure to be able to pour out my heart before you. I have said the same thing to the Hindus. May yours be a shining example to India and the world."

Before returning to his residence he made a pilgrimage of the tomb of the late Dr. M. A. Ansari, the living monument of Islamic liberalism at its best and Hindu-Muslim unity. To Gandhiji he was like a blood-brother. During Gandhiji's twentyone days' fast in Parnakuti at Poona in 1932, when things seemed critical, Dr. Ansari interrupted his visit to Europe and hastened to his bedside. A spacious platform thrown up into a series of terraces marks the burial place. A marble tablet at the foot bears his name and the dates of his birth and death. The unostentatious and austere simplicity only enhances its impressiveness. Independent India will always cherish the late doctor's memory as a symbol of hope, faith and unity.

New Delhi, 23-4-'46

PYARELAL

## Notes

### 'Silk Khadi'

If partial payment in yarn is necessary for buying cotton Khadi why should the same not apply to 'silk Khadi'?

There can be only one answer to this question. Silk Khadi too is Khadi and its purchase should, therefore, also be contingent on the requisite payment of yarn.

### Why Only Yarn?

Since spinning is a part of the constructive programme, why should not all constructive workers be exempt from paying for Khadi in yarn?

There is some confusion of thought in this question. The reason for part payment in yarn, instead of in money, is to give Khadi its rightful place, and in time make yarn current coin. That yarn is a part of constructive work has no bearing on the present argument. Let us leave aside for the moment the fact that the wheel is the central sun of the solar system of our constructive programme. If we believe that Swaraj hangs on the hand-spun thread, then it is clear that the value of yarn will be far greater than gold and silver currency. Constructive workers are not exempt from spinning. How can there be any such exemption from *yajna*? Spinning is the necessary *yajna* for everyone.

New Delhi, 20-4-'46

M. K. G.

(From *Harijanbandhu*)



# HARIJAN

April 28

1946

## MINISTERS' DUTY

(By M. K. Gandhi)

It is legitimate to ask what Congress ministers will do for Khaddar and other village industries now that they are in office. I should broaden the question and apply it to all the Provincial Governments of India. Poverty is common to all the provinces and so are means of alleviation in terms of the masses. Such is the experience of both the A. I. S. A. and the A. I. V. I. A.. A suggestion has been made that there should be a separate minister for the work, as, for proper organization, it will occupy all the time of one minister. I dread to make the suggestion, for we have not yet outlived the English scale of expenditure. Whether a minister is separately appointed or not, a department for the work is surely necessary. In these times of scarcity of food and clothing, this department can render the greatest help. The ministers have experts at their disposal through the A. I. S. A. and the A. I. V. I. A.. It is possible to clothe today the whole of India in Khadi on the smallest outlay and in the shortest time possible. Each Provincial Government has to tell the villagers that they must manufacture their own Khaddar for their own use. This brings in automatic local production and distribution. And there will undoubtedly be a surplus for the cities at least to a certain extent which, in its turn, will reduce the pressure on the local mills. The latter will then be able to take part in supplying the want of cloth in other parts of the world.

How can this result be brought about?

The Governments should notify the villagers that they will be expected to manufacture Khaddar for the needs of their villages within a fixed date after which no cloth will be supplied to them. The Governments in their turn will supply the villagers with cotton seed or cotton wherever required, at cost price and the tools of manufacture also at cost, to be recovered in easy instalments payable in, say, five years or more. They will supply them with instructors wherever necessary and undertake to buy surplus stock of Khaddar, provided that the villagers in question have their cloth requirements supplied from their own manufacture. This should do away with cloth shortage without fuss and with very little overhead charges.

The villages will be surveyed and a list prepared of things that can be manufactured locally with little or no help and which may be required for village use or for sale outside, such for instance, as *ghani*-pressed oil and cakes, burning oil prepared through *ghanis*, hand-pounded rice, *tadgud*, honey, toys, mats, hand-made paper, village soap, etc.. If enough care is thus taken the villages, most of them as good as dead or dying, will hum with life and

exhibit the immense possibilities they have of supplying most of their wants themselves and of the cities and towns of India.

Then there is the limitless cattle wealth of India suffering from criminal neglect. Goseva Sangh, as yet not properly experienced, can still supply valuable aid.

Without the basic training the villagers are being starved for education. This desideratum can be supplied by the Hindustani Talimi Sangh. The experiment was already commenced by Congress Governments but it was interrupted by the resignations of the Congress ministries. The thread can be easily resumed now.

New Delhi, 22-4-'46

## IS IT GENUINE?

(By M. K. Gandhi)

Q. In one of your post-prayer discourses last week you stressed the use of Khadi to the exclusion of all other cloth. I love the very touch of Khadi as it links me, in my heart and thoughts, to my poor sisters and brothers, to whom it brings a well-earned morsel of food. I love it from every point of view—on hygienic, aesthetic, humanitarian, moral and spiritual grounds. But I have so far never been able to take to spinning, much as I like the soothing hum of the wheel, and thanks to our system of education, my hands are utterly untrained and unfit to learn spinning at this stage. I am, therefore, unable to comply in a straightforward manner with the conditions now imposed on the sale of Khadi, and it is galling to me to have to go in for mill cloth.

A. If the love for Khadi is so genuine as to cover moral and spiritual values, surely the writer should be able to learn spinning easily at his age. The late Pandit Motilal Nehru learnt it, after he was fifty. The late Ali Brothers learnt it, though they did not practise it regularly. And all these three learnt it for its national and political value in the highest sense of the term. As a matter of fact most of the public workers learnt it late in life.

The writer should learn spinning without delay. There is nothing wrong with his fingers. All who can write can spin. And spinning for Swaraj is any day more valuable than writing.

I agree that for one like the writer the only straightforward way to give his quota of yarn for buying Khadi is self-spinning. If he was incapable for any cause, it would be perfectly right for him to get his many friends or relations to spin the required quota for him.

As an earnest student of affairs, he should know, too, that while Khadi is good for the poor as an honourable occupation for earning bread, it has an additional and far greater value as an instrument of winning Swaraj through non-violent means. Let it not be said of men like him that they could write eloquently about moral values without realizing the implications of the statement.

New Delhi, 21-4-'46



## QUESTION BOX

(By M. K. Gandhi)

## SUGAR AND SWEETMEATS

Q. The sugar ration in Bombay has just been reduced by 25 per cent. Would it not have been fairer to reduce sweetmeat shops' rations rather than cut down the individual's?

A. It is always well to cut down the ration of sweet vendors rather than that of individuals. In these hard times I would not mind if sweet-making were even prohibited. Sweetmeats are not a necessary part of a wholesome diet.

## WHITE BREAD AND BROWN

Q. Up till January it was obligatory to mix ten per cent of bran with wheat flour. Later the rule was abolished. Should it not be reinforced?

A. I am a witness to the age-old rivalry between white and wholemeal brown bread. People are attracted by whiteness. I nurse the belief that the Negro is not drawn by it. Be that as it may, it is a fact that special effort is made to make bread look white. Fortunately, only city dwellers indulge in such fads. Doctors say that one *chapati* of wholemeal flour is more tasty and contains more nourishment than two to five *Chapatis* made out of refined flour. And in these days it is our duty to use wholemeal, because all flour saved is flour gained. From one point of view it is even more than that. Wheat stored in villages is far more useful than sacks of it lying in ports. Therefore, it is desirable to make the mixing of bran with wheat flour compulsory. The war is over but post-war conditions are worse for us than during the war, and the situation is daily deteriorating. God alone knows when it will improve.

## ROWDYISM IN ELECTIONS

Q. You are no doubt aware of the rowdyism resulting in severe damage during one of the recent elections in Bombay. Does it become the teacher of *ahimsa* to keep silent on such an occasion?

A. I do not want to enter into the question of whether silence becomes me or not. If the rowdyism is not a forerunner of what the future holds, it will be wrong to take note of it. Such sporadic clashes should not worry us. The education of the masses in *ahimsa* can make way gradually. It may be that it will develop from the lessons learnt from such happenings. But it may be that this rowdyism is symptomatic of an epidemic. Many people imagine that they alone are right and everyone else wrong, and they do not consider that there is anything unworthy in forcing their point of view down others' throats. This error has to be rectified. If we are in the right we must have infinite patience.

Just now we seem unable to see our own mistakes. Those who lack the faculty of reason, or who desire to live for the sake of enjoyment, can never see the error. If there are many such, then we must conclude that our non-violence has been a weapon of the weak, *himsa* masquerading in the guise of *ahimsa*. If this weakness continues we shall have to go through rivers of blood once the British rule goes. We may even come under the

sway of some other foreign power or it may be that with internecine warfare the weaker side will have to submit to the one that has the mightier weapons. If we are unfortunate enough to witness such strife, believers in non-violence will joyfully die in the effort to stop it and thereby live.

My hope is that the masses have sufficiently imbibed the spirit of *ahimsa* and that when the British go there may be a little fight here and there and then we shall settle down as brothers giving a lesson of peace to the world.

Only those who fought in Bombay know what good they achieved by fighting. I am ignorant of who fought and what the fight was about and what were the gains if any.

New Delhi, 22-4-'46

(From *Harijanbandhu*)

## SOVEREIGN REMEDY

(By M. K. Gandhi)

"I read with avidity every word that flows from your pen. I can hardly wait till I have finished reading the new issue of 'Harijan' when it arrives. This results in a strange ego in me, demanding the object of my adoration to be perfect according to my light! Anything which appears obviously unconvincing makes me restless. Your new note in nature cure—reciting of *Ramanam* as the sure remedy—leaves me completely bewildered. The modern youth refrains from challenging some of your views out of toleration. Their attitude may be summed up in the following: 'Well, Gandhiji has taught us a whole lot of things; he has elevated us to unimaginable heights; he has, above all, brought Swaraj within our reach; why not 'suffer' his *Ramanam* 'fad'?"

"*Inter alia* you have said the following:

"No matter what the ailment from which a man may be suffering, recitation of *Ramanam* from the heart is the sure cure' (*Harijan* 3-3-'46).

"Man should seek out and be content to confine the means of cure to the five elements of which the body is composed, i. e. earth, water, *akash*, sun and air' (*Harijan*, 3-3-'46).

"And my claim is that the recitation of *Ramanam* is a sovereign remedy for our physical ailments also' (*Harijan* 7-4-'46).

"At first, when you introduced this new note in the system of nature cure, I thought you were merely putting in other words a kind of psychotherapy or 'Christian science' based on faith. These have their place in every system of medicine. I interpreted my first quotation above in that light. The second sentence quoted above is difficult to grasp. After all, it is physically impossible for medicines to be composed of anything but the five elements to which you refer, and which you say must be the sole means of cure.

"If faith is what you insist on I have no quarrel; it is necessary for the patient to cooperate in getting well also by faith. But it is difficult to accept that faith alone would cure 'our physical ailment also'. Two years ago, my little daughter was struck by infantile paralysis; it was the most modern treatment that saved the child from becoming a cripple for



life. You would agree that it would not avail to ask a two and a half year old child to recite *Ramanam* to be rid of infantile paralysis; and I would like to see you persuade any mother to do the recitation (and recitation alone) on her child's behalf.

"The authority from Charaka that you have quoted in the issue of March 24th, leaves me cold; you have taught me not to accept anything, however ancient and however authoritative it may be, if it does not appeal to my heart."

Thus writes a teacher of youth. While I am eager to be in the good graces of the student world, my eagerness has well-defined limitations. For one, I must please them with the rest of the world, which is admittedly much larger. In no case should a servant of the public pander to any person or class.

If those whom my correspondent represents really think that anything I have done has taken India to unimaginable heights, they should extend to my so-called fads slightly more than toleration. Toleration by itself will do them and me no good. It may easily promote laziness in them, and false self-assurance in me. Let them think well before rejecting even a fad. Faddists are not always to be despised. Fads have before now made their owners mount the gallows.

*Ramanam* has the flavour of faith-healing and Christian science; yet, it is quite distinct from them. Recitation of *Ramanam* is a mere symbol of the reality for which it stands. If one is knowingly filled with the presence of God within, one is that moment free from all ailment physical, mental or moral. That we do not see the type in life is not to disprove the truth of the statement. My argument is admittedly useless for those who have no faith in God.

Christian scientists, faith-healers and psychotherapists may, if they will, bear witness somewhat to the truth underlying *Ramanam*. I cannot take the reader a long way with me through reason. How is one to prove to a person who has never tasted sugar, that sugar is sweet, except by asking him to taste it?

I must not reiterate here the conditions attendant upon the heart recitation of the sacred syllable.

The authority of Charaka is good for those who have some belief in *Ramanam*. Others may dismiss the authority from their consideration.

Children are irresponsible. *Ramanam* is undoubtedly not for them. They are helpless beings at the mercy of their parents. They show what tremendous responsibility parents bear to them and society. I have known parents who have trifled with their children's diseases even to the extent of trusting them to their (the parents') recitation of *Ramanam*.

Lastly, the argument about everything, even medicines, being from '*panch mahabhutas*' betrays a hasty confusion of thought. I have only to point it out to remove it.

New Delhi, 19-4-'46

## MERCY VERSUS RUTHLESSNESS

(By M. K. Gandhi)

The virtues of mercy, non-violence, love and truth in any man can be truly tested only when they are pitted against ruthlessness, violence, hate and untruth.

If this is true, then it is incorrect to say that *ahimsa* is of no avail before a murderer. It can certainly be said that to experiment with *ahimsa* in face of a murderer is to seek self-destruction. But this is the real test of *ahimsa*. He who gets himself killed out of sheer helplessness, however, can in nowise be said to have passed the test. He who when being killed bears no anger against his murderer and even asks God to forgive him is truly non-violent. History relates this of Jesus Christ. With his dying breath on the cross, he is reported to have said: "Father, forgive them for they know not what they do." We can get similar instances from other religions but the quotation is given because it is world famous.

It is another matter that our non-violence has not reached such heights. It would be wholly wrong for us to lower the standard of *ahimsa* by reason of our own frailty or lack of experience. Without true understanding of the ideal, we can never hope to reach it. It is necessary for us, therefore, to apply our reason to understand the power of non-violence.

New Delhi, 21-4-'46

(From *Harijanbandhu*)

## 'HARIJAN' IN URDU SCRIPT

(By M. K. Gandhi)

"Harijan" is variously described as 'Harijan-sevak' when it is the Hindustani and 'Harijan-bandhu' when it is the Gujarati edition. Hindustani was Hindi when it was in Nagari type only. Now, for reasons already known, it is Hindustani in two scripts—Nagari and Urdu. The Urdu edition would have been published simultaneously, if the arrangement could have been completed. But there were difficulties of official permission and type to be surmounted. Litho printing became well-nigh impossible, and expert advice favoured Urdu type. The type could not be had for the wanting. But it is now hoped definitely to bring out the Urdu edition on 5th May next.

Whilst the matter in the three editions is not as a rule mere translation, one of another, and to an extent differs in the three editions, the Nagari and Urdu will be the same, word for word. An endeavour will be made to produce Hindustani which will neither be sanskritized Hindi nor persianized Urdu. Whether the Hindustani will be popular or not will depend as much upon the writers for the Hindustani 'Harijan' as upon its readers.

New Delhi, 21-4-'46



## MEETING SASTRIAR

Now that Shri Sastriar is no more, his last talks with Gandhiji assume a great though tragic importance.

The first meeting took place on the evening of the 22nd January. Gandhiji had heard that Sastriar was so ill that probably he alone would be allowed to go in for a few minutes. Shri Jagadisan had advised my brother and me to accompany him. "Sastriar will be pleased to see you," he had said. So Gandhiji took both of us and Shri Manilal Gandhi with him, warning us that we might have to stay outside. The doctor, however, gave us more cheerful news about the patient's condition, and we were all allowed to enter. At one time Sastriar had almost given up hope of surviving till Gandhiji's visit to Madras and the joy of meeting him in the flesh almost choked him with emotion. He had been reclining on a bedrest but he sat bolt upright as Gandhiji entered and moved to the edge of the bed. "I want to come near enough to hug you, little brother," he muttered in a choked voice.

Gandhiji took his hand and soothed him. "You must not hug me and excite yourself," he pleaded and the illustrious patient once again reclined on the bedrest holding Gandhiji's hand in both his own.

The excitement had greatly aggravated the breathlessness. With great effort he began, "I have wanted to say one thing to you." And panting for breath after each word, with moist eyes, he continued: "Another opportunity for peace has been lost. They are sitting there at the Peace Conference Table. But who is there who can speak for humanity except you? I am afraid India has failed to do her duty." Ever since Gandhiji's release from prison, Sastriar had been writing to him, imploring him to go to the Peace Conference at San Francisco. "Even if they do not ask you, you must go as the apostle of truth and non-violence and be on the spot. Your mere presence will have a tremendous effect. You must not stand on ceremony."

I have tried to put in my own words the substance of what he had been writing. Gandhiji's view was that his non-violence should have its effect from wherever he was. His going to the Peace Conference, unless the Great Powers themselves wanted it, could serve no useful purpose. But Sastriar had remained unconvinced and he gave vent to his feelings on meeting Gandhiji.

Then referring to the Parliamentary delegation he remarked, "We know nothing can come out of it. Labour or Conservative, so far as India is concerned, they are all one and the same."

Gandhiji agreed and added, "But we must trust."

"Burrows, the new pitboy Governor of Bengal, has a sense of humour. When the pressmen worried him and asked him what policy he was going to initiate, he replied, 'Gentlemen, I am not going to initiate. I am going to carry out.' That is true of all of them. The Labour Government cannot afford to do otherwise." So saying Sastriar asked: "What next?"

"Who knows?" replied Gandhiji. "The British Government itself does not know, I think. But I did not come here to discuss politics with you."

Sastriar spoke like a man, "I see, you think I am no good for it."

"No, but you are certainly no good for it in the present state of your health."

They touched upon the topic of the communal problem. They cracked a few more jokes and then Sastriar called us near and bade good-bye saying a few kind words to each one of us. He talked a little about South Africa and General Smuts with Shri Manilal Gandhi, and Gandhiji left him with a promise to visit him again if the doctor reported that the visit had had no deleterious effect upon his health.

The doctor's report was satisfactory and Gandhiji paid him a second visit on the night of the 30th. This time he was accompanied by Shri Rajagopalachariar, Shri Thakkar Bapa, Rajkumari Amritkaur, Miss Agatha Harrison, Shri T. N. Jagadisan, my brother Shri Pyarelalji, Dr. Srinivasan and myself. Dr. Srinivasan, an honorary physician of the General Hospital, Madras, who was in charge of Sastriar's case, came to Gandhiji's residence and escorted him to the hospital as on the previous occasion. The talk mostly centred round the *Ramayana*.

Sastriar began by saying, "You have been a blessing to me in a hundred ways."

"What nonsense, Sastri," said Gandhiji.

"Ah, don't I know, Gandhi, you are the greatest fellow alive in the world today," said Sastriar and introduced his grandchildren to him. "Let your *kataksha* fall on them." And in good humour he quoted a *shloka* from the *Ramayana*:

यद्य रामं न पश्येत्तु यं च रामो न पश्यति ।

निन्दितः स मवेच्छोके स्वात्माप्येन विगर्हते ॥ अयोध्या ८

"He who does not see Rama and whom Rama does not see is despised by every one in this world."

Then Sastriar told Gandhiji how on the previous day after his midday meal he had dozed off and as if in a trance written a most beautiful essay on the *Ramayana* in about 15 minutes. The theme was that after Ravana's death Hanuman goes to Sita in *Ashoka Vatika* and asks her, 'Mother, give me your permission and I shall severely punish all the *Rakshasis* who have been torturing you.' The Divine Lady turns round and replies:

समयो रक्षितव्यस्तु सन्तश्चारित्रभूषणाः

पापानां वाञ्छुमानां वा वचार्हाणामथापि वा ।

कार्यं काश्यमाणेन न कश्चिन्नापराध्यति ॥ अयोध्या ८

"No, what wrong have these poor things done? They are merely slaves of their master and they did his bidding for the sake of their livelihood. Leave them alone. It is forgiveness that makes life worth living. Forgiveness is divine. It is the noblest of virtues, so I pardon them. There is no one who is wholly free of error. And who does not need to be forgiven?"

"As soon as I go home," Sastriar added, "I shall dictate it to Jagadisan if he can come to me and send it to you. Will you let Pyarelal read it out to you?"

Gandhiji promised to read it himself. "You dictate it to Jagadisan tomorrow," he said, "and send it to me. I shall read it before I go to Madura."

"No," replied Sastriar, "it will take me at least two or three days. I have to do it in bits. Marvellous as my doctor is, he has not made me well enough to do it tomorrow."



Sastriar was full of the *Ramayana*. "The *Ramayana* has no parallel." He regretted that the great epic was not read more generally and that its ideal did not animate the people as of old. "When Sita had repulsed the evil-intentioned Ravana with the *trifas* of her purity," he continued, "the *Rakshasis* came to her and said, 'You do not know the world. Else you would not have refused what is being offered to you.' The Divine Lady's reply was, 'Your city is beautiful, the buildings are grand and there is every mark of civilization, but are there not two or three people who feel the wrong and can say the truth to Ravana?'"

And Sastriar was deeply moved. "That is the duty we owe to friends and that we fail to discharge. I have done that for you once or twice and as for you, you do it and sometimes publicly, much to the consternation of everybody. But it is the noblest office of friendship." Turning to Rajaji, he continued, "Tell me, Rajagopalachari, out of a hundred people that go wrong, is not there one whom a timely warning could have saved? Please do not think that I am preaching at the Mahatma. I am making a confession. I have also failed in that duty sometimes."

Turning to Bapu he said, "You are a seeker after truth. You and I are poles asunder in many things. I have differed from you and you have said so without reserve. But I also am a follower of truth, though at a great distance from you. The eternal truths propounded by Valmiki in the *Ramayana* have been the greatest source of inspiration to me. I feel I have failed to do my duty by not giving to the people what I have found for myself in that great epic." Gandhiji reminded him of the lectures on *Ramayana* that he had delivered and suggested that they should be printed. But that was not enough for him. "If I live for sometime more and good Jagadisan can spare time, I might still be able to make some atonement," he sighed.

Gandhiji: "Jagadisan is your admirer and a devoted follower. He will be always at your disposal, unless of course the doctor thinks that you should not be disturbed. Then he will just not be at home."

Sastriar had a hearty laugh. "So, like Rama you teach falsehood. When Sumantra was driving Rama, Lakshmana and Sita to the jungle, Rama asked him to drive fast. 'Man, why prolong the agony? Go fast, and if my father is angry tell him you did not hear him.'"

The patient was talking too much and the doctor was getting worried. He said some thing in Tamil. Sastriar replied, "Yes, you are right. A good conversationalist hears more than he talks. But they say 'once a schoolmaster, always a schoolmaster.' So I have gone on."

Gandhiji: "And we shall bear witness to that."

Sastriar: "Well, this might be my last meeting with you. I am not in a position to say, 'I will come to see you when you return from Madura.' So, I wanted to talk and have talked. Now it is your turn."

Gandhiji: "Nonsense, this is not the last meeting. I will try to come and see you on my return from Madura. And I have very little to say except this, that you must get well soon and return the visit at Sevagram."

"You are the prince of optimists," replied Sastriar.

"Oh yes, an irrepressible one!" retorted Gandhiji, and they both laughed, exchanged a few more jokes and parted.

On his return from Madura, Gandhiji had only three hours at his disposal during which he held the prayer meeting, had his bath etc., gave several autographs, saw several people, collected funds for Harijans, and Hindustani Prachar and paid a hurried visit to Sastriar on his way to the station. It was a Monday and Sastriar was disappointed to find that Gandhiji was observing silence. Gandhiji would have liked to have begun his silence early on Sunday evening so that he could talk when he went to see Sastriar but he had not been able to manage. So Sastriar talked and Gandhiji replied by writing on slips of paper. In reply to Sastriar's enquiry about the tour, Gandhiji wrote that it had been very nice but very taxing. Sastriar was surprised to hear that five to six lakhs had gathered at the prayer meeting at Madura, more than half of which number had come from the surrounding villages. They had sat on the roadside without food and shelter just to have a *darshan* as they felt that this might be their last chance.

Gandhiji enquired about Sastriar's health and advised him to obey the doctor. Sastriar said he felt almost normal. He was moved beyond words. "Brother, you have done me an exceptional honour," he remarked, "especially by paying this visit when you were in a great hurry. You are dearer and nearer to me than my own brothers and sons and members of the family." His voice had become almost inaudible. "We have come together by some inner affinity. No external reason can explain this friendship. Gokhale was but the occasion of it." And he drew nearer to Gandhiji and whispered, "I won't waste words. You know what I want to say." Gandhiji waved to him to be quiet as he was becoming breathless with emotion and got up to say goodbye.

As Gandhiji got up Sastriar caught sight of his dangling watch. "Ah! your constant companion. Somebody said you had lost your watch and would use it no longer," he said. Shri T. R. Venkatarama corrected him by saying that the remark related to his fountain pen.

Sastriar: "Oh! I see. But if someone steals your watch, will you give up using a watch also?" Gandhiji laughed and shook his head to say that he could not do without his watch.

We bade good-bye to Sastriar and reminded him of his promise to return the visit to Sevagram. In another half an hour, we were in the special train and Gandhiji was busy writing and revising articles for 'Harijan'.

New Delhi, 21-4-'46

S. N.

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## THE LOSS

It needed all his resources of philosophy and stoicism to enable Gandhiji to bear up under the loss of Sastriar's passing away. The news came in the middle of the night when he was fast asleep. It was communicated to him after the morning prayer on the following day. There was such a deep bond of affection between the two and a mutual recognition of the fundamental things which they shared in common, that people who saw only the difference in their respective political outlooks, marvelled at their friendship. The strongest bond that united them was truth. "Your truthfulness," remarked Gandhiji once in the course of a letter to him, "is far more precious to me than your co-operation." On another occasion he wrote: "Your criticism soothes me, your silence makes me nervous." On Sastriar's part, if he sometimes found fault with Gandhiji, it was out of his jealous concern for him. It was the concern of "a friend, a lover and a child." No wonder that Gandhiji, who is ever in search of a conscience-keeper, was never tired of beseeching him not to cease to strive with him.

Intellectually, Sastriar was a sceptic. But the heart, as the French saying goes, has a logic of its own that transcends the logic of the intellect, and so Sastriar's practice very often transcended his creed of scepticism. Gandhiji, on the other hand, with all his transcendent faith insisted on subjecting his actions to the pragmatic test with the result that very often, proceeding by diverse routes, they found a common meeting ground on the broad platform of humanity. Sastriar who enjoyed having a spar with the late Shri Mahadev Desai occasionally wrote to the latter in the course of a letter:

"You point out with justice that when I stop short where reason fails Gandhiji marches on, upheld by faith. Let me add by way of supplement . . . that I would first listen to faith, which has a strange fascination for me, and that Gandhiji on many occasions shrinks from the lengths to which faith would draw him. That is where a common human nature comes in; no distinction can reach down to the bottom."

As a further illustration of the same, Sastriar was one of the most erudite scholars of English and was proud of it too, and yet he found the fullest satisfaction only in the use of the mother tongue.

"This Tamil escapade," he remarked in one of his letters to a friend, referring to an autobiographical piece in Tamil which he had dictated, "warms my blood with the genuine passion. It is awkward, stumbling and—don't I see?—ludicrous. But it possesses me for the time. I am oblivious of what the critical world says."

"If second childhood may lisp, let it lisp in the mother tongue."

His last conversation with Gandhiji which is recorded elsewhere in these columns by Dr. Sushila Nayyar is a veritable monument of affection that transcends differences.

New Delhi, 23-4-46

PYARELAL

## COMMUNION OF SILENCE

Last week I referred to the Sunday silent prayer meeting of the Quakers which Gandhiji attended. He has been attending it every Sunday since his arrival here.

Quakers believe that "in corporate silent waiting, God does speak to us and we can understand His will in the common walks of life." As Shri Ranjit M. Chetsingh explained at the beginning of the service last week quoting an early Quaker, "The thinking busy soul excludes the voice of God." "Be still and cool from thine own self." Said George Fox, "The Silence of a religious and spiritual worship is not a drowsy unthinking state of mind but a withdrawing of it from all visible objects and vain imaginings."

Making the Quaker meeting which he had attended the theme of his address at the evening prayer gathering, Gandhiji described how his own experience tallied with that of the Quakers. "Emptying of the mind of all conscious processes of thought and filling it with the spirit of God unmanifest brings one ineffable peace and attunes the soul with the Infinite." The question may however be raised, should not one's whole life be an unbroken hymn of praise and prayer to the Maker? Why then have a separate time for prayer at all? Brother Lawrence testified that "with him the set times of prayers were not different from other times; that he retired to pray according to the directions of his superior, but that he did not want such retirement, nor asked for it, because his greatest business did not divert him from God." Gandhiji does not question that view. "I agree," he observed in his discourse, "that if a man could practise the presence of God all the twentyfour hours, there would be no need for a separate time for prayer." But most people find that impossible. The sordid everyday world is too much with them. For them the practice of complete withdrawal of the mind from all outward things, even though it might be only for a few minutes every day, would be found to be of infinite use. Silent communion would help them to experience an undisturbed peace in the midst of turmoil, to curb anger and cultivate patience. "When the mind is completely filled with His spirit one cannot harbour ill will or hatred towards any one and reciprocally the enemy will shed his enmity and become a friend. It is not my claim that I have always succeeded in converting enemies into friends, but in numerous cases it has been my experience that when the mind is filled with His peace all hatred ceases. An unbroken succession of world teachers since the beginning of time have borne testimony to the same. I claim no merit for it. I know it is due entirely to God's grace. Let us then in the Sacred Week seek His grace through the communion of silence and may the experience will abide with us ever afterwards."

The silent Communion of the Friends generally ends when one and another feel a call to offer prayer or to pass on what they feel must be shared by the whole group. On the last occasion it ended



with a moving reference by Shri Sudhir Ghosh to the late Charlie Andrews. "I was not present by his side when he breathed his last in 1940. But they say that during the semi-conscious state before the end he often muttered the words 'Bapu, Swaraj is coming.' A lump rises in my throat at the thought that now that Swaraj is coming at last C. F. A. is no longer with us to see its coming. In these days when violence is simmering in this vast country and a spirit of vengeance against the British is in the air, let us remember more than ever the legacy left by this Christian man who lived and died for peace between the British and the Indian peoples, and for which he was even despised by some of his own countrymen. What better worship can we offer to God in these fateful days here in Delhi than to contemplate the work of a man whose life was a silken bond of the spirit between the good that is England and the good that is India?"

The biographer of Sir Henry Campbell Bannerman has recorded how it was the outspokenness and courageous championship of the Boers during the darkest days of the Boer war by an English woman — Emily Hobhouse — that contributed not a little to the liquidation of the hatred engendered by the incidents of the war and the final establishment of an understanding between the two nations. C. F. A. did for India what Emily Hobhouse did for the Boers. May his labours in the cause of Indian independence be a sufficient ransom for what British Imperialism might have done to India.

New Delhi, 17-4-'46

PYARELAL

#### YOUNG AT EIGHTYFIVE

In his 85th year Bharatabhushan Pandit Malaviyaji refused to remain confined to his bed and rushed to Delhi to watch the denouement of two centuries of British rule in India. In vain did Gandhiji and Sheth G. D. Birla try to dissuade this hero of a hundred fights, who is now practically bedridden on account of his years, from undertaking the journey. On reaching Delhi, he wanted to come and see Gandhiji in *Bhanga Nivas*. But Gandhiji anticipated him by meeting him at 5, Canning Road, on the evening of 18th April. "You would have covered me with shame, if you had come to me instead of my going to you," Gandhiji told him when he met him.

Malaviyaji lay half reclining in his bed, supported by a high pillow. At fourscore and five his mind is alert, the memory still functioning. The sight and bearing are good but the physical energy is at its low ebb. His voice during the conversations scarcely rose above a whisper. Both Gandhiji and I strained our ears in vain to catch it till Govind Malaviyaji came to our rescue. The one passion that filled his soul was the independence and integrity of India and on these points Gandhiji was able to allay his apprehensions. He had heard that a lot of people came and disturbed his peace by retailing all kinds of idle rumours. "Why do you lend a ready ear to such gossip?" pleaded Gandhiji. "Why can't you take a leaf out of my book? If someone comes to me and talks to me about the

Indian States, I send him off to Pandit Nehru. If it is about internal politics of the Congress, I give him Maulana Azad's address. In this way I have rigorously restricted my ambit of work. Even so, I have hardly a moment's respite. Unless I did that I would have to give up the desire to live up to 125 which I must not do, if my dream of non-violence as a world conquering force is to be realized. You are a man of religion and purity of the soul. It should need no argument on my part to convince you that if you completely empty your mind of outward things and fixing all your thoughts on Him inwardly pray, you will have more than contributed your share to the struggle for independence. You must complete your century. It is perfectly feasible if you will listen to my advice." Malaviyaji followed Gandhiji's remarks with an inscrutable childlike smile on the face, beaming affection. What did the amused look signify? Was it to say, 'O, I have heard all that before!' I wonder. "I must not engage you in talk any further," he remarked, "I know you are always busy."

New Delhi, 22-4-'46

PYARELAL

#### PRAYER DISCOURSES

The embargo laid by Gandhiji upon himself, in regard to press interviews, continues. Having adopted the delicate role of adviser to the Cabinet Mission and his own countrymen, he feels he must not be "broadcasting to the world on the matters covered by his advice". And so discourses at the evening prayer gatherings are the only public utterances that he has allowed himself to make since his arrival in Delhi. Prayer, as Gandhiji has more than once remarked of late, is not merely a means of attaining spiritual salvation, but also of obtaining freedom from bondage in this world. The greater includes the less. "If Swaraj is to be won through the non-violent strength of the millions," he observed in the course of one of his prayer addresses, "they must in some measure develop in them the qualities of a *sthitaprajna* or the man of steady wisdom.

"That ideal is not meant for *jnanis* only, it is for all, even ordinary lay people. Lord Krishna himself is depicted in the *Mahabharata* as a charioteer actually driving a team of white horses while his pupil Arjuna, to whom the Gita discourses are addressed is pictured as being plebeian in his mental make-up and outlook.

"What then are the characteristics of a *Sthitaprajna*? He is one who withdraws his senses from the objects of the senses behind the shield of the spirit, as a tortoise does its limbs under its shell.

"A man whose wisdom is not steady is liable to be betrayed into anger, evil thoughts or abuse. On the contrary, the man with the steady wisdom will remain equally unaffected by adulation or abuse. He will realize that abuse fouls only the tongue that utters it, never the person against whom it is hurled. A man of steady wisdom will



therefore never wish ill to anyone, but will pray even for his enemy with his last breath.

"Is it too difficult an ideal to follow?" he asked, and replied, "No. On the contrary, the conduct laid down in it is the only conduct worthy of the dignity of human beings.

"Today our minds are clouded by delusion. In our ignorance we quarrel with one another and indulge in rowdism against our own brethren. For such as these there is neither salvation nor Swaraj. Self-discipline or rule over self is the first condition of self-rule or Swaraj.

"All might find it difficult to correctly recite the Gita verses which are in Sanskrit. But all can take part in the singing of *Ramdhun*. The mass singing of *Ramdhun* to the accompaniment of *tal* is prayer reduced to its simplest terms."

"But how can non-Hindus take part in it?" the question was once raised.

"I laugh within myself," replied Gandhiji, "when someone objects that *Rama* or the chanting of *Ramanam* is for the Hindus only, how can Musalmans therefore take part in it? Is there one God for the Musalmans and another for the Hindus, Parsis or Christians? No, there is only one omnipotent and omnipresent God. He is named variously and we remember Him by the name which is most familiar to us.

"My *Rama*, the *Rama* of our prayers is not the historical *Rama*, the son of Dasharatha the King of Ayodhya. He is the eternal, the unborn, the one without a second. Him alone I worship, His aid alone I seek, and so should you. He belongs equally to all. I, therefore, see no reason why a Musalmah or anybody should object to taking His name. But he is in no way bound to recognize God as *Ramanam*. He may utter to himself *Allah* or *Khuda* so as not to mar the harmony of the sound."

On another occasion, commenting on a *bhajan* that had been sung at the prayer, he observed: "In that hymn there is an assurance that whom God protects no power on earth can injure. The message of that hymn has a particular relevancy in the present times when the whole world is plunged in strife. Although the war has ended, the causes that brought it about still continue. This is not peace; it is only silent preparation for another war.

"Look at the mutual recrimination, abuse and threats of violence that poison the atmosphere in Delhi itself. But if you have faith in God you will remain unaffected by all these threats and abuse, and feel secure in the assurance that not a hair of your head will be injured so long as you are under God's protecting care. There is a saying to the effect that the outer is only the reflection of the inner. If you are good, the whole world will be good to you. On the contrary, if you feel tempted to regard anybody as evil, the odds are that the evil is within you."

Applying the lesson of that hymn to an outburst against the Hindus in general, attributed to Chou-

dhary Khaliq-uz-Zaman, that had appeared in the Press, he proceeded, "The Choudhary Saheb has had great regard for me. If, therefore, somebody comes and tells me that he has abused the Hindus and called them names, I must refuse to believe it or think ill of him. How can a person who till yesterday was like a blood-brother to me turn all of a sudden into a hater of Hindus? I would rather think that some Hindus had exasperated him by their behaviour and made him lose his balance. Similarly, I am quite sure that if the Choudhary Saheb were to meet me today and I were to ask him if he really believed that the whole mass of Hindus had turned bad overnight, he would laugh at the remarks attributed to him and dismiss them as absurd. We must neither think evil about others nor suspect others of thinking evil about us. Proneness to lend ear to evil reports is a sign of lack of faith."

Here is another talk:

"In a moment of introspection the poet asks himself: 'O Man, why have you left off taking God's name? You have not given up anger or lust or greed, but you have forgotten truth. What a tragedy to save worthless pennies and to let go the priceless gem of God's love! Why could you not, O fool! renounce all vanities and throw yourself on the grace of God alone?' This does not mean that if one has wealth, it should be thrown away and wife and children should be turned out of doors. It simply means that one must give up attachment to these things and dedicate one's all to God and make use of His gifts to serve Him only. It also means that if we take His name with all our being we are automatically weaned from all lust, untruth and baser passions.

"In the first *shloka* of *Ishopanishad* that is repeated everyday at the beginning of the prayer, one is asked to dedicate everything to God and then use it to the required extent. The principal condition laid down is that one must not covet what belongs to another. These two maxims contain the quintessence of the Hindu religion.

"In another *shloka* which is recited during the morning prayer it is said, 'I do not ask for temporal power; nor do I ask to go to heaven, nor even to attain *Nirvana*. What I ask for is that I may be able to relieve the pain of those who are in pain.' The pain might be physical, mental or spiritual. Spiritual pain due to slavery to one's passions is sometimes greater even than the physical.

"But God does not come down in person to relieve suffering. He works through human agency. Therefore, prayer to God to enable one to relieve the suffering of others must mean a longing and readiness on one's part to labour for it.

"The prayer you will note is not exclusive. It is not restricted to one's own caste or community. It is all inclusive. It comprehends the whole of humanity. Its realization would thus mean the establishment of the Kingdom of Heaven on earth."



On another occasion a couple of children, that had been romping about during the prayers, disturbed the prayer service. It upset him. It was the fault of the parents, he remarked. He had never seen children playing in a church or a mosque. "True culture requires that there should be perfect peace in the prayer ground at the time of the prayer." There should be an atmosphere of solemnity as in a church, a mosque or a temple. He knew that many of the temples were full of clamour. It had hurt him deeply. "We go to the temple to worship not the stone or the metal image but God who resides in it. The image becomes what man makes of it. It has no power independently of the sanctity with which it is invested by the worshipper. Therefore everyone, including children, should observe perfect silence at the time of prayer." As a result of his criticism there was a striking improvement in the behaviour of children from next day.

New Delhi, 22-4-'46

PYARELAL

### DEPLORABLE

(By M. K. Gandhi)

Shri J. C. Kumarappa, writing in the 'Gram Udyog Patrika', says that to rely on or encourage imports from abroad is wholly wrong in principle. In the matter of the expected shortage of sugar owing to the failure of winter rains in the U. P. and Bihar and by frost in the Punjab and N. W. F. P., he suggests that the deficit in sugar should be made good by tapping palm trees in jungle areas for *nira* and preparing *gur* and sugar from it.

In regard to the import of a primary necessity like kerosene oil, he suggests further extraction of vegetable oils to meet our needs. Imports will entail export of some of our own production to pay for them, and will only cause further distress in the long run.

He also draws attention to the insidious scheme for the development of Virginia cigarette tobacco in Bihar sponsored by Sir Herbert Stewart (Vice-Chairman of the Imperial Council of Agricultural Research). Under the scheme a number of research stations on tobacco are to be opened in various places and the Imperial Tobacco Company have given two studentships of £500 per annum for training in tobacco cultivation abroad. At such a time the obvious duty of a government should have been not to waste good money or time on tobacco research, but to devote both to reclaim all available land for food cultivation. But Imperial Councils can only think in terms of either tobacco, long staple cotton or thick rind sugarcane for mills and groundnut for export, and thus serve foreign business masquerading as "India Ltd."

New Delhi, 21-4-'46

### WHY NOT?

(By M. K. Gandhi)

"You say that if Kasturba Agents are also members of the legislatures, it will be setting a bad example to the villagers. I can understand this being applicable to the present Assembly, but when we have Swaraj the position will be changed. Will it, therefore, not be an advantage for us to be there? Will not such work as we want done be done in one session of the legislature, whereas ordinarily it would take years to do?"

So writes a sister. But there seem to be three flaws in her line of argument.

Firstly, I have not made any distinction between the present and the future Assembly under Swaraj. It is unnecessary for my argument.

Secondly, it is an illusion to think that M. L. A.'s are the guides of the voters. Voters do not send representatives to the Assemblies in order to be guided by them. On the contrary, they are sent there loyally to carry out the people's wishes. The people are, therefore, the guides, not the M. L. A.'s. The latter are servants, the former masters. The illusion is due to the present system of government. When the illusion disappears, the existing unseemly competition to get into the legislatures will also be much less. There will be a few whose duty it will be to go there, and they will go to do the people's will. Today they go to the Assembly in order to fight there for Swaraj, but it has now dawned on most people that they cannot achieve much there even in this line.

The third mistake in the argument is that the Assemblies are best fitted to guide the people. If we look around the world we shall find that the best guidance is given by those outside. If that were not so, a rot would set in in all governments, because the field for guidance is vast and the Assembly is a very small thing. Parliaments are, after all, a mere drop in the ocean of national life.

New Delhi, 20-4-'46

(From *Harijansevak*)

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# HARIJAN

12 Pages

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[ THREE ANNAS

## NON-VIOLENT VOLUNTEER CORPS

(By M. K. Gandhi)

Some time ago an attempt was made, at my instance, to form *shanti dals* but nothing came of it. This lesson, however, was learnt that the membership, in its very nature, of such organizations could not be large. Ordinarily, the efficient running of a large volunteer corps based on force implies the possibility of the use of force in the event of breach of discipline. In such bodies little or no stress is laid on a man's character. Physique is the chief factor. The contrary must obtain in non-violent bodies in which character or soul force must mean everything and physique must take second place. It is difficult to find many such persons. That is why non-violent corps must be small, if they are to be efficient. Such brigades may be scattered all over; there may be one each for a village or a *mohalla*. The members must know one another well. Each corps will select its own head. All the members will have the same status, but where everyone is doing the same work there must be one person under whose discipline all must come, or else the work will suffer. Where there are two or more brigades the leaders must consult among themselves and decide on a common line of action. In that way alone lies success.

If non-violent volunteer corps are formed on the above lines, they can easily stop trouble. These corps will not require all the physical training given in *akhadas*, but a certain part of it will be necessary.

One thing, however, should be common to members of all such organizations and that is implicit faith in God. He is the only companion and doer. Without faith in Him these peace brigades will be lifeless. By whatever name one calls God, one must realize that one can only work through His strength. Such a man will never take another's life. He will allow himself, if need be, to be killed and thereby live through his victory over death.

The mind of the man in whose life the realization of this law has become a living reality will not be bewildered in crisis. He will instinctively know the right way to act.

In spite, however, of what I have said above I would like to give some rules culled from my own experience :

1. A volunteer may not carry any weapons.
2. The members of a corps must be easily recognizable.
3. Every volunteer must carry bandages, scissors, needle and thread, surgical knife etc. for rendering first aid.
4. He should know how to carry and remove the wounded.
5. He should know how to put out fires, how to enter a fire area without getting burnt, how to climb heights for rescue work and descend safely with or without his charge.
6. He should be well acquainted with all the residents of his locality. This is a service in itself.
7. He should recite *Ramanam* ceaselessly in his heart and persuade others who believe to do likewise.

There are many who, whether from mental laziness or from having fallen into a bad habit believe that God is and will help us unasked. Why then is it necessary to recite His name? It is true that if God is, He is irrespective of our belief. But realization of God is infinitely more than mere belief. That can come only by constant practice. This is true of all science. How much more true of the science of all sciences?

Man often repeats the name of God parrot-wise and expects fruit from so doing. The true seeker must have that living faith which will not only dispel the untruth of parrot-wise repetition from within him but also from the hearts of others.

New Delhi, 26-4-'46

(From *Harijanbandhu*)



## WEEKLY LETTER

The fever of excitement which the yellow press had been trying to work up for some time past and to which Gandhiji referred last week reached its culmination on Wednesday last when a Hindu boy in New Delhi was stabbed in the back in a dastardly manner by some unknown person. Luckily the assault did not prove fatal. Thanks to the level-headedness shown by the people of the locality, there were no reprisals taken and the trouble did not spread. "It might be presumed at first flush," observed Gandhiji commenting on this, "that because the victim in this case was a Hindu boy the assailant must be a Muslim and *vice versa*. Such speculation, in my opinion, is not only idle but mischievous. We should rather ask ourselves as to how we would have or should have acted, if we were present on the scene." To remain passive witnesses of the dastardly attack would be cowardly. Should they, then, whip out a knife and pay back the miscreant in his own coin? Both these courses would be wrong, observed Gandhiji. The only becoming course, he told them would be to plead with the miscreant not to dye his hand with innocent blood. If in doing so they themselves became victims of the miscreant's anger, they should not mind but should rather welcome it. Such an occasion should provide them with an opportunity to test the sincerity of their daily attendance of the prayer meetings. "When passions rise high and panic and mass hysteria lay hold of the people, it is up to the man of prayer to keep his head above the storm and refuse to sink to the level of the brute. We should pray to God to help us to keep down the hatred and anger in the heart. To be able to conquer anger and hatred and all other baser passions is the fruit of prayer. It is braver far to disarm the miscreant with cool determination devoid of anger than to counter him with a dagger, to prevent an angry word from escaping one's lips than indulge in abuse."

He recalled another instance of assault on a harmless German during the Victory Day disturbances in Delhi that had been brought to his notice the day before. The mass madness at that time was directed against Englishmen and Europeans. In his opinion, it was not less cowardly.

"We should pity the ruffian," he pleaded. "A *Maulana* who saw me just before I started for the prayer was telling me how a number of newspapers were fanning the flames of communal hatred day after day and week after week. They are the real culprits. To incite to murder is as bad if not worse than the murder itself. The actual murderer is very often an ignorant tool, victim of mischievous propaganda." But even such propaganda could take effect only in a vitiated atmosphere. In a healthy

atmosphere it would be sterilized. "Panic is the result of fear after all," he concluded. "But a man of prayer knows no fear. Your prayer is vain repetition if it does not clear the atmosphere of fear, panic and mass hysteria."

He reverted to the topic in another after-prayer discourse. Newspapers had reported that Bombay was full of panic, Hindus dared not go into Muslim quarters and *vice versa*, the shops were closed, the streets deserted for fear of riots breaking out. All that had proved to be a press canard. There was neither any panic nor disturbance worth noting in Bombay. Hindu women and children freely visited and went about in Muslim quarters and *vice versa*. The whole story was faked. In Delhi itself a Hindu sister was being driven by a Muslim *tonga* driver only on the day before. The driver had expressed amazement and horror at what was taking place. Why should there be any quarrel between Hindus and Muslims, he had asked and added, "God turns His back on those who quarrel amongst themselves." That showed, remarked Gandhiji, how dangerous it was to give credence to panicky rumours. "The lesson to be learnt from all this is," he proceeded, "that we should not be afraid. Because people will always frighten the timid, not the brave." But it was no use making a show of bravery when there was fear in the heart. Probably they had all heard about a child playing with a snake without coming to harm. But if a grown-up person who was afraid of snakes tried to play with one, it would detect fear in the very touch and probably bite him. But supposing they were afraid and wanted to shed fear, the first condition was that they must not carry any arms. They should put faith in God and depend upon Him to protect them. The man who was afraid and carried arms repudiated God and made the arms his God.

## THE BAR SINISTER

Only a wall divides Gandhiji's residence from the Municipal sweepers' quarters in New Delhi. Yet a gulf as wide as that between Abraham and Lazarus separates the living conditions in the two. Gandhiji took opportunity early in the morning on Saturday last to visit it. A small square enclosed by rows of single room tenements on all sides constituted the *busti*. The tenements were miniature Black Holes with only one narrow aperture near the roof for air and light. One felt suffocated. Some of these tenements, only 10×12 ft., were occupied by as many as six, eight and even ten members of a family. How they could possibly live there with decency God alone knew. Right in the middle of the square was a double row of ramshackle latrines open in front and bathing taps. Most of the people were sleeping in the open. Their bed clothes were indescribably filthy. How could it be otherwise with the



amenities provided to them? Speaking at a volunteers' gathering the next day, Gandhiji poured out the lava that filled his soul. It was their shame as it was his. The volunteers had been in attendance in his camp. He felt grateful for the love and diligence with which they had served him and his party. But what was the use of their serving him if they served not the lowest among the low who were his next door neighbours. They should rather go and serve the *bhangis* who lived next door to him in filth and squalor. Such service carried with it its own reward. He had come to live in the Sweepers' Colony but could not live in the filth in which they lived. The fault was not theirs but of those who had reduced them to that state. The quarters provided for them were worse than the worst prison cell that he had seen in India or in South Africa. If they went to *Bhangi* quarters, not as their patrons or teachers but as their true servants, they would be able to reach their hearts and transform the look of things in no time.

A similar visit to the Sweepers' Quarters in old Delhi near Ajmeri Gate revealed conditions still more shocking. There were only eight tenements cowering under the city wall with only a narrow strip of space separating them from the edge of the city's main sewer. It hardly afforded passage to one man. We were told that one sweeper child had actually tumbled into the sewer and been drowned some time back. Some more tenements were being improvised by the sweepers themselves with mud and old rusty corrugated iron sheets as their only material. There was only one water tap for bathing and filling drinking water pots, and that had only been recently installed. The whole place was indescribably filthy. One had to hold one's breath; it stank. Rajkumari Amrit Kaur who had accompanied Gandhiji to the *busti* could not stand it; she vomited.

This city, the pride of the *Pandavas* and the Great Moghuls, Gandhiji learnt, was today perhaps the filthiest city in India. The municipal insanitation had reached the very limit. One could believe it after what one saw reflected in the sweepers' quarters. Seven years ago the late Shri Mahadev Desai visited these quarters and made a harrowing report. The passage of time only seems to have made things worse. Gandhiji was shocked. What were the municipal councillors and their health officer doing, one wondered. How one wishes that the rate payers would wake up and make their city fathers realize their duty.

Like a refreshing bath in the Holy Ganges in contrast with this was the second visit to Malaviyaji on the eve of Gandhiji's departure for Simla. But of that more next week.

New Delhi, 1-5-'46

PYARELAL

## FOR WOMEN

City women often ask what they can do in the way of social service. The tragedy of the lives of these sisters is that they are not in touch with those whom it is their duty to serve. If they were, the question would not arise.

I wonder how many, if any, of the well-to-do sisters of Delhi have ever visited the Harijan quarters here. The *busti* on the outskirts of which Gandhiji lives cries out for service for these neglected members of society. Their living quarters are bad enough, though better than many in other cities or perhaps even some in Delhi itself. Women should be in the forefront of agitation for the providing of better quarters for these people without whose service we could not live. Their wages are insufficient. It is piteous to see their bed clothes or their personal wear and the unwashed condition of the children. Is it too much to ask a band of sisters to visit these quarters daily, bathe the children, comb the matted hair of the girls, give them simple remedies for any ailments, have their clothes washed, provide milk for the children and train the women how to feed themselves and their families and how to keep their environment as clean as possible in spite of the dark, dingy and insanitary living space that is their lot today? It is devoutly to be hoped that the elected representatives of the various provincial governments will look upon making decent quarters for Harijans and indeed all labourers and raising their wages as the very first charge on their revenues.

The builders of New Delhi obviously paid scant attention to any air and light outside the gilded palaces of the rich. Our own governments must be quick to mend their errors.

New Delhi, 26-4-'46

A. K.

## CRUEL

The following is the gist of a letter to the Railway authorities by some passengers:

"We the passengers in the 'Hubli Mail' which has arrived in Poona at 10.19 p. m. beg to bring to your notice that the carriage in which we are sitting should hold only 28 whereas actually there are 80 persons in it plus heavy luggage. We are at a loss to understand why there is no supervision of accommodation available in trains. Our condition is comparable to the legendary 'Black Hole of Calcutta'. We are being suffocated. Women and children are almost dying. Is this fair treatment to third class passengers?"

The complaint is most apt. The description is an everyday occurrence. But will the railways, who live on the income derived from third class passengers, do anything for these poor people? Third class compartments and third class travel need thorough and immediate overhaul and reform. It is high time we had a government that thought in terms of the people.

New Delhi, 27-4-'46

A. K.



# HARIJAN

May 5

1946

## INDEPENDENCE

(By M. K. Gandhi)

Friends have repeatedly challenged me to define independence. At the risk of repetition, I must say that independence of my dream means *Ramarajya*, i. e. the Kingdom of God on Earth. I do not know what it will be like in Heaven. I have no desire to know the distant scene. If the present is attractive enough, the future cannot be very unlike.

In concrete terms, then, the independence should be political, economic and moral.

'Political' necessarily means the removal of the control of the British army in every shape and form.

'Economic' means entire freedom from British capitalists and capital, as also their Indian counterpart. In other words, the humblest must feel equal to the tallest. This can take place only by capital or capitalists sharing their skill and capital with the lowliest and the least.

'Moral' means freedom from armed defence forces. My conception of *Ramarajya* excludes replacement of the British army by a national army of occupation. A country that is governed by even its national army can never be morally free and, therefore, its so-called weakest member can never rise to his full moral height.

Though Mr. Churchill is claimed to have won the war for the British, he has in his Aberdeen speech uttered words of wisdom from the standpoint of a radical non-violent reformer. He knows, if any panoplied warrior knows, what havoc the two wars of our generation have wrought. In another column I reproduce the summary of his speech as reported in the public press. Only I must warn the public against the pessimistic note underlying the speech. Nothing will be found to have gone wrong if mankind recoils from the horrors of war. The bloodletting that men have undergone to the point of whiteness will not have been in vain, if it has taught us that we must freely give our own blood in the place of taking other peoples' blood, be the cause ever so noble or ignoble.

If the Cabinet Mission 'delivers the goods', India will have to decide whether attempting to become a military power she would be content to become, at least for some years, a fifth-rate power in the world without a message in answer to the pessimism described above, or whether she will by further refining and continuing her non-violent

policy prove herself worthy of being the first nation in the world using her hard-won freedom for the delivery of the earth from the burden which is crushing her in spite of the so-called victory.

New Delhi, 29-4-'46

## PRESS SUMMARY OF MR. CHURCHILL'S SPEECH

The world is very ill. This is the time when hatred is rife in the world and when many mighty branches of the human family, victors or vanquished, innocent or guilty, are plunged in bewilderment, distress or ruin. Two fearful wars in our lifetime have torn the heart out of its grace and culture.

Measureless injury has been done to much that the 19th century would have called 'Christian civilization', for all the leading nations have been racked by stresses which have blunted their sensibilities and have destroyed their agreeable modes of social intercourse.

Only science has rolled forward, whipped by the fierce winds of mortal war, and science has placed in the hands of men agencies of destruction far beyond any development of their commonsense or virtue.

In a world where over-production of food was formerly from time to time a problem, famine has laid its gaunt fingers upon the peoples of many lands and scarcity upon all.

The psychic energies of mankind have been exhausted by the tribulations through which they have passed and are still passing. It is not only bloodletting that has weakened and whitened us.

The vital springs of human inspiration are, for the moment, drained. There must be a period of recovery. Mankind cannot, in its present plight, bear new shocks and quarrels without taking to altogether cruder and primordial forms.

Yet we do not know that the hatreds and confusion which are found will not confront us with even harder trial than those we have so narrowly and painfully survived.

In many countries, where even united efforts would fall short of what is needed, party strife and faction is fomented or machine-made and skeleton fanatics rave at each other about their rival ideologies.

All the while, the ordinary folk of every country show themselves kindly and brave and serviceable to their fellow men. Yet, they are driven against one another by forces and organizations and doctrines as wantonly and remorselessly as they ever were in the ages of absolute emperors and kings.

There never was a time when breathing space was more needed, a blessed convalescence, a truce of God and man.

(*Statesman*, 29-4-'46)



## GOSHALAS AND PINJRAPOLES

(By M. K. Gandhi)

The following condensation from a scheme propounded by Sardar Sir Datar Singh will be of general interest:

It is estimated that there are at present 3000 'goshalas' in the country with a population of over six lakhs head of cattle. These organizations, besides taking up the improvement of their institutions as envisaged by the Government of India, in the present threatened famine conditions can come to the country's help by production of more milk in the institutions. The number of well-organized 'goshalas' and 'pinjrapoles' can be taken as half, i.e. 1500. The cattle may be classified as:

- |  |          |
|--|----------|
| 1. Good Dairy type 20%   | 1,20,000 |
| 2. Fair type—good for breeding, though not highly productive 20% | 1,20,000 |
| 3. Old, infirm and unfit for further breeding 60%                | 3,60,000 |

It is the first and second class that could be exploited for milk production and breeding. Out of these 2,40,000, half will be milch and half dry.

Better feeding, management, organization, etc. would mean an increase in production of 1,20,000 seers or say 3,000 maunds of milk per day.

In order to achieve this end immediately, a skeleton plan is suggested below:

1. Productive animals should be separated from those that are aged, infirm or otherwise useless. The latter should be removed to rural areas, preferably to forest *rakhs* in order to relieve congestion and allow better feeding of productive cows. These cattle should not be allowed to propagate. Their care, as well as that of dry stock farms, may be in the hands of a committee.

2. For the achievement of this end, the stock should be divided in the following manner:

a. Milch animals about to calve should be kept at the 'goshala' premises.

b. Dry animals fit for breeding should be kept on the lands, if any, belonging to the 'goshala' in the neighbourhood or may be provided for at a place from where they could be returned when about to calve, and the animals, which go dry in the 'goshala,' should be sent there.

3. The congestion-relieved 'goshalas' and 'pinjrapoles' will have enough space to house cattle properly, feed them scientifically and carry out other improvements.

4. To further help, encourage and stimulate these institutions in this direction, it is suggested to help them financially by giving them 50% reduction on concentrates and fodder on the condition that these institutions will increase their milk production immediately either by keeping milch cattle of the owners who are not able to keep them during the famine days or by buying cattle where their finances permit. The Government will have the option of purchasing one-third of their milk supply for the needy people of the locality and in the neighbourhood, if required.

5. Attempts should be made to feed cattle more on feeds which are not generally required for direct human consumption such as oil-cakes, cotton seeds, etc.

6. It may also be stated here that by feeding by-products of grains to the cattle, not only can the production of available food be increased in the form of additional milk from these animals as compared to the food value of these by-products of food in case they are directly consumed, but it will also be a more economical method of using the latter. Within limits, it will have double effect. It will help in the production of human food and will also protect the cattle from being underfed during the scarcity period.

7. All possible facilities should be provided for transport and supply of concentrates and other cattle-feeds to these institutions. Collection of data as to the requirements of the 'goshalas' and the available stocks in these organizations should immediately be taken in hand. Provision should be made well in advance for the supply of these essential requirements from surplus to deficit zones. All this must be done in advance through Goshala Development Officers, who will be responsible for the working of the whole scheme.

The Sardar suggests to every province the appointment of Goshala Development Officers, training of workers and the supply of bulls. He rightly says that for real success there must be genuine co-operation between Government and the public. He has no doubt that 'goshalas,' humanitarian and Cattle Welfare and such other bodies will give the co-operation if approached.

Another friend of cattle writes as follows:

"I want you to consider one or two suggestions for saving our cattle during the coming famine as the shortage of fodder is likely to be acute in some of the famine-stricken areas. The world is familiar with 'Save the Children' campaigns. Why should we not in India inaugurate a 'Save the Cattle' campaign? Many of our good cattle were slaughtered as you know, during the war and we cannot afford to lose more through starvation.

"My concrete suggestion is that well-to-do people with plots of land on which grass is grown should be generous enough to permit cattle belonging to less fortunate people to graze in their compounds. This may not afford large scale relief, since it would apply in the main to urban areas. Nevertheless, it is a point worthy of consideration.

"Provincial governments should establish a chain of 'goshalas' where owners of cattle, who are unable to maintain them during the period of famine, may leave them to be fed and maintained at State expense until the crisis is over. Whether this should be done entirely free or if a fee should be levied from the owners and recovered later is a detail which the provincial governments may decide for themselves. It would be easier for provincial governments to make arrangements for the collective feeding of large numbers of cattle than the distribution of fodder to individual owners."

New Delhi, 20-4-'46



## IDEAL FOR WOMEN

Many social reformers have espoused the cause of women. But with almost all of them woman was the queen of the home. Her sphere of activity was limited to looking after her husband's comfort and proper bringing up of children. With the advent of Western education sex equality became the vogue, but the equality was superficial and even artificial. Gandhiji believes in real equality. He practises what he preaches. In his Ashram the common kitchen has often been entrusted to men. It is simply an indication that most occupations are common to men and women. Woman is man's equal and can even be his superior. Care of children and the home is a joint responsibility. Woman is the mother. But her motherly tenderness should extend beyond her own children and therefore her sphere must also extend beyond the home.

During Gandhiji's Bengal tour, while answering questions in one of the workers' meetings, he said that a woman who really and truly prepared her children for the service of the motherland need not do anything more. A friend interpreted this remark as a confirmation of the popular belief that woman's one duty was to look after the home and bring up the children properly. Gandhiji laughed and said: "People always interpret things in the way that suits them. Men and women given to animal enjoyment can never prepare their children for the service of the motherland. It is only those whose law of life is self-control that can do so and such will always find time for service outside the domestic sphere."

He holds strong views against birth control with the help of contraceptives. "Contraceptives," he says, "are an insult to womanhood. The difference between a prostitute and a woman using contraceptives is only this that the former sells her body to several men, the latter sells it to one man. Man has no right to touch his wife so long as she does not wish to have a child, and the woman should have the will power to resist even her own husband."

Addressing a women's meeting during his recent visit to Madras he said that he wanted women to radiate the *tejas* of purity, even that of Sita before which the mighty Ravana had to accept defeat. If they possessed her purity, they would rule India and bring the Kingdom of Heaven upon earth. He would like to see women not only managing the Kasturba Trust but taking a large share in all national activity. He would see the wheel in the hands of millions of India's women and would have them banish from their hearts all traces of untouchability and communal differences and speaking Hindustani.

Woman is personification of non-violence. While talking to some Jain *Sadhvis* at the time of his talks with Qaid-e-Azam Jinnah he once said: "Woman is naturally more self-suffering. Non-violence therefore comes more easily to her. You are Jain women. I expect a lot from you."

He often says: "I am half woman." According to him, man comes nearer to woman when he

assimilates and practises non-violence which requires greater courage than violence, because for violence physical strength and brute force is all that matters. Thus to be nearer a woman is a mark of a higher state.

Speaking at Borivli Kasturba Training Camp he said: "I wish to see women as men's equals and even their superiors. I would like you to occupy all posts of responsibility. But that does not mean that I would like you to occupy them without possessing the capacity. In fact I want you to give proof of greater ability than men."

"Equality must not mean copying men's shortcomings. Smoking and drinking, for instance, are common amongst men. You are not to descend to their level. You are to set to them an example in purity, renunciation, selfless love and service."

New Delhi, 15-4-'46

S. N.

## IGNORANT LEGISLATION

Shri T. N. Jagdisan writes to Gandhiji:

"The following appeared in the *Hindu*: 'April 1, Karachi. The Sind Assembly today referred to a select committee the Bill seeking to empower the Government to sterilize lepers. In the statement of the Objects and Reasons of the Bill, it is stated that leprosy is not indigenous to the province of Sind, but the facilities for medical treatment available here attract an increasingly large number of leper immigrants from all over India and this has created a serious problem for the province. This Bill provides for sterilization of male lepers.'

"About a year ago Dr. R. G. Cochrane (now on leave in England) had expressed himself strongly against the proposal in an opinion which he was asked to give. If leprosy were hereditary, sterilization of male cases of leprosy would be a measure calculated to control leprosy. But leprosy is *not* hereditary. It is spread by the close and prolonged contact of healthy persons, especially children, with infective cases. Any child brought into contact with an infective case may develop leprosy. Children born to an infective parent or parents do not develop the disease if they are removed from the infective persons at a very early age. Reports of intensive surveys, done so far, show that in our Indian joint-families less infection results by contact with parents than by contact with uncles, aunts, brothers, sisters, etc. There is also infection by neighbours and co-tenants. So the sterilizing of male cases of leprosy would not improve the situation. On the other hand it will definitely worsen it by frightening the patients and driving them to conceal their disease for long years. And let it be remembered that leprosy can be concealed for long years, and these years are just the years when the patient, if treated, can get better; if untreated, can be an effective source of infection."

"If the proposed legislation is enacted, it will in practice operate only on the obvious, advanced, mutilated case who is probably not very infective, even if he were of the infective type, who certainly has no scope for marriage and progeny. The Sind Bill seeks to control the spread of the disease by immigrant patients. The immigrant patient, if infective,



will not by sterilization cease to be a source of infection, in close and prolonged contact. The only way in which leprosy can be controlled is by the ensuring of conditions in which infective cases of leprosy, whether immigrant or indigenous, do not live in close and prolonged contact with children.

"The Sind Bill is both unintelligent and harsh. Leprosy, like tuberculosis, runs in families by the close contact of healthy members, particularly the children, with the infective ones. Measures to control leprosy need be no harsher than measures to control tuberculosis, and should be directed at cutting the channel of communication between the infective and the uninfected. The pity is that even the most enlightened people have old and wrong notions about leprosy, and, as of all things an ancient prejudice dies hardest, a penalizing attitude enters into the minds of legislators and administrators when they deal with leprosy. But with one voice all the experience of great workers in leprosy cries aloud that harsh measures intended to abolish leprosy have only had the opposite effect of driving the disease underground, thereby increasing it. In leprosy as in other spheres of life, harshness never pays, violence never pays."

The medical world will support every word of what Prof. Jagdisan has said. This is what Manson-Bahr, an authority on tropical diseases, says with regard to heredity in leprosy:

"From the fact that it tends to run in families and that in certain instances it assumes the appearance of atavism, leprosy was formerly believed to be hereditary. If this were so, how explain the striking fact, brought out by Hansen, that of the numerous offspring of 160 Norwegian lepers who emigrated to America not one has become a leper? Although acid-fast bacilli have been found in the placentas, the evidence of Culion settlement in the Philippines is that leprosy is not hereditary."

The only way to prevent the spread of the disease is to segregate the lepers. A child born of leprosy parents should be separated from them immediately at birth. According to still another authority on tropical diseases if this is delayed for six months, the child will have probably contracted the disease by that time. Ignorant legislation can serve no useful purpose whatsoever. On the contrary, it is likely to do a lot of harm as the good professor has explained in his letter. It is hoped that medical opinion all over the country will protest against the proposed measure and the Government will take really proper and effective measures for preventing the spread of the disease instead of passing the proposed bill.

New Delhi, 23-4-'46

S. N.

By M. K. Gandhi

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## SCIENTIFIC RESEARCH AND FOOD SHORTAGE

Ever since the P. S. V.'s visit to Gandhiji at Sevagram in connection with food shortage, his mind has been working to find out ways and means of combating the coming disaster. He has laid the fullest emphasis on "Grow More Food" and "Save As Much Food As Possible" campaigns. In his *Ashram* all the flower plants have been dug out and vegetables grown there instead. Nobody is to eat a morsel more than necessary, and no food is to be wasted. Over and above these, he has been thinking whether any food substitutes can be found. He asked me one day whether tender shoots of wheat before the grain has formed inside had any nutritive value. The idea is to tide over the period till the next crop is ready. So far as I know tender shoots or ears of wheat before the proper formation of grain has no nutritive value whatsoever. It is for the research institutions in the country to work on the problem and help to ward off the famine. Some of the medical journals have published reports of scientists having succeeded in making grass edible and assimilable by human beings. The Nutrition Research Laboratories at Coonoor can play a great part in this connection. It is sincerely hoped that the authorities of that institution will suspend for the time being academic research and concentrate on finding out ways and means of fighting the food shortage, for instance, finding out alternative foods, working out the role of tubers and root crops—admittedly short term heavy yielding crops, ideally suited to tide over the food crisis. They can also help a good deal by making suggestions for efficient husbanding of the available food resources in the country. A friend who had good experience of agriculture and, kisans was telling us the other day that practically 1/8th of the wheat stored by kisans goes to waste because of improper storage. That should be remedied without delay, and it is for medical research workers to suggest simple and efficient methods to do so. They can work out austerity meals, suggest menus giving a balanced diet and at the same time economize as much food as possible. The Nutrition Research Laboratories, Coonoor, have rendered useful service in the past by making the intelligentsia of the country food conscious. It is for them now to help the masses. Then and then alone can the heavy annual budget of such research work be justified. The money spent on the research comes from the pockets of the poor and the research workers must see that they do not die of preventable starvation.

S. N.

[The more I study the food crisis the more convinced I feel that people are being starved not for want of food, but for want of the co-operative effort of the expert and a national Government at the Centre bent upon meeting the crisis and inspiring the masses with confidence.]

New Delhi, 20-4-'46

M. K. G.]



## A LIGHT IN DARKNESS

Seven miles from New Delhi, on the main road to Muttra, near Okhla Station, is an as yet tiny institution, the Kasturba Balika Ashram, that lights the shadow of the Imperial City with its steady, mild glow. Under that shadow covers the Harijan population of the city amidst the filth and squalor of *bastis*, where men and women engaged in rendering the most useful service to society are condemned to live under sub-human conditions of existence, to the shame and despair of all humanitarians. In the midst of his multifarious engagements Gandhiji found time to pay the Ashram a visit on Saturday, the 20th April.

The institution owes its existence to the passion for Harijan uplift of Mrs. Rameshwari Nehru who four years ago donated a sum of Rs. 10,000/- for founding an industrial home for the training of Harijan girls. Shrimati Sumitra Devi (Mrs. Madhavaprasad Birla) just before her untimely and tragic death willed a sum of one and a quarter lakh of rupees for the institution. The present roomy buildings in which it is housed is the gift of a Delhi gentleman to whom it originally belonged. One and a half year after the death of Mrs. Kasturba Gandhi, its opening ceremony was performed by Mrs. Rameshwari Nehru, when a beginning was made with 12 Harijan girls. At present the number of girls receiving training is 40, 14 out of these being from C. P., 10 from U. P., 8 from Rajputana, 5 from the Punjab, 1 from Maharashtra and 2 from Gujarat. Three out of 40 are Caste Hindus, all the rest being Harijans. All the expenses of the Harijan girls are paid by the Harijan Sevak Sangh. Admission is confined to unmarried girls, of 7 to 12 years of age, who have read up to the second class. But owing to the difficulty of securing Harijan girls even with that minimum standard of qualification, some altogether illiterate girls too had to be admitted. Teaching is now being given up to the 6th class. Training includes house-keeping, crotchet work, cooking, kitchen gardening, spinning and the allied processes and *batik* work. In literary training the curriculum in force in the District Board schools has been followed hitherto. But it has now been decided to prepare the candidates for the Prayag Mahila Vidyapith examinations.

Vocational training is given the place of honour in the syllabus of studies. By devoting one hour daily to spinning, 790 hanks of yarn representing a spinning wage of Rs. 90/- were spun since Gandhiji's birthday in October last. The highest number of hanks spun by a girl was 86, the second best having spun 82 hanks of 20c. out of self-carded cotton, representing a spinning wage of Rs. 13-7-0 and Rs. 12-15-0 respectively. Both the girls distinguished themselves in their literary studies too. The Balikashram experiment has conclusively proved that by giving one hour to spinning a student of school or college can produce all the cloth for her requirements.

Over and above this, 643 pieces of clothing were stitched, and 40 pieces of embroidery and six toys were produced by students in the vocational classes, the total amount of labour represented by these being Rs. 158/-. The total income for the last six months was

Rs. 56,261-1-3, expenditure during the corresponding period being Rs. 45,067-2-9

The institution is being conducted under the personal guidance of Shrimati Rameshwari Nehru, who visits and stays in the institution for a week or a fortnight every two or three months, and Thakkar Bapa, who claims with Gandhiji the title of being Harijan No. 1 of India. The institution has been fortunate in securing the services of Shri Prabhudas Gandhi, who is the Superintendent and of Shrimati Anasuya Mehta who is the Head Mistress.

A small exhibition of the products of the vocational activity of the students had been arranged. The exhibits included specimens of embroidery, crotchet and *batik* work, and maps and drawings by the students showing a high degree of artistic taste and manual skill. Their singing of *bhajans* was beautiful and the pronunciation of the Sanskrit verses that were recited as good as that of any 'Caste Hindu' girl, if not better. What pleased Gandhiji particularly was the high standard of personal cleanliness and tidiness shown by the girls. A few days back they had all come to *Bhangi Nivas*, a distance of seven miles, to meet Gandhiji and had walked back.

Making the cultural aspect of education the theme of his talk Gandhiji said, addressing them in Hindustani:

"I attach far more importance to the cultural aspect of education than to the literary. Culture is the foundation, the primary thing which the girls ought to get from here. It should show in the smallest detail of your conduct and personal behaviour, how you sit, how you walk, how you dress, etc., so that anybody might be able to see at a glance that you are the products of this institution. Inner culture must be reflected in your speech, the way in which you treat visitors and guests, and behave towards one another and your teachers and elders.

"I was pleased too that you walked all the distance to and from *Bhangi Nivas*, when you came to see me. But if you came only to please me, your trudging had no merit. It will do you no good. You must make it a rule to prefer walking to using a conveyance. Motor car is not for the millions. You will therefore shun it. Millions cannot afford even train journey. Their world is their village. It is a very small thing but if you faithfully adhere to this rule it will transform your entire life and fill it with a sweetness that natural simplicity carries with it.

"Education here won't qualify you for luxurious living. I want the Harijan girls here to show such a degree of culture that everybody should feel ashamed to regard them as untouchables. That is the goal of the Harijan Sevak Sangh's activities. This institution should demonstrate to the whole world the heights to which Harijans can rise, if they are freed from the incubus of untouchability and conversely the sacrilege and inhumanity of the institution of untouchability itself. I look forward to the day when this institution will fill the whole country with its fragrance and become a centre of attraction for girls from near and far."

New Delhi,  
22-4-'46

PYARELAL



## SWARAJ THROUGH SPINNING

(By M. K. Gandhi)

An A. I. S. A. worker writes thus :

"If we are to teach the spinners to spin with understanding and wear nothing but Khadi, it is only natural that the commercial side of Khadi will suffer. I personally am all in favour of the new scheme enunciated by you. You have said that we must make the spinners self-sufficient and that to obtain Swaraj through their activity is the aim of the A. I. S. A. You also want them to learn all the processes from cleaning cotton up to making slivers. 'This way lies Swaraj', you say. I admit it is right for spinners to learn well all the processes. This knowledge will increase their wage-earning capacity as also make them self-sufficient. The quality of yarn and cloth will also improve. But how can we win our freedom this way? How are we to bring home this lesson to the spinners? Please write clearly on this issue so that not only may the workers understand your meaning, but they may also be in a position to explain it to the spinners."

Imagine, if all the spinners understood the inner meaning of the wheel and spin willingly and not under pressure, what an India there would be! The awakening of crores of women spinners would *ipso facto* produce lakhs of Khadi weavers. Imagine too the numbers of men and women workers needed to bring about this awakening! If such a time comes, textile mills even if any were working, would have to rely on foreign countries for the sale of their produce. They would not, as they do today, hold imperialistic sway over the villages and cities. There would be Hindu-Muslim unity, all would be truthful, there would be no need to tell anyone to wear Khadi for no cloth other than home-spun would be available. That Swaraj is hidden in this revolutionary change should be self-evident to seeing eyes. The question may imply that such a consummation is impossible. If such is the question, it means that Swaraj through non-violent means is impossible.

Another question asked is how the spinners are to be given the requisite education. To seek out the right answer is the main work of the A.I.S.A. Enough research has not so far been done. It is the duty of every A.I.S.A. worker to try to solve the puzzle. Now that we have Congress ministries in several provinces the work should be easy. Let the workers throw themselves heart and soul into it. They will never succeed if they look all the time to the Central Office for help and guidance.

New Delhi, 26-4-'46

(From *Harijansevak*)

## MARCH OF CIVILIZATION

(By M. K. Gandhi)

Q. On page 91 of 'Harijan' dated 14-4-'46, it has been argued that the bullock is a living machine and that contact with such harmless animals is a potent factor in the onward march of human civilization. The animals are, however, made 'harmless' by making them 'impotent'. Is this the correct method of the onward march of civilization? If we have cows, we must have bulls. The bullock is a creation of human selfishness and cruelty. If not in thinking man, in the lower animals at any rate, all the force of their nature rages in the fury of the generative desire. Therefore, to turn the noble animal, the 'Vahana of Mahadev' into a beast of burden is sad.

A. The writer is logical. But such logic would prevent the domestication of the cow. For there is probably more cruelty in domesticating the cow than in castrating the bull. It is a question of degree. Further march of civilization seems to imply increasing domination of man over beast, together with a growingly humane method of using them.

There are three schools of humanitarians. One believes in replacing animal power by the use of any other. Another believes in treating animals as fellow beings and making such use of them as a brotherly spirit will permit. The third will not make use of lower animals for man's selfish purpose but will employ instead one's own power and that of fellow beings to the extent that the latter give intelligent and willing use. I belong to the third school. It is possible by human labour, judiciously and humanely employed, to do fruit culture to a large extent and even corn culture. Indeed, as prisoners we civil resisters in Transvaal dug up stony ground for converting it into a municipal garden. No ploughing would have answered the purpose. The ground could yield only to the pickaxe.

The first I hold to be useless and even injurious in the end to mankind. A judicious combination of the other two seems to me to be the goal. I can see no escape from castration. The only thing to be done is to make it progressively humane.

A correspondent has brought forward in this connection the question of branding animals. Does the pain caused by branding compensate for the benefit it confers upon the owner and the animal? If it confers none on the animal, naturally branding must be taboo.

New Delhi, 29-4-'46

By M. K. Gandhi

**Economics of Khadi**

Price Rs. 4-0-0, Postage 13 Annas

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**Constructive Programme**

Its Meaning and Place

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## KANU GANDHI'S CAMP

( By M. K. Gandhi )

This issue contains an abridged account of Kanu Gandhi's second camp. How the candidates were selected, how there was no financial loss, how beginning with cleaning latrines they carried out all the other work, what they ate etc. are all matters worthy of attention. The smallest detail was not neglected. The running of this camp will serve as a guide to others who wish to organize or attend training camps.

The secret of Kanu Gandhi's camp lay, in my opinion, in the fact that the organizers knew their job and were there as workers rather than for issuing orders. Where the organizers are mere superintendents the work is often apt to be lifeless or slack.

It is sad that the camp had to be of short duration. There were strong reasons for this being so. Let us hope that those who came for training will utilize in their own lives the lessons they learnt and thus make progress towards becoming perfect servants of the people.

[ An abstract from Kanu Gandhi's description of his *shibir* in Sevagram to which reference has been made in the foregoing shows that candidates were informed that the *shibir* would be conducted during the hot months and in Gandhiji's absence. Nevertheless 160 applications came in. Forms were sent to them all but as Gandhiji's movements became uncertain and Shri Kanu Gandhi was with him, the filled-in forms were received at Bardoli where Gandhiji was originally to have gone, from thence to Poona, and thence to Sevagram. Ultimately there were 22 men and 4 women admitted to the *shibir*.

These men and women had to attend to everything, beginning with conservancy work and going on to cooking and cleaning. They had to do strenuous farming work too. At first it was intended to have sheds on the open ground near the Ashram. But as only 26 persons were able to come they were accommodated near the Talimi Sangh quarters and so far as it was possible the Talimi Sangh people also collaborated with the *shibir* trainees. On two days in the week they had sprouted gram, otherwise *dallia* was served for breakfast. For the midday meal and supper they had *jawari* bread or rice and *dal* with vegetables. Oil was served instead of ghee and an attempt was made to give 8 ounces of curds per head during the 24 hours. All this cost -/6/9 per day.

Every trainee knew how to spin but they had regular training given them in the new process of sliver-making called *tunai*. It was possible to

attain a speed of 170 rounds of yarn per hour, *tunai* being included in the period.

They had lessons in first aid, civil drill, singing picked national songs and they were taught the way to hoist the national flag with ease and without any mishap.

All had to take part in the prayer meetings.

A special feature of the training consisted in seeing whether they would take to Hindustani written in both Nagri and Urdu characters. Shri Devprakash of the Talimi Sangh successfully taught Urdu for three hours during the three weeks, thus dispelling the gloomy foreboding that the Urdu characters cannot be learnt without much labour and difficulty. The result shows just the opposite. In spite of the rigorous work and heat and very simple food, only four persons lost in weight from 2 to 5 lbs. All others showed decisive gain.]

New Delhi, 29-4-'46

( From *Harijanbandhu* )

## A REQUEST

Change of address to be effective for the week should please be intimated to us by *Tuesday*. Please quote the subscriber number with the intimation.

Please note that change of address cannot be effected twice within one month.

Subscribers are not enrolled for a period of less than six months.

## TO AGENTS

I am glad to announce that the quota of paper sanctioned for the Harijan weeklies has been increased by Government. Hence, orders for more copies of all the three weeklies can now be entertained. Those agents who want to increase their number of copies can write to the office now. I may remind them that consequent increase in the sum of their deposits will have to be remitted to the office along with the orders.

Please refer to the 1st of the Agency terms. It has been found on experience that its working gives rise to many complications and much unnecessary correspondence. It is therefore amended as under :

1. The agent will have to deposit with us a sum sufficient to cover the cost of *at least two months' copies* required by him. Out of this amount a sum equivalent to one month's cost will be treated as *reserved* or *fixed* deposit. Every week the bill will be deducted from the other half, i.e. the *current* deposit, and on the sum of that amount being insufficient to cover the next week's copies, the supply of copies will be stopped *at once*.

Agents are requested to make the necessary arrangement according to the amended term immediately, as the new arrangement comes into force from the 1st of May. All agencies which do not make this arrangement before the next issue is out, will be treated as cancelled.

2-5-'46

J. DESAI



## CULTURAL CONQUEST AND ROMAN SCRIPT

Shri S. A. Ayer of the Azad Hind Government came to discuss with Gandhiji the other day the question of issuing a news bulletin in Roman script for the I. N. A., as proposed by the Central I. N. A. Relief Committee. "The Committee are not enamoured of the Roman script," he observed. "They have accepted it only as a temporary expedient. Otherwise we shall have to print it in three different scripts — Hindi, Urdu, Tamil, and that would mean a lot of expenditure. Moreover it would only be a continuation of the old tradition," he added. "The men had got used to the Roman script while they were in the Indian Army and so retained it when they were operating in S. E. Asia." "You forget," replied Gandhiji "that you are not working in S. E. Asia today, but in India. May I ask if these men ever write to their wives and children in the Roman script?"

"Never," replied Shri Ayer. "They write one and all in Hindi, Urdu, Tamil or any of the other Indian scripts."

"This means," remarked Gandhiji, "that they all know one or the other Indian script. I could understand your wanting to adopt Roman script as a temporary makeshift if we had no script of our own. But to adopt Roman script for Hindustani which has got two acknowledged scripts is only a sign of the psychological conquest that the English have made over us. In order to conquer the English who had conquered you, you adopted the English garb, i. e. Roman script for your bulletins in S. E. Asia. You should have discarded this symbol of the cultural conquest and insisted on having your bulletin in two Indian scripts rather than in Roman. The latter was primarily adopted for the sake of the British officers and men who had to learn Hindustani in order to rule over us. They solved the difficulty presented by the permutations and combinations of the Urdu alphabet and tempted us by their typewriters, telegraph and printing machines which use Roman script. We succumbed. We may not hark back to the symbol of our cultural conquest when we are out to end India's age-long slavery in toto. When you served in the British army it was with the prospect of getting rewards in the form of decorations, comfortable pay and pensions, grants of land etc. But now you don't want such temptations. You serve only for the independence and honour of your country. You do not want the easy way."

"India will soon have independence. Do not think that there will be one script for Hindustani all at once. It will come when you and I have honestly and diligently learnt both the scripts — not before. That is the least price we have to pay for independence."

In support of his argument he cited the parallel of South Africa where they have everything in two

languages. The Government gazette is published in two languages and so are the text books for use in schools. "And it is not called partition, but Union of South Africa. To maintain this union they have four capitals one for each province. That is the way of a free and freedom-loving people."

Shri Ayer agreed and said, "We shall have the Hindustani bulletin in Nagri and Urdu scripts, not in Roman."

New Delhi, 20-4-'46

PYARELAL

## THE MONKEY NUISANCE

(By M. K. Gandhi)

People get weary of the trouble caused to them by monkeys. In their hearts they wish them dead. They are inwardly pleased if anyone kills them. At the same time they will oppose their slaughter. A friend who is well acquainted with the scriptures writes that monkeys ruin the crops, they even kidnap children and remove articles, eat and spoil fruit etc. Their number is daily increasing. I am asked as to what non-violence dictates in the matter.

My *ahimsa* is my own. I am not able to accept in its entirety the doctrine of non-killing of animals. I have no feeling in me to save the life of these animals who devour or cause hurt to man. I consider it wrong to help in the increase of their progeny. Therefore, I will not feed ants, monkeys or dogs. I will never sacrifice a man's life in order to save theirs.

Thinking along these lines I have come to the conclusion that to do away with monkeys where they have become a menace to the well-being of man is pardonable. Such killing becomes a duty. The question may arise as to why this rule should not also apply to human beings. It cannot because, however bad, they are as we are. Unlike the animal, God has given man the faculty of reason.

New Delhi, 25-4-'46

(From *Harijansevak*)

## GANDHIJI'S PRESS STATEMENT

Gandhiji has issued the following statement to the Press:

Mr. Hoover's flying visit to India has excited considerable interest and possibly hope. Whilst all the help that America and other countries can send to India, struggling against starvation, must be welcome, my endeavour has been to find ways and means to make ourselves self-supporting. The moment people give way to panic, starvation is a certainty in spite of a continuous line of steamers offloading grain from outside on India's wharves. Conversely, every grain from abroad sent as a matter of duty to self-reliant India, honestly and manfully braving the threatening danger, will be twice blessed. Let Mr. Hoover's visit serve as a reminder to Government servants, monied men and grain merchants that they must think all the time of their duty to the masses. Nature never fails those who will help themselves.

New Delhi, 26-4-'46



## QUESTION BOX

(By M. K. Gandhi)

## CRIMINALS AND NON-VIOLENCE

Q. What would be the treatment meted out to criminals in Free India in the light of your non-violence?

A. In Independent India of the non-violent type, there will be crime but no criminals. They will not be punished. Crime is a disease like any other malady and is a product of the prevalent social system. Therefore, all crime including murder will be treated as a disease. Whether such an India will ever come into being is another question.

New Delhi, 28-4-'46

## WHITED SEPULCHRES?

(By M. K. Gandhi)

"I am a woman but feel I must write to you about this matter. About three months ago a man who said he was ...'s servant came here. I have always had a high opinion of the integrity of Congressmen and was therefore glad to meet him. I used to spin every day and he used to come to see me daily and call me daughter. I too began calling him uncle. One evening he brought a car and asked me if I had ever been in one and if not, would I not go with him for an outing? It never entered my head to suspect him and I acceded to his request. I was first taken to . . . where I was gagged and later we proceeded to a house in . . . For some days every effort was made to commit an outrage on me. I tried several times to escape but was always stopped with the threat of being shot. Who does not love life and I confess I was frightened. Then one day a wealthy merchant and Congress leader of . . . came and asked me to go and enjoy life with him in . . . My abductor was looking at me and laughing. I cannot describe in words the horrible behaviour of this scoundrel. There are others also implicated whose names I do not know, but the wealthy merchant gave Rs. 500/- to the old woman in charge of the house where I was kept. She tried to persuade me to go with him and told me that I would be kept in comfort.

"Later one day I was rescued by a friend of my father's with the help of the police."

I have received more than one such letter accusing some Congressmen of immorality. It would not be wisdom to believe that they are all untrue and ignore the complaint. It has never been claimed that every Congressman is a model of virtue. But it is a matter of pride that the public expect a high standard of morality from Congressmen. All kinds of immorality are prevalent among us. It is a reformer's duty to try to wean from error those

who are justly accused of misbehaviour. There are limits to immorality, if any can be claimed to pass muster. If what has been related is true, every man has to ask himself how far he is justified in seeking to satisfy his lust at the expense of innocent girls.

New Delhi, 26-4-'46

(From Harijansevak)

## CASTE CORROSION

(By M. K. Gandhi)

Soil corrosion eats up good soil. It is bad enough. Caste corrosion is worse, it eats up men and divides men from men. Letters continue to come from Christians, Parsis, naturally from Scheduled Castes and women. They require representation in the ministry. Provincial competition is already there. The makers of ministries are not free from the taint and even when they do not favour it, they will lose caste if they dare to do the right thing and restrict their choice to merit only. Democracy can only represent the average, if not less than the average. Therefore, a democratic institution to be pure has to attend to the all-round education of the humblest and the lowliest. It must take in its sweep all superstition and social abuse. In such a society there will be no Christian and non-Christian, there will be no distinction of sex. If best persons are women all ministers will belong to that sex, if Parsis they will be all Parsis. That good day may be far off. What is to be done in the meanwhile? Those who feel that they are left out should have patience and rise by dint of service and merit. Those who happen to be ministers should mete out even justice which must include extra effort to raise the neglected and downtrodden. They should make all feel at every step that they are servants, not masters of the nation.

New Delhi, 29-4-'46

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# HARIJAN

Editor: PYARELAL

VOL. X, No. 14]

AHMEDABAD — SUNDAY, MAY 12, 1946

[ TWO ANNAS

## A HARIJAN'S LETTER

(By M. K. Gandhi)

A Harijan friend complains bitterly about my article on sweepers' strike.

His first complaint is that I have given up the sweet name 'Harijan' and used 'Bhangi' instead. The criticism shows the sensitive nature of the correspondent. It was a Gujarati untouchable, in the first instance, who suggested the name 'Harijan' to me and I willingly adopted it. This does not, however, mean that a current word for any sub-caste may never be used. I count myself a *Harijan* and it pleases me to call myself a *Bhangi* among them, because that is the lowest caste of *Harijans*. When I stayed recently in the sweepers' quarters in Delhi, the *Harijans* there too complained against the use of the word 'Bhangi'. They suggested 'Mehtar'. I tried to make them understand that it mattered little as to which of the current words was used for the same occupation. In spite of being considered the lowest occupation, it was in fact the highest inasmuch as it protected health and they should be indifferent to the name. Whatever the origin of the word may be, 'Bhangi' is, in my opinion, another name for *Shivji*. Whether you call a sweeper a *Mehtar* or a *Bhangi*, like *Shivji* he brings health to man. The one brings it by keeping the home clean, the other cleanses the mind of man.

The second criticism is more serious. Prejudices are responsible for misunderstandings. If we take by force even that to which we are entitled, the action is likely to lead to a quarrel. We may not even be able to digest what we get by force. The strikers got what they did by coercion. At least, that is my belief. If my occupation is to keep latrines clean and I refused to do the work, can it be termed anything other than coercion? Of course, I am not bound to take up the job of cleaning latrines and I may be said to have every right to lay down my conditions of service. But according to my way of thinking, the laying down of conditions is not an absolute right. Even if such an absolute right would be permitted, it might not be proper to use it under certain circumstances. But I do not want to enter into the justification of this reasoning. I tried to show in my article the duties of *Bhangis* as well as of citizens. I have often said that every kind of injustice is meted out to *Bhangis*. I have no doubt that citizens do not fulfil their obligations to them.

Thus it is their duty to see that *Harijan* dwellings are built properly, the means employed for cleaning are decent, that they have a special working uniform given to them, that they and their children have facilities for education etc. These and other problems should be solved without loss of time. The *Bhangis* may not go on strike for lack of these amenities but it is up to all citizens to raise their voice on behalf of them.

Yet another criticism is directed against my suggestion of the use of the military to do sweepers' work. I do not see any wrong in what I said. I have re-read my article and am not willing to withdraw one single word of it. I do not regret having written as I did. I advise *Harijan* friends to read it in the proper spirit. If they do so, they will see that my feelings on their behalf have undergone no change.

Simla, 5-5-'46

(From *Harijanbandhu*)

## Notes

### The Late Bhulabhai Desai

It was the heroism and travail of Bardoli that brought to public life men like Shri Bhulabhai Desai. He might otherwise have remained a distinguished Government servant and ended his career as a judge of the Bombay High Court. He reached the height of fame when his forensic talents resulted in the release of the I. N. A. prisoners. His son and daughter-in-law have in me, like many others, a co-sharer in their grief which, it is to be hoped, they will turn into joy by inheriting the deceased's love of the country's service, which alone makes life worth living.

Simla, 6-5-'46

### Ramanavami Celebrations

"They get the best talent from the South at enormous cost for the sake of amusement. The artistes who preside are of questionable morals. All this at a religious festival." This is a condensation of a correspondent's letter. When a man begins a downward career, it is difficult to say where the deterioration will end. Intoxication of wealth is often as bad as that caused by liquor. The only way to stop this degradation of religious or for that matter any celebrations is for the public not to patronize them.

Simla, 2-5-'46

M. K. G.



## THE SO-CALLED DECIMAL COINAGE

The Central Legislative Assembly having decided to circulate the Cent Bill for eliciting public opinion, as one, perhaps, partly responsible for influencing this decision, I owe it to the public to explain more fully my views about this measure.

I am conscious of the comparative simplicity of decimal arithmetic. Two facts must, however, be borne in mind in regard to this simplicity: (i) it is particularly available to calculations made on paper rather than to oral ones, and (ii) the cause of the simplicity is not the number ten, but the use of zero in representing every-tenth number. If the ancient inventor of numerical digits had arranged objects in groups of, say, eight or sixteen instead of ten and utilized zero for representing every eighth or sixteenth number, all the advantages of decimal reckoning would have accrued to that arrangement as well. It was rather unfortunate that he did not do so. For, in practice, it is easier to divide a thing into halves, quarters, eighths, etc. than into one-fifths, one-tenths etc. A child of seven would be able to divide a piece of string into 2, 4, 8 or even 16 equal parts with greater ease and without a measuring rod than an educated adult could divide it into 1/10th or 1/5th.

But as this is not a thesis for bringing about a revolution in Mathematics, I shall not dilate further upon this. We have to accept the decimal system as an irrevocably established custom as long as the present human race lasts, and make as best use of it as possible. As far as multiples are concerned, we find that all the world over it is used by the learned and the ignorant alike. Thus all of them say, ten or twenty or hundred rupees, maunds, seers, feet, yards etc. But when it comes to the sub-divisions of a unit, it is all anarchy. There is, however, a negative peculiarity about this anarchy. Until the invention of the scientific Metrical System, nowhere do we find a general tendency to sub-divide a unit into tenths. Where it is not a half or a quarter, it is 1/3rd, 1/6th, 1/12th, 1/28th and anything but 1/10th. It seems that the untrained intellect of man has never been able to conceive of 1/10th, although the decimal fraction itself has been used in mathematical calculations for several centuries now.

I have been reminded that India has the honour of inventing the decimal. India should also be credited with the honour of inventing the *chauthai* (quarteral) system as well. In the midst of anarchy in respect of sub-divisions, she has tried to establish some order by introducing the quarteral system as nearly as possible in the various tables of measurement. Thus the rupee has been progressively divided into 4 quarters, 16 annas or 64 pice; the *tola* into 32 *wals*; the seer into 16 *chhataks*. When a smaller unit had to be related to a larger one of the same order, the quarteral system has often been combined with the decimal one. Thus the seer is made of 80 *tolas*, the maund of 40 seers, the *khandi* of 20 maunds and so on.

Progressive halving being obviously easy, it suggests itself more naturally to the human mind than decimalization. Even the author of the Cent Coinage Bill has not been able to forget the half and the quarter rupee. If the decimal system were applied to its logical perfection, there should have been a proposal to sub-divide the rupee into 10 *dasais* (decemfids) and each *dasai* into 10 cents. The nomenclature "half-rupee" should have given place to 5 *dasais* or 50 cents, and the quarter-rupee should have disappeared as unharmonious. Coins of 1 and 2 *dasais* would have been more regular. But the proposal is to keep the half and the quarter rupee unchanged. Therefore, in spite of the title "decimal coinage" given to the measure, the proposal virtually amounts to one of dividing the quarter-rupee into 25 equal parts instead of the present 4 annas, 16 pice or 48 pies.

I do not blame the author for this logical imperfection. For, it shows that he was mindful of the necessity of not sacrificing practical convenience to logical perfection. On the same practical ground I urge for the search of a better solution than the proposed cent. I have pointed out in my former criticisms on this bill, how during the transition period when both the anna and the cent coins will circulate side by side, whenever a person was obliged to pay partly in cents and partly in the old coins, he would always have to pay a little more than the exact amount. I have also pointed out how the re-pricing of retail articles in terms of the cent would tend to make them more costly automatically. I should also point out that to the illiterate villager — man or woman — who cannot often count up to more than twenty and hardly ever up to one hundred, prices in terms of, say, 35 cents, 48 cents, 72 cents etc. will be extremely puzzling. He can understand and know how to pay  $5\frac{1}{2}$  annas,  $7\frac{1}{2}$  as.,  $11\frac{1}{2}$  and so on, but not the other figures, which are very nearly their equivalents. He can also add up these amounts orally and know the total in terms of rupees, annas and quarter annas. But he cannot, unaided, be able to add up the cents. These difficulties will disappear with the spread of education, but they are not so trivial as could be ignored just at present.

But I realize fully that all these arguments may still fail to satisfy the eager theoretician and industrialist, and their influence might prevail. Nor am I myself blind to the necessity of an advance towards decimalization to suit the requirements of science and modern business. Some way, therefore, must be found for meeting these requirements, without causing inconvenience or loss to the humble citizen. With this end, I shall make some constructive suggestions in my next article.

K. G. Mashruwala

[Shri K. G. Mashruwala's note is a fairly conclusive argument to show that there should be no hurry over the proposed change. Let such things await a full-fledged national representative government. Simla, 3-5-'46 M. K. G.]



## USEFUL HINTS

[The following excerpts are taken from Prof. Kumarappa's notes. M. K. G.]

## CO-OPERATIVE SOCIETIES

Co-operative societies are ideally suited organizations, not only for developing village industries, but also for promoting group efforts by the villagers. A multi-purpose village society can serve a very useful purpose in a variety of ways such as:

1. Stocking of raw materials for industries, and food grains needed by the village people.
2. Marketing of village products and distributing the requirements of the people.
3. Distribution of seeds, improved implements and tools, manures such as bonemeal, flesh, fish manure, oilcakes, green manure seeds etc.
4. To maintain a common stud bull for the area.
5. To stand between the Government and the people in the matter of collection and payment of taxes etc.

Much of the wastage caused to food grains in transport and handling, and the expenses of collecting food grains to a central place and redistributing them again to the villages can be eliminated through the agency of a co-operative society which is a very reliable medium both from the government as well as from the public point of view. If stocks of grain are held by co-operative societies in villages, the remuneration of local officials can be conveniently paid partly in kind and this may facilitate the much desired system of collecting revenue also in kind.

## AGRICULTURE

The production of crops should be controlled keeping two considerations in mind. (1) The locality must try to produce its own food requirements and raw materials required for primary necessities of life in preference to commercial crops. (2) It must try to produce raw materials suitable for village industries rather than for factories, for example, instead of growing thick rinded sugar-cane or long staple cotton as demanded by factories, soft rinded sugar-cane as can be crushed by village *kollus* for *gur*-making and short staple cotton as required for hand-spinning should be grown. The surplus land can be utilized to supplement crops needed by surrounding districts. Land utilized for sugar-cane of the factory requirements, tobacco, jute and other money crops should be eliminated or reduced to the minimum. In order to make the farmers adopt this policy heavy dues or excess land revenue should be levied on land used to raise money crops and that too after a licence has been obtained. This will give the farmers no incentive to go in for money crops in preference. On the whole the prices of the agricultural products should be made to compare favourably with those of industrial products.

Commercial crops such as tobacco, jute, sugar-cane, etc. are doubly wasteful. They reduce the food production for man as well as for animals which would otherwise have got their fodder from food crops.

The supply of *gur* which may be reduced with the decline of sugar-cane crops of the factory varieties

can be made good by the production of *gur* from palm trees now tapped for *toddy* or from those which are found or can be grown in waste lands in sufficient numbers as practically to meet our demand in this respect. The best land put under sugar-cane today can then be utilized for the production of cereals, fruits and vegetables which India needs so badly today.

## IRRIGATION

The need for providing irrigation facilities to all the villages cannot be emphasized too greatly. This is the foundation upon which agriculture depends for its progress, in the absence of which it remains a gamble. A drive for sinking wells, enlarging and dredging tanks and building canals has to be launched. The power engines used in rice and flour mills now can be acquired by the Governments to pump up water from tube wells. No proper manuring can be done without water facilities, as manure in the absence of water is harmful.

(To be continued)

Simla, 3-5-'46

## GANDHIJI'S PRESS STATEMENT

Pressmen are inquiring already why my large party is going back. This is a personal question. I would rather avoid answering it, but in these days of publicity and speculation the question cannot be evaded. The reason is purely moral, if it may not be described as spiritual. My task as a self-appointed adviser to all the parties concerned is the most delicate at the present moment. The Simla venue was declared all of a sudden. It dawned on me that if I was to go to Simla, I must go without the usual party, even though 'Harijan' work might suffer. Had I succeeded in carrying conviction to the members of my party, they would have remained behind in Delhi. The time within which the decision was to be taken was only a few hours on the 1st instant. They were anxious for my well-being. The whole moral purpose would be defeated, if I did not carry their mind with me. They, therefore, came to Simla. But the matter was still agitating me. So I conferred with Pyarelal yesterday. He felt convinced that I should be left free to put myself solely in God's keeping, if I was to work under as much detachment as was possible for me. The best part of the afternoon was devoted to prayerful discussion that the party should go back to the heat of Delhi and await me there to rejoin me when I descended. This is the sole reason without reservation.

Simla, 4-5-'46

By M. K. Gandhi

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# HARIJAN

May 12

1946

## CERTAIN QUESTIONS

( By M. K. Gandhi )

A London friend has put seven questions on the working of non-violence. Though similar questions have been dealt with in 'Young India' or 'Harijan', it is profitable to answer them in a single article, if perchance the answers may prove helpful.

**Q.1** Is it possible for a modern State (which is essentially based on force) to offer non-violent resistance for countering internal as well as external forces of disorder? Or is it necessary that people wanting to offer non-violent resistance should first of all divest themselves of state-authority and place themselves *vis-a-vis* the opponent entirely in a private capacity?

**A.** It is not possible for a modern State based on force, non-violently to resist forces of disorder, whether external or internal. A man cannot serve God and Mammon, nor be 'temperate and furious' at the same time. It is claimed that a State can be based on non-violence, i.e. it can offer non-violent resistance against a world combination based on armed force. Such a State was Ashoka's. The example can be repeated. But the case does not become weak even if it be shown that Ashoka's State was not based on non-violence. It has to be examined on its merits.

**Q.2** Do you think that it would be possible for a Congress government to deal with foreign aggression or internal riots in an entirely non-violent manner?

**A.** It is certainly possible for a Congress government to deal with "foreign aggression or internal riots" in a non-violent manner. That the Congress may not share my belief is quite possible. If the Congress changes its course, the change will prove nothing save that the non-violence hitherto offered was of the weak and that the Congress has no faith in State non-violence.

**Q.3** Does not the knowledge that the opponent is wedded to non-violence often encourage the bully?

**A.** The bully has his opportunity when he has to face non-violence of the weak. Non-violence of the strong is any day stronger than that of the bravest soldier fully armed or a whole host.

**Q.4** What policy would you advocate if a section of the Indian people tries to enforce by sword a selfish measure which is not only repugnant to others but also basically unjust? While it is possible for an unofficial organization to offer non-violent resistance in such a case, is it also possible for the government of the day to do so?

**A.** The question assumes a case which can never exist. A non-violent State must be broad-based on the will of an intelligent people, well able to know its mind and act up to it. In such a State the assumed section can only be negligible. It can never stand against the deliberate will of the overwhelming majority represented by the State. The government of the day is not outside the people. It is the will of the overwhelming majority. If it is expressed non-violently, it cannot be a majority of one but nearer 99 against 1 in a hundred.

**Q.5** Is not non-violent resistance by the militarily strong more effective than that by the militarily weak?

**A.** This is a contradiction in terms. There can be no non-violence offered by the militarily strong. Thus, Russia in order to express non-violence has to discard all her power of doing violence. What is true is that if those, who were at one time strong in armed might, change their mind, they will be better able to demonstrate their non-violence to the world and, therefore, also to their opponents. Those who are strong in non-violence will not mind whether they are opposed by the militarily weak people or the strongest.

**Q.6** What should be the training and discipline for a non-violent army? Should not certain aspects of conventional military training form a part of the syllabus?

**A.** A very small part of the preliminary training received by the military is common to the non-violent army. These are discipline, drill, singing in chorus, flag hoisting, signalling and the like. Even this is not absolutely necessary and the basis is different. The positively necessary training for a non-violent army is an immovable faith in God, willing and perfect obedience to the chief of the non-violent army and perfect inward and outward co-operation between the units of the army.

**Q.7** Is it not better under existing circumstances that countries like India and England should maintain full military efficiency while resolving to give non-violent resistance a reasonable trial before taking any military step?

**A.** The foregoing answers should make it clear that under no circumstance can India and England give non-violent resistance a reasonable chance whilst they are both maintaining full military efficiency. At the same time it is perfectly true that all military powers carry on negotiations for peaceful adjustment of rival disputes. But here we are not discussing preliminary peace parleys before appealing to the arbitrament of war. We are discussing a final substitute for armed conflict called war, in naked terms mass murder.

Simla, 2-5-'46



## IS KHADI TOTTERING?

(By M. K. Gandhi)

To those who have no faith Khadi is tottering. In reality it is gaining ground. From being the poor man's staff of life, it is trying to become the non-violent means of gaining independence. The difficulty is fairly clearly expressed in the following paragraphs from a letter from Tamil Nad.

"The A. I. S. A. is faced with two problems now. The one is to keep on the Khadi production on the present methods. The other is to give reorientation to our activity related to artisans and their villages where we serve.

"The commercial production as it is, is seriously affected in the last few months owing to competition of the uncertified merchants in Khadi. The uncertified merchants buy the yarn from our spinners who spin with better cotton, supplied by us. They buy Khadi woven by the weavers out of our yarn and sell it with profit. They go to our weavers' homes and buy the Khadi woven for us by giving extra wages and yarn equivalent for the Khadi. The weavers part with our Khadi as they get extra wages and yarn at their own homes. The Khadi thus bought is sold as special Khadi with higher prices.

"There are more than fifty uncertified Khadi dealers in this area, who are said to produce about Rs. 7 lakhs worth of uncertified Khadi monthly. Among these are Congressmen also, who occupy places in the Congress Executive.

"We are not able to influence the artisans against being exploited by the uncertified merchants though the former have their deposits with us. They simply say that they are not able to resist the temptation of higher wages for inferior labour and with no conditions that we impose with regard to quality and their wearing Khadi, etc. The spinners are given besides an inferior cotton called *bonda* by the uncertified dealers which require, no carding. This is mill waste available for about three-fourths the price of good cotton. The yarn spun is only in sheafs without hanking. As this is simpler the spinners prefer this cotton. Because higher wages are paid for indifferent labour and no deposits are taken for Khadi from spinners and as there is no insistence upon quality of yarn etc. there is a tendency on the part of the spinners to work under the uncertified merchants.

"This tendency among the artisans is a great impediment and obstacle in approaching them with our ideals of village reconstruction through the Charkha."

The present method of Khadi production has to be sacrificed if it hinders re-orientation. This requires faith and the alertness which faith brings. Faith never accrues to the lazy.

Uncertified Khadi dealers are a powerful menace to Khadi whether from the standpoint of the poor man or of non-violence. For, the dealer knows only his own pocket and nothing else matters to him. Of course, he goes to the weaver and the spinner and makes all kinds of promises, not knowing that if he killed the A. I. S. A. he would kill himself.

The pity of it all is that Congressmen become willing tools in the hands of these uncertified dealers. They have brought into being an association of specialists. Yet they do not know that they are willingly or unwillingly killing the goose that lays the golden egg. They have a right to do so in any case, more so if they do not believe in Khadi as the non-violent instrument of Swaraj.

It has been suggested to me that the policy of the A. I. S. A. can be changed only after consultation with Congressmen. This is wrong in the nature of things. The A. I. S. A. is composed of Congressmen. Though created by the Congress, it is an autonomous body. It can be disowned by the Congress at any time but while it is owned it must be trusted to do the right thing in terms of Swaraj. Part payment in yarn is a potent cause of worry to Congressmen. This should not be so, if they believe that Khadi is a symbol of non-violence and all that it implies. If such is not the belief the clause about compulsory wear of Khadi should be given up.

Moreover, Khadi furnishes the acid test of public honesty. It is a great effort to find the best way of inducing honesty in public dealings, for it means coming in close and selfless touch with the millions of men and women in the villages.

The upshot of it all is that workers like the writer have to carry on their work with full faith in their mission and leave the result in the hands of God. Simla, 3-5-'46

## THE CHARITY OF THE RICH

(By M. K. Gandhi)

The following is the gist of what a friend writes:

"You accept many donations from the wealthy. There can be no doubt that the money is well spent. But the question is as to whether these donations should be accepted for your work. The donors certainly get a name thereby and among them might even be black-marketeers. Can such charity benefit the poor?"

The question really boils down to whether donations are in themselves wrong. I have no doubt about their being so in my own mind. But the world works differently. The author of the Gita has said that all undertakings are tainted. Therefore, all action should be performed with complete detachment. The *Ishopanishad* begins by saying that all action must be preceded by a full surrender of everything to God. It must, however, be admitted that even if everyone ceased to receive charity, the rich would not cease to amass wealth. It is also a fact that some rich people are stingy enough never to give anything in charity. Some even give money for nefarious purposes. Therefore, all that one can say is that certain principles should be observed in the matter of receiving charity. Not one pie should be taken for selfish ends and all should be received with God as witness.

I do, however, hold that it would be wrong to receive money from any group or individual whom the recipient considers to be unworthy. The discussion is naturally relevant only for those who are troubled by conscientious scruples.

Simla, 5-5-'46

(From *Harijansevak*)



## INTROSPECTION

The following is the gist of Gandhiji's Hindustani speech at the evening prayer gathering on 2-5-'46—the day of his arrival at Simla.

I did not know that I would have to come to Simla this time. If we have faith in God we simply would not care to know beforehand how He may dispose of us. It is enough for us to hold ourselves perfectly in readiness for whatever happens. We are not allowed to know what tomorrow has in store for us and our best conceived plans have a knack very often of going awry. The highest wisdom therefore is never to worry about the future but to resign ourselves entirely to His Will.

I do not propose to say anything here about the Cabinet Mission. And I would like you too, on your part, to repress your curiosity about it. Let us all mutely watch and pray. As I told the people who attended the evening prayer gathering at Delhi yesterday, the Cabinet Mission will not be able to go beyond what is warranted by our strength. We shall be fools to think otherwise. Even if they tried to go beyond, it would only cause us surfeit and we would not be able to take advantage of it. Therefore, even if the Mission should prove infructuous I would not blame them for it. Rather I would blame ourselves for our weakness. It would give us a measure of our strength. By strength I mean non-violent strength. We are pledged to gain Swaraj non-violently.

Many people today share the belief, and I am one of them, that this time the Cabinet Mission will do the right thing by India and that the British power would finally and completely be withdrawn. Time alone will show how far this belief is justified.

Now to take up the question I want to talk to you about. The first *mantra* of the *Ishopanishad* says that it is man's duty to surrender his all to God in the first instance. There is nothing which he can call his own. Having made the surrender man is to take out of it what he may require for his legitimate needs but not a jot more. He must not covet what belongs to others. Take my instance. I have been housed here in a palatial building. For fear of your embarrassing affection I had to seek Government's hospitality and they put me up here. That however does not mean that since the Government have placed a big bungalow at my disposal I am free to make use of the whole of it. Tolstoy, in one of his inimitable parables, has answered the question, how much land a man requires. The Devil tempts a man by granting him a boon that all the land that he can circumscribe by running around shall be his. The man runs and runs, goaded by his greed and in the end when the sun is just sinking below the horizon, he reaches back the starting point only to drop down dead. Six feet of the earth is all the land that he requires for his burial. If, therefore, I were to delude myself with the belief that I needed the whole of this bungalow and took possession of it, I would be set down as a fool. Only a perverse nature can interpret the verse to mean that after making a ceremony of offering

everything to God one can indulge oneself in the good things of life to an unlimited extent. That would be a travesty of its true meaning. I would far rather like to see a man dressed in old, mended clothes than in gaudy new ones. To wear torn clothes is a sign of laziness and therefore shame, but to wear patched clothes proclaims your poverty or renunciation and industry. Similarly, if someone gives me Rs. 25,000/- and I spend it on my person I am a robber and thief. I can use only enough for my bare needs. That would be the teaching of *Ishopanishad*.

Simla, 3-5-'46

PYARELAL

## WEEKLY LETTER

### THE DILEMMA

The late Shri Mahadev Desai often used to say that to be with Gandhiji was like sitting on the top of a volcano which might erupt at any time. Little did any of us dream, when Gandhiji decided to go to Simla, that within fortyeight hours of his reaching there, he would be sending his whole entourage packing back to the plains of Delhi. He has a nature extraordinarily sensitive to the atmosphere around him. Reverses and defeats he takes with unperturbed calm as the workings of the Divine Will, but the slightest taint of untruth in the atmosphere, or even a suspicion of it, oppresses him. He had accepted the delicate role of adviser to the Cabinet Mission and ourselves. But there was something in the general situation—something uncanny which he could sense but not quite define—which made him feel extremely uneasy. And as is his wont on such occasions, believing as he does in the principle of "as with yourself so with the universe", he began by subjecting himself to fierce self-introspection and overhaul. If he was square with himself, he knew, it would be all well with the world.

### THE TEST

Thanks to the burden of editing three—now four—Harijan weeklies and attending to the growing volume of correspondence and other work he has nowadays to keep a rather large staff with him. On Tuesday last he asked me to set down the barest minimum of personnel that we would require to accompany us to Simla. This I did. But it did not quite satisfy him.

Rajkumari Amrit Kaur, our unfailing host at Simla on the previous occasion, felt extremely unhappy as Manor Ville had only limited accommodation and a number of her domestic staff were sick or on leave. And then there was the Mahatmic handicap—the necessity of protecting him from the embarrassing affection of the crowds. Here was a dilemma. The Government had thoughtfully placed at his disposal a big bungalow at Simla and made transport arrangements for himself and his party. Should he avail himself of these without stint? His faith in God and his detachment, he felt, were on trial. Further reduction in the staff seemed hardly feasible. But, did he hope to cope with the situation through unaided human effort? And if he was to be merely an instrument for carrying out the Divine



Will, were outward trappings necessary for his purpose? "We are up against heavy odds. There is so much corruption, falsehood and deceit all around. How can I cut my way through it and come out of it unscathed, except by the use of the sharp axe of detachment," he said to himself. He put his dilemma before the party. "In this hour of trial I wish to put myself entirely in God's hands and proceed to Simla all alone. But I do not want to do so unless I can carry you with me. To force my will upon you would be the negation of detachment." The party felt staggered. They could not take upon themselves the tremendous responsibility of letting him go altogether unattended. After a hurried deliberation they communicated their unanimous decision to me to be placed before him. It was: "Let him take with him three only, or you alone, and we will be satisfied. But he cannot be allowed to go all alone. We cannot think of it." But Gandhiji was adamant. "None or all" was his laconic reply. "Faith cannot be divided. You cannot trust me to God in part." As the poet says, "Want of faith in aught is want of faith in all."

#### AN ACT OF FAITH

But there was no time then for further consideration and so the whole party trekked up to Simla.

Gandhiji's self-introspection however continued and found vent in his after-prayer discourse on the first day of his arrival at Simla when he took up the first verse of the *Ishopanishad* as his text. "Surrender all to Him and then, out of His, use for His service whatever is absolutely necessary—not a jot more." Could he be said to be acting according to the Upanishadic teaching while he surrounded himself by his entourage? "All must be surrendered to Him in the first instance and then His work carried on with whatever material may come to you through His grace." The preliminary stripping was a necessity. He again broached the proposition to us. "Unless the Lord build the house, they build in vain who build it." Why not let me take my chance with God? "It was not too late yet to perform that act of faith, he told us. "Now retire within yourself and seek the answer there. Do not consult others. And let me know the result," he said to me.

Later in the day he poured out his soul to Agatha Harrison. "The world will laugh at me and say: 'Here is a theatrical man.' I do not mind it. When one is used to human aids it is not easy to tear oneself away from them all of a sudden. I am very conservative in my feelings. I have spent half a day in searching for a small bit of pencil which had been with me for a long time. I could not reconcile myself to its loss. And here I have to detach myself from my entire surroundings and send away a party whom I have trained and seasoned for my work for years—no easy job.

"It should not be so. All should be same to one who has surrendered his all to God. My *Ramanam* will be vain repetition and I would be a wretched guide for the Congress, the Cabinet Mission and others, if I allowed that feeling of attachment to weigh with me. If they follow my

advice it might be like a plunge in darkness. As seasoned politicians they cannot afford to take that risk. My guidance must, therefore, be unalloyed.

"If you are surrounded by your family, they divide your attention in however small or subtle a measure. I wish in this crisis to give my undivided self to God."

"You feel you have to deal with an extraordinarily acute crisis?" asked Agatha Harrison.

#### A DOUBLE CRISIS

"Yes, there is a crisis within a crisis. Not only is there the outward crisis, which you see, but a crisis within myself," replied Gandhiji.

"It remains to be seen how I come out of the test," he continued. "So far people around me had attended to every little thing for me. If anything went wrong they were responsible. From tomorrow I shall have to do all that myself and blame myself only, if anything goes wrong. With all that I must feel at ease with myself. I shall have to watch myself. It will be a great thing if I survive that detachment and feel the inner joy—not start running high blood pressure. It is a big experiment in my life and a necessary stage in my spiritual growth."

What was one to say before this moral passion?

"Then felt I like some watcher of the skies

When a new planet swims into his ken,

Or like stout Cortez when with eagle eyes

He stared at the Pacific—and all his men

Look'd at each other with a mild surmise—

Silent upon a peak in Darien."

#### SURRENDER

Mystics and seers have a way of their own. It is the same all the world over. One seemed almost to hear the voice of Thomas a Kempis across the centuries.

"O Lord, I stand much in need of yet greater grace, if I ought to reach that place, where no man nor any creature shall be a hindrance unto me. For as long as anything holdeth me back, I cannot freely fly to Thee."

and again,

"Unless too a man be disentangled from all creatures, he cannot freely attend unto divine things."

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"And unless a man be elevated in spirit, and freed from all creatures, and wholly united unto God, whatsoever he knoweth, and whatsoever he hath, is of no great weight."

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"And whatsoever is not God, is nothing, and ought to be accounted as nothing."

What right had we puny creatures to hold him down in his upward flight? It would have been vain conceit on our part to think that he would be handicapped for want of our assistance. I surrendered. "It will be as you wish", I told him. "We shall be returning to Delhi by the first available train."

I communicated my decision to the Sardar. I wondered what he would have to say. I confess I felt a bit nervous. But he only said, "You are right. We may not always be able to follow him in his upward flight or even to fully grasp his reasoning. But we have no right to stand in his way."

Simla, 4-5-46

PYARELAL



## SEEKING BLESSINGS

Before starting for Simla, Gandhiji revisited the super-octogenarian of Indian nationalism at 5, Canning Street, to take leave of him and his blessings for his mission. Badsha Khan Abdul Gaffar Khan accompanied him. It was Gandhiji's day of silence, being Monday and he had, therefore, to communicate by writing only. As before, Malaviyaji was reclining in his bed. But he looked fresher than on the previous visit. In reply to Gandhiji's question as to what he proposed to do since the venue of the Cabinet Mission talks was going to be shifted to Simla, Malaviyaji said, he would be returning to Benares. That relieved Gandhiji as he was half afraid lest in his irrepressible enthusiasm this *enfant terrible* should decide to venture up the heights of Simla. That would be courting disaster at his age and in his present state of health.

"How long are you to continue to worry over the country's affairs?" Gandhiji asked him, marvelling at his perennial freshness.

"So long as the country's affairs continue to cause worry," he replied with a merry twinkle in his eyes.

"Won't you leave something to a youth like myself," scribbled out Gandhiji on another slip of paper and added, "It will make me even younger."

"This young man," replied Malaviyaji in an audible whisper, his eyes beaming at his visitor, "is going to remain young for many a day yet."

But Gandhiji was determined not to be put off so easily. As in the case of Gurudev he was eager to take upon himself Malaviyaji's burdens too, if the latter would allow it.

"You can entrust any of your burdens to me," he told him. "The only condition is that you must cease worrying and bless me with some of your strength."

"The name of God is the strength of our strength," replied Malaviyaji.

"That is true. The recitation of *Ramanam* is there all the time. But wherefrom shall I bring your learning? I am not flattering. I have neither your erudition nor your knowledge of the *Mahabharata* and the *Bhagawata* lore."

"But you have God's name which is the quintessence of all knowledge. Is it not?"

"That is true, but all the same I do feel jealous of your learning. But now you must get well and make use of all your learning to that end."

"I will get well," replied Malaviyaji.

At this stage Pandit Radhakant told Gandhiji that he had read out his article on Vanaspati Ghee, which had appeared in '*Harijan*', to his father and it had pleased him immensely.

"It is a national menace, this spread of vegetable ghee on the one hand, and the slaughter of the cows on the other. Between the two the vitality of the people is being sapped. I feel so happy over what you have done and are doing for the milk supply," commented Malaviyaji.

Gandhiji agreed with him as regards the menace of the vegetable ghee and added: "My efforts to solve the milk problem, of course continue, but success is not possible without the full cooperation of our commercial and trading class. But I must now take leave of you."

Malaviyaji smiled leave and blessings in reply, making *namaskars* at the same time. As Gandhiji rose from his seat he (Malaviyaji) slowly recited the following verse:

"Forget not yourself,

"But continue to spread your fragrance wherever you are,

"Even like the rose."

That was Malaviyaji's way of giving blessings.  
Simla, 4-5-'46

PYARELAL

## A SURE AID

(By M. K. Gandhi)

A correspondent suggests three aids to self-control, of which two are outward and one is inward. The inward help he describes as follows:

"A third thing that helps towards self-control is *Ramanam*. This has got the terrible power of converting one's sex desire into a divine longing for the Lord. In fact it seems to me from experience that the sex desire present in almost all human beings is a form of *Kundalini Shakti* left to its own natural growth and development. Just as man has fought against nature ever since creation, so also he should fight against this natural tendency of his *Kundalini* and see that it acts upward instead of downward. Once the *Kundalini* begins to act upward its direction is towards the brain and gradually will it dawn upon such a man that he and all whom he sees around him are but different manifestations of the same Lord."

There is no doubt that *Ramanam* is the surest aid. If recited from the heart it charms away every evil thought, and evil thought gone, no corresponding action is possible. The outward helps are all useless if the mind is weak. They are superfluous if the mind is pure. This must not be taken to mean that a pure-minded man can take all the liberties and still keep safe. Such a man simply will not take any liberties with himself. His whole life will be an infallible testimony to the inward purity. The Gita truly says that mind makes the man and unmakes him. Milton paraphrases the same thought when he says:

"The mind is its own place and in itself can make a heaven of hell and hell of heaven."

Simla, 2-5-'46

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# HARIJAN

16 Pages

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[THREE ANNAS

## Notes

### Non-violence and Khadi

The Congress constitution is undergoing a radical change. The supreme change that is desirable for the sake of avoiding untruth and hypocrisy is to remove the words "legitimate and peaceful" from the first article of the Congress constitution as also the clause about Khadi. Experience shows that the people who form the bulk of Congressmen are not wedded either to truth and non-violence or to Khadi. As an ardent lover of truth and non-violence and Khadi as their symbol, I make bold to suggest that these clauses should go. It will be open to anyone to be truthful and non-violent and to wear Khadi if he or she chooses to. Only there will be no deception practised on India or the world. Paradoxical as it may appear we shall be more healthful, more non-violent and better Khadi lovers with the suggested amendment than without. It should be remembered that I myself had at one time moved the removal of these clauses. I was glad I was defeated. It was wrong to be glad. I shall be sorry if my suggestion is rejected even now. Let it not be said of us that we prize hypocrisy above truth.

### Cocktail Parties

We seem to be on the eve of attaining independence! Should we ape bad European manners and customs and still prize independence? It would be a sad day for India and the world, if the price we are to pay for independence is cocktail parties and the like. What do the famishing millions know of such parties? Let it not be said of us that our monied men were gay whilst those from whom they made money were famishing for food.

### Harijan Cooks

A correspondent suggests that at the next session of the Congress all the cooks should be Harijans and to that end a corps of Harijan cooks should be trained in the observance of cleanliness and the art of cooking scientifically and as behoves a poor country like ours. He would have this privilege and duty given to the Congressmen in the province in which the Congress session is to be held. After the session these cooks should be taken over by those Congressmen who can afford it and keep cooks. Any suggestion like this which shows in practice that untouchability is a thing of the past is to be welcomed. I would only add that Congressmen who endorse it need not wait for the session. They should from now take up Harijans not merely as their cooks but have them in all other capacities.

What is more, let those who can afford it take Harijans in their families as their own children and give them proper training. All this can only happen if men and women are sincere in their professions and if the truth has gone home that under the garb of religion Hinduism is said to have consigned to untouchability their own kith and kin for no fault of theirs.

Simla, 8-5-'46

### Valmiki of Simla

Readers must know that *Valmiki* is another word for *bhangi*. Their living quarters in Simla are deplorable. No one bothers about them. Rajkumari has tried her best for them for years but how much can a single person do? I am unable to get as far and see things for myself, but I requested Badshah Khan who is staying with me to go there. He gives me a piteous account of their hovels. Some of the *Valmiki*s have been to see me and have placed other woeful complaints before me. I feel that if in the first instance their living quarters were rebuilt many of their other complaints too would be put right. It is the bounden duty of the public and the Municipality of Simla to remove this evil as soon as they can from their midst. They can be no cleaner than the least clean among them.

Simla, 13-5-'46

(From *Harijansevak*)

### To Correspondents

My daily post may be said to have increased fourfold since the 'Harijan' weeklies started. It is impossible to answer every letter. Every communication is read but not by me. If I attempted to do so I would be unable to render any service. My staff put before me only what I should see. Much of the post does not merit replies, but questions of public interest are answered in 'Harijan'. Personal correspondence has to be rigidly restricted. I receive a large number of requests for blessings on the occasion of marriages which I am hesitant to send. I have already stated publicly that my blessings should be asked for only such marriages where one of the contracting parties is a Harijan. But in reality where is the need for blessings? Those marriages which are undertaken for the sake of joint service carry their own blessings. Those entered upon for self-satisfaction are wholly unworthy of any. In any event, in these days of famine, no money should be spent on feasts and enjoyment. Weddings will continue, but is it not possible for the event to take place quietly and without fuss?

Simla, 6-5-'46

(From *Harijanbandhu*)

M. K. G.



## WITH THE SOUTH AFRICAN DELEGATION

South Africa is the cradle of Satyagraha as a political weapon. It is also the place, thanks to the weapon of non-violence, where the Indian community have so far been able successfully to resist the attempts of the Whites to squeeze them out. Faced with the renewed menace in the form of the Land Tenure Legislation which has been passed into law, it has again resolved to resort to the weapon of Satyagraha.

A Delegation on behalf of the South African Indian community has been in this country for some time past to enlist the co-operation and active support of their compatriots in their impending struggle for the right to exist as a self-respecting community. It includes some veteran Satyagrahi soldiers who took part in the Satyagraha fight under Gandhiji and which closed with the Gandhi-Smuts Agreement. It is headed by Shri Sorabjee Rustomjee, the son of the late Parsi Rustomjee, with whose name the readers of Gandhiji's 'Story of My Experiments with Truth' and the history of 'Satyagraha in South Africa' must be familiar.

### STRATEGY OF SATYAGRAHA

The Delegation saw Gandhiji more than once. The last time it was in the Sweepers' Colony at Delhi. They sought Gandhiji's advice as to the starting of a successful Satyagraha. In the course of the conversation Gandhiji remarked on the presence of divisions among them. They admitted divisions but argued that they were there even in Gandhiji's time.

"The difference between then and now," explained Gandhiji "is this, that in those days the blacklegs became isolated after a time and it was possible to hold monster meetings everywhere. Parsi Rustomjee went among the indentured labourers and in the final struggle they rose like one man. Repeat that history today and you will win. Do not repeat it and you will fail. Do you command the sympathy and support of all the interests? Will the mercantile community back you?" he asked them.

"The mercantile community," answered Sorabjee, "was not with us even then."

"But we had Kachalia," rejoined Gandhiji. "If you have one Kachalia amongst you, the whole of the mercantile community will be covered."

"Suppose no merchant comes forward. Is not a struggle possible then?" asked Sorabjee.

"It will then take a different turn," replied Gandhiji, "and in the end the mercantile community will be swept out of existence."

"We are a difficult community at times," remarked one member of the deputation.

"And quarrelsome too," added another.

"I know, I know," said Gandhiji. "The South Africa of today is not far different from the South Africa that I have known. In the first article I wrote for the 'Indian Opinion', I said that if after all there was one true man in South Africa he will cover all. He will build up the whole

structure from within." "Amidst a whole heap of bad coins, I wrote," proceeded Gandhiji, quoting from memory, "if there is one true sovereign, the heap will be worth that one sovereign and no more. If you produce one civil resister of merit he will pull things through. Do not start the struggle therefore unless you have that stuff. Manage to exist you will anyhow. But that should not satisfy you. You have to live as a self-respecting community with an equal status. Indians have to make good that position by showing the real stuff."

The discussion then turned on the strategy of the proposed Satyagraha. Gandhiji was definitely opposed to sitting in prohibited seats in trains and railway carriages by way of Satyagraha. Satyagraha should be on a clear, unequivocal and impersonal issue and capable of taking thousands in its fold.

### RELATIONS WITH THE NATIVES

The conversation next turned on the relations between the Indian community and the Natives. Gandhiji mentioned how he had refused to send a message for a meeting of the West African Federation that was held some time back in London, because they conceived of a struggle after the way of Europe. "Probably theirs is not the way of non-violence." "One day the black races will rise like the avenging Attila against their White oppressors, unless some one presents to them the weapon of Satyagraha," he added.

"You have said we should associate with Zulus and Bantus. Does it not mean joining them in a common anti-White front?" one member of the Delegation asked.

"Yes, I have said," answered Gandhiji, "that we should associate with Zulus, Bantus, etc. It means that you take them under your wing when you have developed that power of non-violence. It will be good if you fire them with the spirit of non-violence. You will be their saviour. But if you allow yourselves to be over-whelmed and swept off your feet, it will be their and your ruin."

"Their slogan today is no longer merely 'Asia for the Asiatics' or 'Africa for the Africans' but the unity of all the exploited races of the earth. On India rests the burden of pointing the way to all the exploited races. She won't be able to bear that burden today if non-violence does not permeate us more than today. I have been trying to fit ourselves for that mission by giving a wider bend to our struggle. India will become a torch-bearer to the oppressed and exploited races only if she can vindicate the principle of non-violence in her own case, not jettison it as soon as independence of foreign control is achieved."

"Race consciousness," remarked another member of the Delegation, "is rising all over South Africa. We Indians take advantage of the Bantus. We send our children to native colleges. But we are ashamed to call ourselves natives. They feel we are arrogant and aloof. We do not do enough to make an adequate return for what we have got from them. They are getting resentful and the White man encourages and promotes that feeling to widen the gulf."



"It will be an evil day for you if he succeeds," replied Gandhiji. "The trouble is that you are all worshippers of the golden calf."

"Having never seen it, how can we worship it?" Mr. Christopher put in.

"Worshipping is different from seeing," retorted Gandhiji. "Don't we worship God without seeing Him?"

#### PRODUCE YOUR OWN LEADERS

The Delegation then asked if a leader could be sent from India to organize and lead them. Gandhiji in reply told them that a leader would have to arise from among them. He hoped that they would throw up one in due time. He described to them how he had been arguing with his son Manilal to train up his children for the task. After they had finished their education in India he hoped they would go back and settle down in South Africa and serve the Indian Community.

Apropos the training that would equip South African born Indian children for service he mentioned how he had refused to send his own children to Loveday and Fort Hare.

Delhi, 8-5-46

PYARELAL

#### A SIMLA DIARY

I must apologize to the readers for the absence of a "Weekly Letter" from Simla for reasons I explained last week. The following gleaned from the notes on Gandhiji's prayer discourses prepared by Rajkumari Amrit Kaur will, however, be found fairly to cover the week.

Gandhiji's statement on his reasons for sending back his permanent staff to Delhi did not satisfy the people. It seemed too strange to be true. They still wanted to know the "real reason". Gandhiji's first discourse after our departure from Simla, therefore, naturally turned on his momentous decision. He explained to the audience how his permanent staff had shortly before left for Delhi with smiling faces and his blessings. His task was very hard. But all difficulties could be overcome by leaning on God. Ever since he had reached years of discretion he had felt that God is always with those who wait on him. "In reality He is everywhere but because He is formless and invisible man cannot always sense His presence. But if we have listening ears, God speaks to us in our own language, whatever that language be." Badshah Khan had just explained what prayer was. God was all powerful. Man lived at His will. It was because Gandhiji wanted in these crucial days to rely solely on His help that he had asked his people who looked after his every need and helped him to edit the 'Harijan' weeklies to leave him to God. Yet he was not quite without human help. He had the Fakir Badshah Khan with him, the Sardar and his daughter, who was as his own daughter, Dr. Dinshah Mehta and Shri Brijkrishna and Shri Sudhir Ghosh. Birlaji had sent some of his staff too.

#### A DIFFICULT TASK

Referring to the work in Simla he observed that it was hard for everyone of the three parties—

perhaps hardest for the Cabinet Mission. They had vowed to let go their hold on India. He trusted their word. He would advise all to do likewise. It was undignified to be suspicious. The deceiver ever lost. Gandhiji warned people not to believe that Britain was crumbling. They were a great power. The shame for us was that a handful of them had ruled over us for so long and the greater shame for them was that they had held dominion over us. But if all were true and all relied on God, no one need have any fear for the future.

#### THE TECHNIQUE OF SILENCE

He might have pursued the theme on the next day too. But the next day being his day of silence he contented himself by writing out a short message explaining the technique of restoring silence in big gatherings. The general practice of everybody trying to restore order by shouting at every other is a contradiction in terms and often makes confusion worse confounded. "Noise is not erased by making greater noise. It can only be stilled by people making mute signs and never pushing forward. Peace and order were necessary at all gatherings, but are especially so at prayer gatherings. People come together for prayers in order to obtain peace, to hear God's name and to recite it. Therefore, those who come should really attune themselves even as they start from their homes. Let them be silent and let their thoughts dwell as they walk, on prayer. Otherwise coming to prayers was useless."

#### STRANGE RUMOURS

He reverted to his previous day's theme in his after-prayer discourse on the 7th. Strange rumours had come to him, he said, in regard to his permanent staff having left. Some people were foolish enough to believe that there had been some domestic quarrel. Those who lived with him were not made of such stuff. Others imagined that because his staff had left, the negotiations had broken down. This too was wholly untrue. They left, as Gandhiji had said before, because they understood that he wanted to be alone with God as his only help. Even so he was not without help. It had been so throughout his life. In South Africa, too, all kinds of people had helped him including Boers, Africans and Europeans.

#### SPECULATION FEVER

The address on the 7th contained scathing denunciation of the speculation fever which had seized Simla. He interpreted it as a sign of cowardice. He tried to impress upon them that it arose from fear. He himself, was a coward in his early youth. He had learnt to shed his cowardice through the recitation of *Ramanama*. It was cowards who died many times before their death. Fear of disease killed more men than disease itself. He appealed to newspapermen also not to spread false news. It was their duty to teach people to be brave and not instil fear into them. The Cabinet Mission had come with the blessings of the Prime Minister, who had said they were coming here to part with power whether Indians agreed among themselves



or not. It was not right to distrust or disbelieve anyone so long as there was no cause to do so. Were those who had had the courage to put up a non-violent fight against a mighty empire for 25 years going to yield to frustration if the British Government failed to perform its duty today?

#### GURUDEV'S BIRTHDAY

On Gurudev's birthday which fell on the 8th, a picture of the poet had been put on the dais at the prayer gathering. Drawing the attention of the gathering to it, Gandhiji said that the inscription under it was the motto 'The light that never failed.' Gurudev's body was reduced to ashes but the radiance that had been within him was like the sun which would shine so long as life on this earth lasted. But the light he shed was for the soul as the sun's was for the body. He was a poet and a literary star of the first magnitude. He wrote in his mother tongue and all Bengal was able to drink deep at the fountain of his poetry. Translations of his works existed in many languages. He was a great writer in English too, perhaps almost without knowing it. He had school education but he could boast of no university degree. He was just Gurudev. One Viceroy had called him the poet of Asia, a title that no one before him had had. He was also a world poet and, what is more, a *Rishi*. "He has left us the Gitanjali, the poems which brought him world fame. The great Tulsidas left us his immortal Ramayana. The renowned Vedavyasa left us a history of mankind. They were not mere poets; they were teachers. Gurudev too wrote not only as a poet but as a *Rishi*." Writing, however, was not his only gift. He was an artist, a dancer, a singer with all the sweetness and purity that art in its finest sense should contain. "His creative genius has also given us Shantiniketan, Shriniketan and Vishwa-Bharati. These breathe his spirit and are a legacy not only to Bengal but to India. Shantiniketan has become, as it were, a place of pilgrimage to us all. He was not, in his lifetime, able to make of these institutions what he had dreamed for them. What man can? Fulfilment of man's purpose is in God's hands. But they are monuments to his endeavour and are a constant reminder to us of the passionate love he had for his country and the service he rendered to her." They had just heard the national song he wrote, a song which has found a place in our national life. "How often is the inspiring refrain heard from thousands of voices! It is not only a song but is also like a devotional hymn."

Gandhiji ended by exhorting the people to learn the lessons of love of country, love of the world and selfless service from the noble example which Gurudev had left.

#### THINGS OF THE SPIRIT

Things of the spirit formed the subject of his next two discourses. In the first he told them that the spirit of prayer must abide with them all the twentyfour hours, if it was a heart prayer and not merely from the lips. The real peace of prayer could come to their hearts only if God entered therein.

Then they would be the same outwardly as they were within. They would be honest, they would harbour no enmity against anyone, they would be truthful, they would cheat no one if they were in business.

Gandhiji said he would like more and more persons to come to the prayer gatherings but only if they came in the right spirit and with listening ears, so that they may live up to whatever good they may take from the worship. "It may take time for the recitation to come from the heart even as a seed sown has to be nurtured and bears fruit only in due season. If the desire to have God within us is there, progress, however slow, is bound to be. Man can not be transformed from bad to good overnight. God does not exercise magic. He too is within His own law." His law, however, was different from the law of the State. "There may be mistakes in the latter but God cannot err. If He were to go beyond the limits of His law, the world would be lost. He is changeless, unchanging, unequalled, the same yesterday, today and for ever." His law is written on the tablets of their hearts. They could become changed men and women, only if they had the desire of reform and if they were prepared for ceaseless endeavour.

The arrival of Shri Sucheta Kripalani with her melodious singing introduced some colour into the prayer gatherings. Interpreting, in the course of his discourse on the 11th, the song which she had sung, he reminded them that in that song they were told that they were all citizens of a country in which there was no sorrow and no sighing. They should not imagine that this reference was to heaven. The poet had said that he was singing of the land in which they lived. It did not mean waiting until all were perfect. Each one could make such a country for himself if he allowed God to dwell therein. The world was after all made up of individuals. True, there were people of different races and different colours, speaking different languages. How to live in such a world was what the *bhajan* taught them.

#### NO FAILURE THIS TIME

An indication as to the trend of the Simla talks was afforded by his next discourse. Referring to the spate of false rumours which filled the air, viz. that there had been a break-down in the talks, that the Cabinet Mission were returning home without doing anything and Indian leaders would again return empty-handed as they did from the Simla Conference last time, he said that this was not a conference like the one they had last year. If he understood the English language aright, the Cabinet Mission were here to find out how best they could implement their decision to quit, i. e. remove their power from India. It was their duty, if they could, to try to bring about agreement between the Congress and the Muslim League. The Conference was being held for that purpose. If people were united, no power on earth could have ruled over them but their tragedy was that they had their differences. But even if the Conference failed of its purpose, no one need be disappointed. Those who have faith in God



must be patient and brave. Supposing they were going to be deceived, they must stand up and face the consequences bravely. Gandhiji said he had no reason to believe that the Cabinet Mission was here to deceive them. They were trying to leave in an orderly manner so that Indians may be able to live in peace. There was no need to worry. Man had to do his duty. God had given him strength and discernment to do so. But results were always in God's hands.

#### LEST WE FORGET

Lest in their anxiety for their own future they might forget their duty towards those whom they had condemned as the lowest of the low, he sent Badshah Khan to visit and report on the conditions of the Sweepers' Quarters. The report which the latter brought him filled him (Gandhiji) with anger and grief. He would have loved to go there himself. Unfortunately he could not now negotiate hills and therefore could not walk so far to see them himself. He thought it a crime to sit in *rickshaws* especially for able-bodied man. He disliked even a motor car. He wanted always to use his legs, the means of locomotion that God had given him. Last night he walked, but the hill seemed unending. It was impossible for him, much as he would have liked to do so, to live in the *Harijan Nivas* here. He had heard of it before and what Badshah Khan told him confirmed it, namely that the quarters in which they were forced to live were not fit for animals, much less for human beings. Some of them had been to see him in the morning with a long tale of woe. It was the bounden duty of the residents of Simla to look into their grievances and have them redressed.

He had heard too that the Khadi Bhandar at Simla might have to close down, because the Simla public were too lazy and too ununderstanding to spin the requisite quota of yarn. He told them that he still maintained that Swaraj hung on the thread of hand-spun yarn. Even if they got political Swaraj, as they were going to, they would never be able to maintain it without Khadi which was the truest symbol of non-violence. If they hoped to maintain Swaraj through force, they were hopelessly mistaken. Some one stronger would come and wrest their freedom from them. It was in the hands of the public in Simla to keep the Bhandar going and he hoped they would do so. Punjabi women were the first to offer him yarn in the old days. Let them live up to their reputation. For himself, he would rather lose their money and close down every Bhandar, if need be, but Swaraj never.

Delhi, 15-5-'46

PYARELAL

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#### HEART SEARCHING

"Do you think we are getting off your backs at last," asked an English visitor who saw Gandhiji sometime back.

"I have no doubt as to the sincerity of your intention. The question is whether you will have the strength and courage needed for it. It is so difficult to get out of conventional grooves of thought and action," replied Gandhiji.

"We must not precipitate a solution," resumed the friend. We must let India decide for herself. At the same time, one does not want to leave the country to chaos when an unprecedented famine threatens it."

"Your difficulty," remarked Gandhiji, "will remain so long as you retain the belief that your rule has benefited India. None of us believes it."

"One or two have testified to the contrary," rejoined the visitor.

"That is neither here nor there," replied Gandhiji. "I too believed it once. Such benefit as has really accrued to India is not part of foreign rule but is the result of contact with a robust people. The good is incidental, the evil of foreign rule is inherent and far outweighs the good. Communal divisions in India can be demonstrably proved to be a British creation. Even famine as we know it today is your creation."

The last remark startled the visitor. Gandhiji noted the effect his words had produced. "Mark the true meaning of my words," he resumed. "Famines may be said to be God-sent. But a well-equipped country should be able to pull through a deficiency period and not helplessly succumb. Famines in India today are not due to rain or lack of it merely, but due to the fact that India is ill equipped to tide over the dry periods. Nothing has been done to safeguard her population against the threat of recurring famines. Take South Africa. There they fight against the locusts, draught etc. manfully and with infinite resourcefulness. Here famine is simply blamed on the rain gods and there is nothing to be done for it."

"Would India have been better equipped, if Britain had not been here?" interpolated the visitor.

"Yes," replied Gandhiji. "There would have been no railways. . . ."

This was another shock to the visitor who apparently with most Westerners regarded railways as the proudest achievement of British rule in India to combat famine. But Gandhiji who holds with the late Mr. Ramsay Macdonald that the railways are the chief cause of the recurrence of famines in India proceeded: "If there were no railways etc. we would be living in a natural state as they used to in England and Europe in the Middle Ages when every feudal baron had his castle with its stocks of grain and water. Before the advent of railways in India every village had its granary. In that sense we were better equipped. Moreover, we had our system of domestic crafts to fall back upon if crops failed. Now railways have depleted the countryside of its stocks and killed the handicrafts.



Whatever cash the cultivator gets in return for his produce runs through his fingers like water, thanks to the invasion of his economy by the revenue collector and the imported foreign goods without which he thinks he can no longer do. The British have told him: 'Do not stock grain, do not hoard silver.' There is no provision made for a deficit period. Railways have become a snare, cheap transport a trap. The Princes practised tyranny in olden times too. But it could not go far. The natural means of redress, viz. insurrection, retreat or migration were still open to the people. They were not then disarmed or emasculated. Odds were even. Today the odds are so heavy that a handful of British soldiers can terrorize millions. That is what British rule has done to us. It is most demoralizing. The British must realize this and leave us in an exemplary manner. If the virus has gone so deep that it cannot be cured without applying a strong blister, even then they must go. A few lakhs might be killed in internecine warfare but real peace will come at last. If I could persuade India to adopt the way of non-violence it would be settled in two days. Otherwise, the ordeal might last longer. Even so the destruction won't be anything like the destruction wrought by foreign rule. India would have then something to live for and die for. Today what has she to live and die for?"

"But it is a big responsibility to leave India faced with anarchy," remarked the visitor still hesitating.

"Not a bigger responsibility than you were prepared to face during the war out of strategic considerations," answered Gandhiji, leaving his visitor to ruminate over the inconsistency of his position.

Delhi, 14-5-'46

PYARELAL

### USEFUL HINTS

(Continued from No. 14)

#### MANURE

Much of the waste of the village including sweepings, bones, human excreta etc. that go to spoil the sanitation of the village at present could be utilized into making compost manure which is very easily done and which is as good a manure as cow dung. Bones and oil-cakes which are usually exported out of the country should not be allowed to leave the villages. The bones must be crushed locally with the help of *chunam chakkis* after being charred a little in the *chunam bhattis* and the meal distributed amongst the farmers.

Manure-making in villages may be given out on subsidized contract. This will not only ensure the cleanliness of the village but it will also raise the sweepers engaged in making compost and manure to the level of traders.

Oil mills which take away the oil-seeds from the villages and give only oil in return, sending the cake abroad, are depriving the land of a valuable form of fertilizer. This must be stopped altogether. This is one of the fundamental reasons why oil-seeds should not be allowed to go out of the villages, but should be crushed in the local country *ghanis*. This will retain both the oil and the cake in the village and be a source of enrichment to men, cattle and the land.

In the name of increasing the fertility of the soil, much attempt is being made to introduce chemical

fertilizers into our agriculture. The experience gained through the use of such chemical fertilizers throughout the world is clear enough to guide us against the inroads to be made by these fertilizers. They do not add to the fertility of the soil, but act as stimulants or drugs resulting in immediate bumper crops and in the end bring about a corresponding exhaustion of the land. They also destroy a host of earth worms so essential for agriculture. In the long run such artificial fertilizers prove to be most injurious to the land. Behind the trumpeting of chemical fertilizers lies the anxiety of the fertilizer factory owners to push the sale of their products irrespective of the harm or injury they do to agriculture.

#### LAND MANAGEMENT

Besides increasing the bulk of the manures, the fertility of the soil should be maintained by stopping erosion by means of proper drainage, embankments etc. In the final analysis fertility of the soil is the fountain head from which springs all nourishment for cattle and men in the form of fodder and corn. If the fertility of the soil is reduced, the food produced on it will be of poor quality and consequently the health of the people will suffer. This is why nutrition experts connect up health with agriculture.

#### SEEDS

Selected and improved varieties of seeds are essential for the improvement of agriculture. What is wanted in this regard is the machinery for effective distribution of seeds. There can be no better medium for this than co-operative societies.

#### RESEARCH

All research in agriculture should be directed towards improving food crops as well as raw materials for village industries rather than money crops such as tobacco and raw materials for factories, e.g. thick rinded sugar-cane and long staple cotton.

#### DISTRIBUTION OF LAND FOR THE PRODUCTION OF BALANCED DIET

The food question, which has assumed serious proportions now, does not promise an immediate solution. The problem is two-fold. The immediate is a caloric shortage and secondly, there is the long standing shortage of protective foods. The first problem may find an easy solution but the second one is going to present difficulties.

It is ordinarily presumed that an acre of land provides more calories through the production of grains than through any other food. But apart from the question of calories, grains are very poor suppliers of protective food factors. Therefore, if we aim at getting these factors from cereals only, huge quantities of grains will be required. On the other hand, if the grains are substituted and supplemented by foods like fruits and vegetables, nuts, oil-seeds etc., the protective food factors required to make up a balanced diet may be obtained through lesser quantities of these types of food than through grains alone. Even the supply of calories per acre is greater in the case of some of the root vegetables like potatoes than in the case of cereal grains. Thus a balanced diet may be a double blessing and may offer the solution to our problem. It reduces the per capita requirement of land and at the same time supplies the body with all its requirements in their correct pro-



portions, so as to keep it fit and healthy. It is calculated that the per capita land available in India at present for food cultivation comes to about 0.7 acre. This very land which is found to be too inadequate to meet our requirements in food according to the present distribution of cultivation becomes more than sufficient as only 0.4 acre is the estimated figure required for a balanced diet in the re-ordered system of agriculture. The land of the locality should be so divided for the purpose of growing crops as to provide its population with the materials for a balanced diet rather than merely supplying the cereals for a grain diet as at present. This aspect of the question should be thoroughly investigated and a definite plan chalked out.

#### RICE

1. All rice mills should be disbanded as in Travancore.
2. All the hullers used for polishing rice should be completely banned.
3. People should be educated about the better nutritive value of whole unpolished rice and about the method of cooking it by practical demonstration and film shows. Polishing of rice should be prohibited or its degree of polishing should be very strictly controlled.
4. Where the paddy husking industry is carried on on an industrial scale for business purposes, in predominantly paddy growing areas, costly equipment such as paddy separators, winnowers etc. should be supplied on hire to a group of artisans through their co-operative society.
5. In view of the fact that the use of unpolished rice is to be advocated and popularized, the movement of paddy from one place to another will become necessary, and in order that the freight on the extra weight of the paddy may not enhance the price of rice, the freight charges on paddy should be favourably discriminated.
6. In areas where the implements for dehusking paddy and polishing rice are not separate, but both the processes are combined into one of pounding paddy, the resultant product is polished rice. In such cases, dehusking implements, i.e. *chakkis* either of wood, stone or mud, should be introduced, and can even be supplied along with the equipment for other industries through the district demonstration centres. As far as possible the use of rice polishing implements should be discouraged and even a tax may be levied on them to restrict their number. The degree of polishing rice under these licensed polishing implements should also be supervised and controlled. Paddy and other grains and seeds required by the village should be stocked in the village itself, and only the surplus should be sent out. The best agency for all such activities can be the multi-purpose cooperative society.

#### GRAIN STORAGE

If storage arrangements are made locally all the wastage through bad storage etc. and conveyance charges will be eliminated. Big towns and cities where proportionately larger stocks of grain are to be held can build *pucca* cement godowns after the model of the godowns at Muzaffarnagar, U. P.. These can be built either by the municipality or by private people to be rented out for grain storage. These godowns should be licensed and subjected to periodical inspection, like boilers are at present. An enormous loss of grain occurs through bad storage alone. Such loss is estimated

on a conservative basis to be about 3.5 million tons, an amount equal to the declared deficit of grains in India during the current year. The qualitative loss caused by insects, rodents, dampness etc., all caused by bad storage arrangements—resulting in all kinds of diseases, is equally enormous. The storage problem is both an urgent and a permanent one and should be tackled in all earnestness and seriousness. In any case holding stocks in ill-protected godowns, as at present, should be stopped.

If the stocks are held in the villages where they are produced, and all their movements to town and back to villages are eliminated, the chances of their getting damaged are, of course, reduced. Local storage will go a long way towards eradicating black-marketing and is likely to stabilize prices besides removing much of the inconvenience caused to villages in obtaining rations from cities.

Individual holders of stock should be educated in methods for the preservation of grain. (Concluded)  
Simla, 3-5-'46

J. C. KUMARAPPA

#### A GOOD REMINDER

(By M. K. Gandhi)

An anonymous friend has taken the trouble of collecting apposite extracts from the Book of Job and Psalms. As they are a perpetual reminder to all of us, I gladly give them below. The moral I draw from the sheaf is that since man is only dust and at best grass, he had better pass the few moments he is on this earth in the service of his fellow creatures. I am hoping that the sender has not collected the Biblical verses to show the futility of all work, which is a doctrine of laziness and parasitism.

#### Job :

Man that is born of a woman is of few days,  
and full of trouble,  
He cometh forth like a flower, and is cut  
down; he fleeth also as a shadow,  
and continueth not;  
Seeing his days are determined, the number  
of his months are with Thee, Thou  
hast appointed his bounds that he cannot pass;  
For there is hope of a tree, if it be cut down,  
that it will sprout again and that the  
tender branch thereof will not cease;  
Though the root thereof wax old in the earth,  
and the stock thereof die in the ground;  
Yet through the scent of water, it will land,  
and bring forth boughs like a plant;  
But man dieth, and wasteth away,  
Yea man giveth up the ghost, and where is he?  
As the waters fail from the sea, and the flood  
decayeth and drieth up;  
So man lieth down, and riseth not;  
till the heavens be no more, they shall  
not awake, nor be raised out of their sleep.

#### Psalm :

Lord make me to know mine end and the measure  
of my days what it is; that I may know  
how frail I am.  
Behold Thou hast made my days as an hand-breadth;  
and my age is as nothing before Thee;  
verily every man at his best state is  
altogether vanity;  
For He knoweth our frame; He remembereth that  
we are dust;  
As for man, his days are grass: as a flower of  
the field he flourisheth;  
For the wind passeth over it and it is gone;  
and the place thereof shall know it no more.

Simla, 13-5-'46



# HARIJAN

May 19

1946

## HOW CAN VIOLENCE BE STOPPED?

( By M. K. Gandhi )

Q. Some time back a military officer in Poona, who is about to return to England, said to me that violence was on the increase in India and would further increase as people were gradually turning away from the path of non-violence. "We in the West" he said, "not only believe in violence but our society is based on it. Several subject races have won their independence through violence and are today living in peace. We have discovered the atom bomb for stopping violence. The last great war is a case in point." Continuing the military officer said, "Gandhiji has shown your people the way of non-violence. Has he discovered any such power as the atom bomb which will at once convert people to non-violence and bring about a rule of peace? Cannot Gandhiji's 'atom bomb' stop people from following the path of violence? Ask Gandhiji to exercise his power over the people and tell them to give up all thoughts of violence and adopt his creed. If he cannot wean his people today from the terrible violence that is spreading all over the country, I tell you that he will live a disappointed man and his life's work will be ruined."

A. There is much confusion of thought in this question. The atom bomb has not stopped violence. People's hearts are full of it and preparations for a third world war may even be said to be going on. While it would be absurd to say that violence has ever brought peace to mankind it cannot either be said that violence never achieves anything.

That I shall have to repent if I cannot stop violence does not enter into the picture of non-violence. No man can stop violence. God alone can do so. Men are but instruments in His hands. Here material means cannot stop violence but this does not mean that material means should not be employed for the purpose. The deciding factor is God's grace. He works according to His law and, therefore, violence will also be stopped in accordance with that law. Man does not and can never know God's law fully. Therefore we have to try as far as lies in our power. I hold that our experiment in non-violence has succeeded to a fair extent in India. There is, therefore, no room for the pessimism shown in the question. Finally Ahimsa is one of the world's great principles which no power on earth can wipe out. Thousands like myself may die in trying to vindicate the ideal but Ahimsa will never die. And the gospel of Ahimsa can be spread only through believers dying for the cause.

Simla, 9-5-'46

( From Harijansevak )

## TOTAL PROHIBITION

( By M. K. Gandhi )

National Provincial Governments are now in full swing in India. Happily on the question of prohibition, there can be no differences of opinion between the Congress and the Muslim League. And if all followed a concerted policy and the States too joined in, India would be dry in no time and earn the blessings of lakhs of homes. To the discredit of the Governments under virtual martial law, Governors and their Advisers had the shamelessness to reverse the policy which had been already adopted in some provinces and misappropriate the revenue which was raised by the provinces in question. Let them now take up prohibition of intoxicating drinks and drugs. Let them, too, not rest content with prohibition legislation. They have to devise methods of educating the drinking public in the harm that drink does and provide them with innocent recreation and health-giving drinks. Every bar or, failing that, a place next door to it should, so far as possible, be utilized as a refreshment and recreation room. If this constructive activity is taken up, it must prove a source of revenue for the State besides prohibition benefitting and reconstructing thousands of ruined homes.

Moreover, *toddy*-tapping should be replaced by *nira*-tapping for the purpose of converting *nira* into *gur*, much to the advantage of the nation which needs cheap sugar. These columns have shown how in some ways *tad-gur* is preferable to cane-*gur*.

These reflections are suggested by the following paragraph from a circular letter addressed by the Women's Christian Temperance Union (Fyzabad Road, Lucknow) to the Press. From it, I take the following items addressed to the students under the heading "What can youth do?"

1. Pledge themselves to total abstinence from all intoxicants and habit-forming drugs, which includes tobacco. It helps to sign the pledge.

2. Demand a thorough Alcohol and Narcotic Drugs Education, to be a part of the School Curriculum.

3. Demand while under training a part in Social Service, including temperance work, educating the public of the harm done to them through the use of the intoxicants.

4. Recommend that in the Scheme for Small Savings Campaign for rural population, total abstinence from all intoxicants be stressed.

5. Ally themselves against the awful waste of precious foodstuffs for liquor in breweries and distilleries to feed the nation.

6. Join up with a Temperance Society. The W. C. T. U. has been in this struggle for the last 59 years in India. It needs your encouragement and support. Their motto is: "For God, for Home and Every Land."

7. Make use of temperance literature. Rs. 2/- a year will bring to you a 100 leaflets a month in either Hindi or Urdu, also in some other vernaculars to give away. The monthly magazine, the Indian



Temperance News in English can be placed in any library (not personal) for a rupee a year. If students wish to subscribe to it, it might have the same reduction.

8. Holidays, a good time for this service.

9. As true patriots, to learn the lesson of how much they can give to the country rather than how much they can get out of it for themselves.

Simla, 7-5-'46

### SLIGHTING SWARAJ ?

(By M. K. Gandhi)

"I am a middle class man living in a 12'x20' room in Bombay. I have a wife and child. My kitchen has to be in my living room. I had taken a vow to wear Khadi and have adhered to it up till now. Since the decision that Khadi could only be purchased by giving a certain quota of yarn came into being, it has become very hard for a man like myself, living the mechanical life of Bombay to find the requisite time for spinning. Nevertheless I have been spinning 1½ hours daily in order to be true to my pledge. I had no slivers left the other day and, therefore, went to the Khadi Bhandar to buy some. I was asked by the Manager either to come to the Bhandar in order to make my own slivers or do the carding there and make the slivers at home. Now it is impossible for me with my very limited living space to make slivers at home nor has a man like me the time to go and make them at the Bhandar. I said, "Either give me slivers or else I shall have to give up spinning." I was told I was at liberty to do what I considered proper. I realize that a man should be self-reliant and should make his own slivers. But I feel that this is impossible for me, placed as I am in Bombay. Thousands are in the same boat as myself. What should I do ?

"By stopping the sale of slivers the Khadi Bhandar has hit the poor hard. They could earn as much by making slivers as by spinning."

The above letter requires an answer. The plight of the writer is the same as that of the many who live in the slums of Bombay. If our people were not so easily satisfied, the landlords of Bombay would not relegate poor families to one small living room each. Lakhs live in this way and thus make it possible for the rich to have their Malabar Hill and Chowpatty.

The spinning wheel shows us the way to remedy these conditions. If this were not so, it would have no place in my life. A few people may carve out their way by the sword, but the crores cannot. We must not imagine that slums do not exist in London, or Paris, or even New York. They do.

What will be the condition in Russia it is too early yet to say.

What then about the writer's difficulty? He says he finds time to spin 1½ hours daily. A man who spins that much every day can accumulate more yarn than necessary for his Khadi needs. It was a mistake on his part to want to buy slivers from the Bhandar. The Manager gave him the correct reply. Where there is room for spinning there is also room for 'tunai' (new carding method)

or 'punai' (simpler than 'tunai'). If there is no room for the wheel there is always the *takli*. The *Dhanush takli* too takes up less space. Whatever difficulties apply to the individual apply to all. The way to Swaraj lies in not going under but in overcoming them. Necessity is the mother of invention.

Again why should not the facilities for carding, slivering and spinning offered by the Khadi Bhandar be availed of? The new method of making slivers does not require much space and is not difficult.

The main requisite is for the spinner to have the faith that Swaraj hangs on a thread of hand-spun yarn. It will not hurt the country's cause if the man who lacks this faith gives up spinning. Khadi does enable many poor persons to earn their living by spinning and weaving. But this cannot do the work for the crores.

Simla, 13-5-'46

(From *Harijanbandhu*)

### AN EXACTION AND OPPRESSION

(By Pyarelal)

"The salt tax is an exaction and oppression, and if the people understood it, it would only breed discontent. It is a survival of the general exploitation of India's poverty by a profit-making Company."

Ramsay Macdonald

"For a poor population the pressure of what is equivalent to a poll tax is heavily felt and often produces grave discontent."

Bastable

The present annual consumption of salt in India has been estimated to be 51,050,000 maunds per year according to Government estimates. An intake of 12 lbs. of salt per head per year is said to be necessary for maintaining an individual in the tropics in health. At this rate the total quantity of salt required for 40 crores would come to 600,00,000 mds.

The salt requirement for cattle and other four-footed animals per head has been calculated to be 18 lbs. for a cow, 45 lbs. for a bullock, a buffalo and a horse and 11 lbs. for a goat and a sheep. According to a rough estimate of the present cattle population of India, their requirement in salt would come to about 4 crores and 13 lakhs mds.\* Another 3 crores mds. is required for various industrial purposes. This makes a total of 73 crores and 73 lakhs mds. The present production of salt is

\* Total requirement of salt for cattle and other quadruped population of India:

According to the 1935 census the number of cattle in India was 21 crores and 50 lakhs. At the rate of half an ounce of salt daily, equivalent to 12 lbs. for the year, they would require about 4 crores and 73 lakh maunds of salt per year. Similarly, calculating the salt requirement of milch cattle as  $\frac{3}{4}$  *chhatak* for 10 seers of milk, one hundred crore maunds of milk which are annually produced in India call for an annual consumption of 1 crore and 12 lakhs mds. of salt for milch cattle alone. The estimate of 3 crores mds. of salt for the consumption of cattle and other four-footed animals in India is therefore a palpable under-estimate. According to veterinary authorities the inadequate supply of salt available for cattle has resulted in a deterioration of their health and quality of the breed.



510,00,000 mds. per year. This comes to 38% of the actual requirement. As the industrial development of the country progresses the requirement for salt would increase still further.

The energies and expenditure of the Salt Department of the Government of India have hitherto been used more for preventing unlicensed manufacture of salt than for developing the salt industry itself. In 1939-40, the Government paid Rs. 33,72,251/4/10 as compensation to the various States to prevent the manufacture of salt in the States.

Given the freedom to manufacture salt, India could easily increase its salt production by ten-fold. The map of India is strewn with areas which were at one time flourishing centres of salt manufacture but which are now lying in a state of disuse as a result of the stringent enforcement of the salt laws, and it is a matter of shame that with all the unutilized natural sources of salt in India, we today import 194,00,000 mds. of salt or 25% of the total consumption, not to mention Rs. 1,42,42,000 worth of sodium and potassium salts other than sodium chloride. The total amount of nitrates and alkalies imported in 1937-38 was worth Rs. 3,33,00,000. This included potassium nitrate, sodium sulphate, calcium chloride and magnesium chloride. *Pari passu* with this, thousands of acres of land in India are today rendered unfit for cultivation owing to excessive salinity of the soil. If, instead of spending lakhs on the suppression of salt manufacture, Government were to utilize even a fraction of that amount for developing the salt industry which forms the base and starting point of all heavy chemical industries, not only could large areas of land be reclaimed for agricultural purposes, but crores of rupees could also be saved from being drained out of the country for the purpose of importing chemicals.

The suppression of the salt industry has also spelt the suppression of the manufacture of a number of other chemicals. According to 1873-76 figures the number for the manufacture of some of these chemicals in North India alone was as follows:

Year	Shora	Kruthad	Khari	Sajji	Rassi
1873-74	212	13908	668	3760	815
1874-75	186	7409	498	3620	114
1875-76	132	6701	750	4853	387
1876-77	130	5633	544	1765	212

The relation between the suppression of these manufactures and the enforcement of salt laws will be seen from the following extract from a Government report for the years 1872-73, page 109:

"I have seen the analysis of the samples of salt obtained from Bulandshahr, Aligarh, Badaun, Agra, Mainpuri, Faruqabad, Jaunpur and Ghazipur. In my opinion, to allow alkalies to be manufactured from the saline earth that is to be found on either side of the Jumna river would be disastrous. To give permission to manufacture alkalies at any place from the saline earth would be dangerous. It would jeopardize the salt revenue on lakhs of maunds of common salt."

In 1940 and 1941, 1,50,000 cwts. of dried and salted fish was exported from the country. The dried and salted fish consumed in the country must be taken to be many times that quantity. Similarly, in the year 1939-40, 31,800 tons (87,00,000 mds.) of dried and cured hides were exported from the country. Salt is also used in paper manufacture, agriculture, soap, glass and steel industries and in the manufacture of glazed earthenware, to mention only a few. And yet the amount of rebate claimed and granted on the use of salt for industrial purposes has been showing a decline in spite of the rapid growth of these industries.

Salt consumption declined by 25% (12 to 9 lbs. per head) in the course of 50 years as a result of the imposition of the salt tax.\* At the same time the cost of salt to the rural labourer for a family came to about two months' wages i.e. 1/6 of the whole annual earnings (J. Cranford—1836).

Considering that the total production of salt in India is 5.1 crore maunds and includes the quota used for industrial purposes and cattle, an average of about 10 lbs. per head is left for human consumption which is far below the requirement of a man in the tropics.†

In spite of this decline in the basic consumption of salt, in Canara and near Vedaranyam† special excise personnel are employed to turn into the sea or otherwise destroy salt fit for human consumption as soon as nature deposits it.

Government have hardly shown any initiative in organizing the salt industry on scientific lines. Their methods of salt manufacture are crude, primitive and inefficient. The overhead and supervising charges exceed the actual cost of production, for instance, in the case of Sambhar salt the cost of production per maund is only 8.6 pies but after the addition of the overhead and supervising charges it comes to 3 as. 2.34 pies per maund.§ For Delhi the overhead charges work out to 623% of the cost of production.

Nothing has been done to reclaim other valuable by-products from the Sambhar lake deposits after

* Year	Consumption per individual			
1793	11.90 lbs.			
1803	11.27 "			
1823	11.44 "			
1833	8.74 "			
1843	9.0 "			
† See Appendix B.		† See Appendix C.		
§ Place	Cost of production	Total cost including overhead charges	Average cost of Production for the whole year	Sale price
Sambhar	0/0/8.64	0/2/6.60	0/3/2.34	0/4/3
Didwana	0/1/9.84	0/2/3.80	0/2/8.02	0/2/6
Pachbhadra	0/2/2.19	0/2/10.82	0/3/0.12	0/3/0
Khewda	0/2/8.69	0/3/3.65	0/3/4.42	0/4/3
Barchha	0/1/10.97	0/2/4.42	0/2/4.43	0/4/3
Kala Bara	0/2/10.30	0/3/0.88	0/3/3.88	0/4/3

Most revealing too are the following figures provided by the Salt Department of the Government of India:

Rate of Duty	Rs. 1/9/- per md.
Per capita incidence	" -/4/- "
Cost of production at the Govt. salt sources 1944-45	" -/4/4 "



the extraction of common salt and so lakhs of tons of sodium sulphate, sodium carbonate and soda bicarbonate are allowed to go to waste while large sums of money are drained out of the country by the import of the chemicals for industrial purposes.

## II

It is little realized that salt manufacture was at one time next in universality only to the hand-spinning industry, nor is the story of its exploitation and suppression less tragic.

During the days of the East India Company's salt monopoly numerous petitions were presented against the sweating of Molunghees. Under date 26-9-1874, wrote the Board of Trade to the Governor-General-in-Council in the course of a communication:

"Your honourable Board expressed your opinion that the investigation you have made into the circumstances relating to Adjoora tenure left no room for doubt of its being a system of coercion; consequently, equally repugnant to the spirit of the Regulations and to the dictates of justice and good policy."

In 24 Parganas the Agent reported that "the remuneration of Molunghees amounted to only Rs. 6/- for 7½ months' labour, i. e., the entire salt manufacturing season, so that the Molunghee was in permanent 'bondage to the Agency.' Special courts of justice were established claiming to safeguard the interests of the Molunghees but these only helped to "tantalize wretches who neither can, or else do not, prefer a complaint from the dread of still greater oppression."

So widespread was the manufacture of salt that to safeguard the monopoly, savage laws were passed. Thus the 1778 Salt Rules and the Regulation of 1793 required proprietors of land "to give information of illicit manufacture or import on pain of penalties, if salt was proved, in *Diwani Adalat*, to have been made or imported with their connivance." Regulation 6 of 1801 provided for Rs. 5,000/- fine, if manufacture or establishment of salt works was not reported when proved. Regulation 10 of 1819 imposed a fine of Rs. 500/- for each salt work on

a Zamindar's estate about which information was knowingly suppressed from Government. Section 31 made each little fireplace a *khalari*, so that some salt water boiled in a cooking pot, made the Zamindar liable to a fine of Rs. 500/-. By Regulation 10 of 1826, burning of straw steeped in water, with the purpose of using saline ashes as condiment for food was made an offence as under Regulation 10 of 1819, and also any bed prepared for evaporation of sea water was construed to be a salt work.

Regulation XXIX of 1838 added to the above penal provisions: "Such knowledge shall not be required to be established by the direct proof but may be inferred from circumstances at the discretion of the judge." Also, if the *Zamindari* was a partnership, each of the several proprietors was liable to a fine of Rs. 500/-.

The abolition of the Government monopoly of salt in 1863 resulted in the abandonment of salt manufacture by the Government. At the same time, free manufacture of salt in India was inhibited owing to the excise duty on salt, with the result that Indian salt was soon entirely replaced by imported salt. It reduced thousands upon thousands of persons who, under the monopoly system, were engaged in the manufacture of salt to landless labourers. In the words of Sir Cecil Beadon, Secretary to the Board of Revenue, Government of India, "they were the first victims of famine in Orissa. They had nothing to fall back upon . . . they had no agricultural produce of their own . . . a great many of them starved," and, "a considerable number of them were swept off the face of the earth."

That Draconian policy continues even today. Section 48A of the Bombay Salt Act lays down among other things that any salt revenue officer "who is guilty of cowardice shall on conviction before a magistrate be punished with imprisonment which may extend to three months, or with fine which may extend to three months' pay or with both." The word 'cowardice' is not defined. But one will have no difficulty in understanding what cowardice can possibly mean in the administration of an Act which takes in its sweep millions of human beings, men and women, young and old, cripples and healthy.

Salt duty has been called the Indian *gabelle*. In France an excessive high salt tax was one of the causes of the French Revolution. History has not been far different in India.

As the places, where salt used to be manufactured before its suppression are also places where there is a perpetual scarcity of rainfall and conditions are not otherwise favourable for cultivation, salt manufacture provided an occupation *par excellence* to hundreds upon thousands of poor people. In Balasore and Cuttack alone at one time 44,000 people derived their living from the manufacture of salt. Suppression of salt manufacture resulted in widespread unemployment among these people and, in fact in many places, produced such discontent as to cause risings which had to be suppressed with great severity.

Place	Wholesale price per md.
Delhi	Rs. 3-8-4
Allahabad	" 3-3-0
Calcutta	" 6-8-0
Madras	" 2-1-1
Bombay	" 3-12-10
Sind	" 2-8-10

Two points that emerge from these are that whereas the cost of production of salt at the Government salt sources (1944-45) was Rs. -4/4 per md., the wholesale price per maund in Delhi was Rs. 3/8/4. Deducting from it Rs. 1/9/- duty, the balance of Rs. 1/11/- over the cost of production represents the overhead charges, i. e. nearly 623% on the cost price. The corresponding percentage for Calcutta is 1592!

And why this discrepancy between the Calcutta price and the Delhi price of salt? Is it because the bulk of Liverpool salt is landed in Calcutta and is consumed almost entirely in Bengal? Must 13 crores be taxed to subsidize this unnatural import? Nothing could show better the monstrosity of the Government's salt monopoly. If the people of Bengal were free to manufacture salt without any duty or licence, they could have all the salt they require at 1 or 2 annas per maund.



In Surat the raising of the salt duty from as. 12/- to Re. 1/- in 1844 caused riots which were suppressed. The duty was afterwards restored to the old scale of as. 12/- per maund. In 1817 the enforcement of the salt monopoly caused a "widespread rebellion" in Orissa which had to be suppressed with "maximum force".

How extensive this occupation was and what potentialities for expansion there are for developing the salt resources of the country will be seen from the following brief bird's-eye view of the centres of manufacture which at one time were flourishing but are today lying in a state of disuse as a result of the suppression of free manufacture of salt.\*

In a country where salt can be manufactured in such abundance locally by the people themselves at negligible cost from hundreds and thousands of salt lakes, salt springs, brine wells and saline earth, not to mention thousands of miles of seaboard, it is nothing short of criminal squandering of the nation's patrimony to deplete the salt mines of their contents while all these sources are left undeveloped.

To sum up therefore :

1. Free manufacture of salt by the people without any tax or licence should be encouraged and an effort made to bring back into operation all the centres of salt manufacture which at one time flourished but are today in disuse as a result of Government suppression. This will enable the full complement of salt requirement for men and cattle to be produced from local salt at about anna 1 per maund, eliminating as it will, the cost of transport and supervision and middleman's profits. What is more, the extension of salt manufacture by the people in the way suggested will not jeopardize Government's revenue if it chooses to undertake manufacture of refined salt.

2. The import of Liverpool and Cheshire salt is a monstrosity. It has an evil history.† It ought to be stopped immediately by the imposition of a heavy import duty.

3. This would prevent 45 lakhs of rupees every year from going out of the country.

4. Free permission for the manufacture of salt in the Indian States will save Government an annual sum of nearly 34 lakhs of rupees, which is at present being given to the various States as compensation to prevent salt being manufactured within their territories.

5. The Government should undertake the reclamation of salts other than the common salt which are to be found in the various saline earths in India or exist as impurities along with the salt in the salt lakes. The Government should further undertake the manufacture of alkalies and chemicals from earth on scientific lines and prevent their importation from abroad by the imposition of import duties.

6. The present Excise Department ought forthwith to be abolished and the development of salt manufacture made over to the Industries

Department. The present Excise personnel are by tradition and training unfit to handle an industry on scientific or business lines. The money spent on providing salaries to the highly paid officials of the department should be utilized for meeting the deficit in the revenue caused by the abolition of the salt duty or for promoting research for the organization of the salt industry on scientific and economical lines.

These measures will reduce the deficit caused by the direct loss of excise revenue to a very considerable extent and the country on the whole will materially gain in the end by being provided with cheap salt and other chemicals required for its industries, agriculture and cattle which are at present being starved.\* Occupation will also be provided to lakhs of people in areas which are unfit for cultivation and therefore subject to repeated famines. There will thus be an all round improvement in the health of the soil as well as the inhabitants on it, both animal and human.

Delhi, 13-5-'46

## APPENDIX A

### EXCISE AND SALT CONSUMPTION

Mr. Gokhale, speaking from the Congress platform in 1895 at Calcutta, said :

"In 1882, i. e. before the duty was reduced to a uniform rate of Rs. 2/- a maund, the consumption of salt in India was about 2 crores, 90 lakhs maunds. In that year, the duty was reduced all round to Rs. 2/- and consumption at once began expanding. And this consumption stood at 337 lakhs in 1887, when Lord Dufferin again raised the duty to Rs. 2/ 8/- a maund. What was the result? The expansion of consumption, which had gone on so steadily during Ripon's time, at once ceased. And since that year up till now, i. e. during a period of 8 years, consumption has remained absolutely stationary, the figure for the last year being 341 lakhs of maunds . . . . . We thus find that, while under Lord Ripon's reduced duties the consumption increased in 5 years by about 50 lakhs of maunds, under Dufferin's enhanced duties it increased by only 4 lakhs in a period of 8 years. Population has been steadily increasing and you will at once see that consumption has actually gone back during these 8 years."

Coming to the more specific issue of *per capita* consumption, Mr. Gokhale said :

"Eminent physicians have laid down that for healthful existence the annual consumption of salt must be 12 lbs. per head. Now, during the administration of Lord Lawrence . . the consumption was about 12 lbs. per head. After that it began to decline, till at the end of Lord Lytton's regime, the average figure per head stood at about 9 lbs. Then came the beneficent administration of Lord Ripon. And the duty on salt was lowered, as I have already mentioned, to a uniform rate of Rs. 2/- a maund. Consumption went up by leaps and bounds and in 1887, the average per head stood at 10. 1/3 lbs. The enhanced duties, however, have once more put back the figure, and last year it stood at only 9 1/2 lbs. per head."

\* See Appendix D. † See Appendix E.

\* See Appendix F.



## APPENDIX B

### SALT AND HEALTH

More salt is required to keep a man in health in the tropics than in cold or temperate climate. Again, when the diet is wholly or partly vegetarian, more condiment is required to maintain the balance of salt in the system.

Observes Mr. Carver in his article on salt: "A year or two back the British army authorities in India began issuing extra salt to the troops, because it was discovered that in the hot season it keeps them healthy, and prevents exhaustion and heat stroke. The salt replaces that lost from the body by profuse perspiration. Doctors have found that perspiration on hot work, resulting in loss of salt, makes men liable to muscular cramp. During the war, workers in America were supplied with tablets of common salt for adding to drinking water in order to replace the salt lost."

Continues Mr. Carver: "Without salt, health and vigour fail. In Holland in the Middle Ages one of the legal punishments was to deprive a man of salt, and this caused depression and illness. Criminals in Sweden were once allowed, as an alternative to capital punishment, to abstain from salt for a month, eating saltless food, and the result was, they usually died.

"During the sieges and famines, too, shortage of salt always causes suffering and ill-health. Only where man lives mainly on milk and flesh—the latter consumed raw or roasted so that its salt is not lost—is it possible for him to do without ordinary salt, sodium chloride. But a cereal or vegetable diet calls for a supplement of salt."

How heavily the duty on this essential article of diet affects the millions of the poor in India may be judged from the following from a petition which the cultivators from Bombay submitted to the Bombay Government on November 26, 1852 and which was read out by Rustonjee Viccajee in the course of his examination before the Select Committee of the House of Commons in the following year. The petitioners stated "that the produce of their fields supplied them with food enough for eight months in the year; that during the remaining four months they subsisted on vegetables, which they season with chillies, and salt when the latter was free from duty; but when it was made subject to duty, they were obliged to forego even this poor comfort."

## APPENDIX C

### DESTRUCTION OF NATURAL SALT

Bruce writing on the salt sources of India in 1863 observes: "In Ganjam and Rajahmundry, these swamps abound," whereas Tanjore and Masulipattam "are especially productive of fine quality salt." In these districts, this spontaneous salt as it was called could be manufactured "to almost any extent, of fine quality and at a small charge, probably on an average of Rs. 4/- per 120 maunds or  $\frac{1}{3}$  anna per maund." The great swamps to north and west of Point Calymere, near about Vedaranyam, extending for upwards of 30 miles, produced a variety of salt. "very white and of peculiarly fine crystals." But the policy of the administration did more serious injury to the spontaneous salt, than even to the

Malabar sea-salt, described by T. A. Barber. *Its manufacture was automatic and therefore not preventible. The Government, therefore, sought refuge in destroying it wholesale*, so as to render smuggling impossible, the reason urged to support such a policy being that the localities, where it was produced, were isolated, and inconvenient of approach in the then state of inland communications. The 1876 Commission, however, noted the fact of its being collected at some places, and sold at a discount—against manufactured salt—the Vedaranyam salt in particular. In 1859, the Government circularized Collectors asking for information in regard to their present and proposed attitude towards "spontaneous salt," but no important action was taken upon the replies received, the destruction at some places, and collection at others, continuing the same as ever before.

## APPENDIX D

Excellent salt in large quantities was produced at Tilwadi, eight miles away from Pachbhadra, which was known as Tilwadi salt. In the villages of Hundu, Limbu, Padharu, there are ponds full of saline water fit for manufacture of salt. Natural salt of a high quality was also found in Charni, opp. Chitwana, from Charni down to Waramba. There is a great concentration of salt in river water which continues right up to Mandola downwards. Besides there are a number of salt springs down the river bank where crystalline salt is found in a natural state. In Phlaudi in Jodhpur and in Lokasur in Bikaner there are salt lakes. In the west of Rachodra village there is a lake, which is several miles in area, into which several salt springs empty themselves. The salt produced from it is better than Sambhar salt, being of 97-98% purity. 2,00,000 maunds of common salt was at one time produced in Phlaudi State. In Nayar and Jodhpur States there are 36 villages covering 400 sq. miles of area where salt can be manufactured under particularly favourable conditions of production. In Rivasa, 1,2,5000 mds. of salt was produced.

Thirty miles from Sambhar is the Raichur salt lake with several other salt lakes in its proximity. Lakhs of maunds of salt were manufactured in the villages of Nasoda, Pali, Humauns, Sayanko, Dharasani, Khedwa Goora, Kuchpak, Lalki, Sanod, Rupvas, Buryalo and Samwora. Other places of salt manufacture were Akhari, Parvata and extensive areas round Bhakigaon, Bhakhi-mandol and Jahyali. In these places salt can be dug up in a free natural state.

In Chakur near Churu in Bikaner, 250,000 mds. of salt was annually produced. In Pokhtu 30,000 mds. of salt was annually produced. In Durgapur State, Mr. Young in the year 1890 catalogued 2992 salt factories, the annual production being 70,000 to 80,000 mds. of salt. In Jhabua State two varieties of salt were produced, *phul* and *sadhara*, with sodium chloride content of 96 and 88% respectively.

In Jaisalmer State 30,000 mds. were produced in the year 1867. In Bharatpur State according to the Government report of 1867-68 the annual production averaged :

Matia	12,000 mds.
Katila	75,000 "
Purania	6,00,000 "

In 1867 salt was manufactured in the villages of Sultanpur, Sadrana, Saidpur, Mahmudpur, Mubarikpur, Basirpur,



Balpur, Kaliabaz, Jaharpur and Silona, covering an area of 1565 acres. The number of salt wells was 330. The average annual salt production from these wells was 5,056,058 mds. In the years 1866 and 1868, the salt manufactured and sold was 6,94,357 mds. The figure for 1877-78 was 9,24,442 mds.

In Burari, 8 miles from Delhi, 2,00,000 mds. of salt was manufactured in 19 villages, covering an area of 30 sq. miles. Tanks in this area yield  $1\frac{1}{2}$  ozs. of salt from every 2 lbs. of water. Other places of manufacture are Basipur, Adari, Ferozepur, Ghadi and Dariapur. In Ballabhadra Tahsil, salt is manufactured from saline earth in 30 villages. In Rahtak Dist. there were 90 nitre factories, in Hansi and Hissar 50, in Shahpur Dist. 19. In Jind State nitre was manufactured in 72 villages out of the total 150. In Bhawalpur State the manufacture of salt was stopped by paying an annual compensation of Rs. 86,000 to the State. Similarly, in Yudo Kotah State the manufacture of salt was stopped in 1867 by paying Rs. 38,000 annually as compensation. In Mysore State the Government income for the year 1867 from the salt pans was Rs. 13,007/12/7. On behalf of Riyasat Bow in the Bombay Presidency a letter was addressed to the Government in 1926 to the effect that 2 lakh maunds of salt annually could easily be dug out of the ground and put into the market if the necessary permission was granted.

In U. P., at one time there were said to be 15,000 salt factories in operation in the province. As a result of their activities there, was a diminution of 10 lakhs of maunds in the sale of Government salt in the year 1867.

In the Bombay Presidency, in Malabar and Canara there were 6438 salt factories which were stopped. According to a report by Mr. T. A. Barber in 1876, 6438 persons were thrown out of employment as a result of the suppression of salt manufacture.

In Bengal, salt was manufactured all along the sea coast up to Banglore and Cuttack in Orissa. The production of salt was 44 lakhs maunds and gave employment to 44,000 men.

In Madras, according to Mr. Bruce (1863), there were a number of salt lakes in Ganjam, Rajahmundry and Masulipattam where salt was manufactured at the cost of Rs. 40/- per 120 maunds. According to Plowdeon there was a lake 30 miles in length near Vedaranyam which yielded white crystalline salt. When all efforts to prevent the people from manufacturing salt failed an attempt was made to destroy the salt and thus, the manufacture was put to an end. In Levingpura, Sevatalakulam, Urani, Kamalapattanam, Arumugeneri, Kiranpur and Kulasekharapattanam in Tinnevely Dist. on the western seaboard there were a number of factories manufacturing salt which were stopped in 1844.

In Sind salt was manufactured in a number of places in Thar and Parkar districts in 1847 and the Run of Cutch. In 1845-46, 6,924 mds. of salt were produced from Mokai lake in the desert of Sind. There are a number of places where crystalline salt is found. According to Mr. Burke there is a salt deposit 20 miles by 15 near Kotri station. The amount of salt in it is estimated to be 184,41,51,430 tons. Up to the year 1878 and 1879 salt was manufactured from saline earth. There were innumerable factories for the manufacture of salt from

saline earth. In that year the salt tax was raised from as. 8/- to Rs. 2/8/- per maund and all these small factories were stopped.

#### APPENDIX E

##### LIVERPOOL SALT—A MONSTROSITY

Mr. F. W. Prideaux, Asst. Examiner of India, No. 1815 in his evidence before the Select Committee of Indian territories clearly stated that the East India Company's price fixation policy of salt in Bengal was influenced by the consideration of helping British manufacturers of salt as well as British exporters. The shipping industry suffered in the East India trade from a dearth of cargo on the outward journey. Stones had often to be used as ballast. Later salt came to be used as the most suitable material to be transported, both as ballast and as cargo. James Aikin, shipowner, gave the following evidence before the 1836 Select Committee on Salt:

"Mr. Bagshaw: Do you know many shipowners at the port of Liverpool who would much prefer loading salt immediately on the vessels arriving for Calcutta, than to keep them in the berths waiting for light goods? . . . Certainly, and as I presume the object of the Committee is to obtain information and not to enter into a contract, I will endeavour to show the testimony I have given is correct. We obtain from Liverpool to Calcutta freight amounting to £ 500 to £ 600. After lying on the berth a month or six weeks, if we could get the same sum by taking salt £1 per ton in a few days instead of weeks, of course, we should prefer it; even if we did it at a cheaper rate, the difference of time would more than compensate."

What the import of foreign salt meant to the people of Bengal and Bengal's Salt Industry will be seen from the following from Frederick J. Haliday, Secretary, Government of India, Home Dept.:

"It is generally understood by those acquainted with the subject and it cannot be denied by any one, who looks into the details, that the present price of the government manufactured salt in Bengal is very much raised to the consumer in the market by the necessary want of economy, not to say extravagance, connected with the Government system of manufacture and by those many speculations and extortions and corruptions which are inevitable in such a system and carried on with such instruments. It has seemed almost certain under these circumstances to persons informed upon the subject that if the Government were to withdraw, if there were no duty imposed and the whole were left perfectly free, the native manufacturer in Bengal would forthwith completely and entirely undersell the imported salt and there would not be a grain of salt imported into Bengal."

And this in spite of the fact that, the salt manufactured in Bengal, as the test, showed, was as good as, if not better than, the imported salt.

In 1931 the question of imposing a customs duty on imported salt was brought up before the Central Legislative Assembly and it was resolved to impose a duty of 4½ as. per maund on it. This was calculated to bring Rs. 34 lakhs of additional revenue to the Government. A countervailing duty of an equivalent



amount was at the same time put on salt imported into Bengal from other provinces. This continued during the year 1932-33. In March 1933, the duty was reduced to  $2\frac{1}{2}$  as. per md. and in 1936 still further to  $1\frac{1}{2}$  as. per md. Finally in May 1938 it was altogether removed with the result that in that year the import of Aden salt into Bengal decreased from 8378440 to 4524829 mds. But whereas in 1937-38 salt imports from Port Said, Jibuti and Ras Haifa were nil, in 1938-39, 2112480 mds. were imported from Port Said, 561630 from Jibuti, 452640 mds. from Ras Haifa. Liverpool which in 1937-38 had exported only 22 mds. of salt, in 1938-39 exported 169710 mds. and in 1930-40 234875 mds. The import of salt into Bengal from other parts of India, which in 1937-38 was 6234059 mds. or 39.43% of the total consumption, fell in 1938-39 to 549874 mds. or 38.96% of the total consumption. But the import of Aden salt was reduced, as we have already seen, to half the import, and the import from Liverpool increased from 22 mds. to 169710 mds. In other words the foreign salt completely replaced the deficit caused by the drop in the import of Aden and Indian salt.

#### APPENDIX F

##### SALT AS MANURE AND CATTLE FEED

As in the case of salt used for human consumption, so in the case of salt used for agricultural purposes as manure, there has been a marked decline as a result of the imposition of the salt-tax.

Mr. Robertson, who was appointed by Government to report upon agricultural conditions in Coimbatore observed in the course of his report:

"Salt has long been used for promoting vegetation. It is of the greatest value as a manure in inland countries .... It has been ascertained by direct experiment that the lands near some coasts receive annually as much as 300 lbs. of salt per acre carried to it by the winds. Salt is generally used as an auxiliary manure with lime or other manures. In England as much as 600 lbs. of salt per acre is applied with other manure to land intended for Mangold Surtzel, and for meadow land a usual top dressing is 200 lbs. of salt with 100 lbs. of nitrate of soda. Heavy dressings of salt are sometimes applied to pasture land to improve the herbage and kill insects injurious to grass."

The same was testified to by Sir Thomas Bernard, Bart., in his evidence before the 1888 Select Committee on Salt Duties in England. Quoting from a letter from Mr. Bevin of Chester, he described the results of an experiment made on a farm 'overrun with coltfoot and other weed' of strewing on it ashes from salt works. The account concluded:

"The effect on the corn crops, besides destroying the weed completely, was very great. I do not exaggerate in saying, that on the part of the field on which this manure was laid, the crop was nearly treble in proportion and the grain, of excellent quality."

The following figures of the issue of denatured salt will show how our agriculture is starved of the necessary manure:

1914-1915	2644 mds.
1915-1916	2655 "
1918-1919	suspended on account of shortage
1919-1920	175 mds.
1920-1921	402 mds.
1922-1923	772 mds.
1925-1926	2407 mds.

In cattle the salt hunger obtains in such an intense form that cattle often resort to human or animal excreta by the wayside to satisfy it.

"I marvelled very much at this abnormal appetite," observes Ratton in his Handbook on Salt, "but subsequently finding that such cattle were depastured on poor grass without any salt whatever either in their natural food, or in the crude state, I ceased to wonder, for these excrements happen to contain an appreciable amount of salt and are often rich in it. The consequences of the habit are most dangerous."

Ratton goes on to describe how it gives rise to the disease of hytids, and how herds of cattle perishing therefrom had been saved by the liberal use of salt, "not that salt is in any sense a remedy, but it is a prophylactic or preventive of the disease."

That the scarcity is the direct result of the salt duty will be seen from the following from the evidence of John Crawford of the Bengal Medical Service before the Select Committee on salt in British India (1836):

"It is a constant argument used by the Board of Customs against an increased consumption of salt in Bengal that salt neither is, nor ever will be, used except for mere alimentary purposes. This is not strictly correct, even as applicable to the present state of things. A good deal of salt (not indeed nitrate of soda, for that being highly taxed cannot be used for such a purpose, but of other impure and untaxed substitutes) is given to horses, horned cattle and even to sheep; pure salt, and in considerable quantity, would no doubt be given, if it could be afforded."

#### Hindustani Pracharak School, Wardha

The Hindustani Prachar Sabha, Wardha, has decided to open a Hindustani Pracharak School in Wardha from 1st July, 1946, in order to accelerate the creation of teachers of the national language. It is intended to select 25 pupils from all over India to receive the training. Only such persons will be chosen who have a good knowledge of either of the two languages, Hindi or Urdu, and a working knowledge of the other. The training will be for a period of 10 months. 15 students will be eligible, according to their capacity, for a scholarship each of Rs. 25/- per month.

The prospectus and rules of the School may be had from the Sabha Office, Wardha. All applications must be in by 10th June, 1946.

Arrangements for receiving women students can be made at the Mahila Ashram, Wardha. Intending women applicants may apply for rules and prospectus to the Secretary, Mahila Ashram, Wardha.

SHRIMAN NARAYAN AGARWAL  
Secretary,

Hindustani Prachar Sabha, Wardha



## AYURVEDA AND NATURE CURE

(By M. K. Gandhi)

Vaidya Vallabharam, Professor of Ayurveda and Vanaspati Shastra writes:

"By combining *Ayurveda* with allopathy the essentials of the former science have been almost destroyed. Cure through *Ayurveda* is based on the five elements. Misuse of air will cause wind, that of fire bile, of water phlegm. The progress of *Ayurveda* depends on its recognition of these basic factors in disease. It holds that for the cure of such complaints as mentioned above, the remedy lies in the proper use of air, light and water. The religious factor must be there too in order scrupulously to observe the laws of nature. *Pathya* (diet cure) is a scientific term of the greatest importance in *Ayurveda*. Its real meaning is that freedom from disease depends on a proper observance of the laws of nature.

"Vagbhat says:

"Without strict dieting of what use is medicine? With strict dieting why any other medicine?"

I have no doubt whatsoever that the spread of *Ramanama* and pure living are the best and cheapest preventives of disease. The tragedy is that doctors, *hakims* and *vaidyas* do not make use of *Ramanama* as the sovereign of cures. There is no place given to it in current *Ayurvedic* literature except it be in the shape of a charm which will drive people further into the well of superstition. *Ramanama* has in fact no connection with superstition. It is nature's supreme law. Whoever observes it is free from disease and *vice versa*. The same law which keeps one free from disease applies also to its cure. An apt question is as to why a man who recites *Ramanama* regularly and leads a pure life should ever fall ill. Man is by nature imperfect. A thoughtful man strives after perfection, but never attains it. He stumbles on the way, however, unwittingly. The whole of God's law is embodied in a pure life. The first thing is to realize one's limitations. It should be obvious that the moment one transgresses those limits one falls ill. Thus a balanced diet eaten in accordance with needs gives one freedom from disease. How is one to know what is the proper diet for one? Many such enigmas can be imagined. The purport of it all is that everyone should be his own doctor and find out his limitations. The man who does so will surely live up to 125.

Vaidya Vallabharam asks whether well known home drugs and condiments can be included in nature cure. Doctor friends claim that they do nothing more than investigating the laws and act accordingly and that therefore they are the best nature cure men. Everything can be explained away in this manner. All I want to say is that anything more than *Ramanama* is really contrary to true nature cure. The more one recedes from this central principle the farther away one goes from nature cure. Following this line of thought I limit

nature cure to the use of the five elements. But a *Vaidya* who goes beyond this and uses such herbs as grow or can be grown in his neighbourhood purely for service of the sick and not for money may claim to be a nature cure man. But where are such *Vaidyas* to be found? Today most of them are engaged in making money. They do no research work and it is because of their greed and mental laziness that the science of *Ayurveda* is at a low ebb. Instead of admitting their own weakness they throw the blame on government and public men. Government is powerless to help those who through their own fault become helpless and thereby drag the name of *Ayurveda* in the mud.

Simla, 9-5-'46

(Condensed from *Harijanbandhu*)

### QUESTION BOX

(By M. K. Gandhi)

Q. The Congress Constitution makes it incumbent on all its candidates standing for election to be habitual wearers of hand-spun and hand-woven Khadi. Does this not imply that they can only use that Khadi which is certified by the A. I. S. A.?

A. In my opinion it cannot be otherwise.

Q. Is a dealer in uncertified Khadi eligible to hold office in a Congress Committee?

A. It is beyond my conception as to how a dealer in uncertified Khadi can be a Congressman, leave alone an aspirant for holding office in any Congress Committee.

Q. You say that a dealer in uncertified Khadi cannot even be a Congressman much less an office holder. But what about those who are office holders in Congress and who deal in mill and even sell foreign cloth?

A. My answer to the second question is equally applicable to the persons referred to in the third. It is for these very reasons that I have recommended the removal of the relevant clauses from the Congress constitution. Experience has taught us that we are unable to adhere to the rules in question.

Simla, 8-5-'46

(From *Harijansevak*)

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# HARIJAN

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[ TWO ANNAS

## NATIONAL LANGUAGE OF INDIA

Gandhiji has given many things to India, but probably very few people realize that one of the biggest things that she has received at his hands is the idea of national language. Although she could boast of several languages there was none which was universally accepted as her national language.

English came to us through the Government, but soon it so dominated the country that it became the medium for higher education and social intercourse among the educated class. They were ashamed to speak in their national language and considered it a mark of honour and distinction to speak in English only on all occasions. Even in their private conversations they could not put away their English.

A new political awakening came over the country towards the close of the last century when the Indian National Congress was founded. The sessions of the Congress were held to make the demands and decisions of the nation heard to the world. But even this voice was not in the national tongue. We wanted to proclaim to England that India was for Indians and for none other. But to say that, we could find no language of our own and were content to express our longing in a borrowed tongue.

The entry of Gandhiji in the political field spelt a complete revolution—the country began to speak in its own tongues. To speak in the national tongue ceased to be regarded as a shame. Gandhiji reminded the people that the thing to be ashamed of was to forget one's own tongue. He toured all over the country in 1920-21 and delivered hundreds of speeches but without exception they were in Hindustani.

When I was under detention at Ranchi during the Great War, I remember having read in the newspapers the report of the War Conference which Lord Chelmsford had summoned in 1917. Gandhiji participated in it, but he had made it a condition that he would speak in Hindustani. At that time this was regarded by the Press as a strange innovation. But the innovation was soon to become the common thing in the country and today we see that Hindustani has taken the place that English held twentyfive years ago.

(From *Harijansevak*) ABUL KALAM AZAD

[The foregoing is a translation of the article of Maulana Saheb written for the Hindustani edition of 'Harijan'. He is a Hindustani scholar and

believes in a simple combination of Hindi and Urdu to be the standard national speech of all India which millions can easily understand. He believes that such a combination is natural. By way of illustration of what he says, he will contribute a short weekly article to the Hindustani edition of 'Harijan' called 'Harijansevak'.

New Delhi, 21-5-'46

M. K. G.]

## HYPNOTISM OF ENGLISH

(By M. K. Gandhi)

"You are making a tireless effort for the propagation of Hindustani. You do not like that Indians should speak or write in any foreign tongue in preference to Hindustani. May I draw your attention to the attitude of the owners of the so-called nationalist English newspapers towards their Indian languages editions? May I ask how this kind of invidious discrimination on their part helps the spread of the national tongue? You have only to compare the scale of salaries paid to the staff working on the English dailies with that of their Indian languages editions respectively to see the glaring disparity between the two. The former get nearly ten times as much as the latter. The editor of an English daily some times gets as much as Rs. 2000/- per month but that of a Hindi daily does not get even Rs. 200/-. An English newspaper is provided all the facilities. It gets the news straight from the teleprinter and has only to set it to type, whereas its Hindi counterpart must get the news translated before it can be printed. Thus it has to put in double the labour and yet receives neither encouragement nor appreciation. Why should they, who work on these newspapers then, care for the Indian languages, when they find that English is everywhere in demand and they have to starve in spite of their pains? Another thing to be noted is that the circulation of Indian languages newspapers is by no means less than that of the English ones. But just as on the Indian railways, in spite of the fact that they derive the bulk of their revenue from the third class passenger traffic, all the amenities are reserved for the first and second class passengers, even so the owners of English newspapers mete out a step-motherly treatment to the readers of their Indian languages editions."

The foregoing letter is from a fellow worker in the cause. He knows what he is writing about. Nor are the facts referred to by him unknown to the Indian public. The question is how to break the spell that the English language exercises over us.



It is an essential part of our struggle for Swaraj or else we shall have to revise our definition of Swaraj. In slavery, the slave has to ape the manners and ways of the master, e. g. dress, language, etc. Gradually he develops a liking for it to the exclusion of everything else. When the British yoke is lifted and we are independent, this infatuation, with the English language, will automatically go. In the meantime, let those who have realized the harm that this infatuation has done to the country make it a point to use Hindustani or their mother-tongue only.

It is a fact that the editors of English newspapers earn ten times as much as the editors of newspapers in the Indian languages. The remedy for it also lies in our hands. The market value of English will find its natural level, once the British empire over India goes, for the simple reason that India cannot afford to pay on a lavish scale. India is a poor country, and so long as the lot of the poorest of the poor remains unameliorated, we have no right to draw fat salaries. The fact, however, is that it rests with the newspaper reading public to raise or reduce the prestige and price of the Indian languages newspapers. If they will cease to regard English papers as their gospel and transfer their patronage to Indian languages newspapers instead, the proprietors will be compelled soon to take note of the change and adjust their policies accordingly. Something like that is happening already. There was a time when Indian languages newspapers had a poor circulation compared to English. Now the scales are reversed. Indian languages newspapers are increasing both in number and circulation.

But those who are running Indian newspapers in Indian languages also owe a duty in the matter even like the newspaper reading public. The language of the newspapers in the Indian languages is often poor and the writings appearing in them lack originality. Newspapermen alone can remove these defects.

New Delhi, 21-5-'46  
(From *Harijansevak*)

By M. K. Gandhi  
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## KHADI SCIENCE SCHOOL IN BOMBAY

(By M. K. Gandhi)

Shri Viththaldas Jerajani is one of those who will do his utmost to put into practice what he is once convinced is the right thing to do. When I returned home in 1915 from South Africa after 20 years' exile, he was at that time running a large Swadeshi Stores in Bombay. I explained to him that he was dealing in what was 'swadeshi' only in name. It was not difficult for him to understand that he had been labouring under a delusion but it was not clear to him what he should do. Beyond pointing out the flaw I too was unable to give him practical guidance straightaway. But I could not remain content without making efforts to put into practice what I believed. As soon as possible I threw myself heart and soul into producing Khadi and Shri Viththaldas started business in Khadi sales. At that time all the Khadi that was produced was sold in Bombay. Khadi weavers in the production areas could be counted on the fingers of one hand. The history of the gradual growth of Khadi is very interesting but I may not dwell on it here.

Now that it has been realized that Khadi merely as a commercial commodity has been a mistake, Shri Viththaldas has taken another step forward. I give below the gist of his account of his doings which he has described in a Gujarati letter to me :

"I have already informed you that two out of the original four Khadi Bhandars in Bombay have been converted into teaching centres. Instead of windows dressed with attractive Khadi for purposes of sales, people are treated to look at all the implements of Khadi production beginning from cotton right up to yarn. Those who are tempted to gain practical knowledge enter the showrooms and are given instruction should they so desire. Up till now there are 209 pupils and the attendance is fairly good for learning all the processes. Shri Kakubhai has taken up the work with zest and is devoting all his time to it.

"For weaving we could only get one place in Andheri where we have put up looms. Owing to the difficulty of procuring accommodation in Bombay, half the shop in Kalbadevi Road has been turned into a weaving centre also. The services of an expert have been obtained. It remains to be seen how far we can progress in this line.

"During the war Khadi sales mounted high owing to cloth shortage. Today also cloth for everyday needs is hard to get and other cloth has gone into the black market and fetches fantastic prices. Khadi is, therefore, still considered cheap and if it weren't for the fact that yarn currency even to a limited extent is in vogue we simply could not meet the demand nor cope with the rush on our stores. The danger of Khadi going to the black market might even have been there.

"Political awakening has always connoted a *pari passu* increase in the demand for Khadi and it is good that those who really believe in it and yet have been lazy about spinning will now have to take to the wheel. Conditions for teaching spinning are therefore favourable."

There is nothing striking about the figures given by Shri Jerajani. Those who think that the world



is full of crazy people have every right to say that Bombay has its full quota of such folk. Men of faith believe that the world is the better for them. The man who strives for the impossible may be looked upon as a burden. But the crazy man who is possessed by some special idea is the crazy man who is prized by society. I place Shri Viththaldas in this category. To find even a few people in a pleasure-loving city like Bombay who realize the power of Khadi is no small matter for satisfaction. Khadi will grow to its full height of course only when it is manufactured in every village and in every home and used there.

Just as Bombay is the foremost city where giving money in charity is concerned, so it can play a leading part in the difficult task of producing Khadi. Who would not like Bombay to hold this coveted position? Shri Viththaldas and his colleagues are working hard for this goal. If they die in the attempt to bring their dreams to fruition their death will be worth while. They must, however, hasten slowly in order to avoid mistakes. If they are watchful and mend their errors at once all will surely be well with their work.

Simla, 9-5-'46

(From *Harijanbandhu*)

### AN EXPERIMENT IN NATIONAL DIET

A striking experiment was carried out in Denmark in the last year of the Great War which has a moral for us in the present food crisis. The Danes as a people were, in the first instance, largely lacto-vegetarian in their diet. Then about 1870-1880 American wheat and barley from the virgin soil of the prairies began to pour in and forced the Danes to change their agricultural methods quickly. They began to raise pigs and poultry and became exporters of eggs and bacon and butter to England. They also became big eaters of meat and eggs themselves.

The blockade following the entry of the United States into the war created a serious situation for the Danes. Denmark had a population of 35,00,000 human beings and 50,00,000 domestic animals. Grain and fodder used to come from America. The sudden stoppage of the American imports created an acute shortage of these articles. Professor Mikkel Hindhede, Superintendent of the State Institute of Food Research, was appointed Food Adviser to the Danish Government to deal with the crisis. The question which he was called upon to decide was this. So far the pigs had provided ham and bacon for the English as well as the Danes. Would it be wise in this crisis to get rid of the pigs and let men eat the grain which otherwise the pigs would eat? Hindhede decided it would be wise and so some four-fifths of the pigs and about one sixth of the cattle were killed. The pigs gone, the bran which was fed to them was set free and was utilized for making whole meal bread with the entire coarse bran incorporated. This was the celebrated Kliebrot which was made official for the whole country. In addition to it the Danes ate porridge, green vegetables, milk, butter and fruit. "No grain or potatoes were allowed for distillation of spirits, so there were no spirits." Half the previous quantity of beer was permitted. Only people on the farms got meat. The people in the cities, about

40 per cent of the population got very little meat. Only the rich could afford beef.

The food regulations were begun in March 1917, and were made stringent from October 1917 to October 1918.

An amazing result followed from the enforcement of this national diet. Death rate which had been 12.5 in 1913-14 now fell to 10.4 per thousand "which is the lowest mortality figure that has been registered in any European country at any time" (Hindhede). To express the results in another way, taking the average from 1906 to 1916 as 160, in the October to October year it was 66. "Even in men over 65 the figure fell to 76."

Before the fiat the Danes ate fine meal bread and whole meal bread. Hindhede made them eat only whole meal bread with extra bran. Its proportions were given out as 67% rye, 21% oats and 12% bran.

"Except for the bran which added vegetable meat for those who were animally meatless or meat short," observes Hindhede, "this bread was the bread which the Danes used to eat before the invasion of American wheat," and which had been the "national bread of Denmark for centuries."

Hindhede attributed the remarkable improvement in the national health of the Danes to (1) less meat, (2) less alcohol. "The bran largely filled the gap of the scanty or absent meat, bran having a good proportion of vegetable meat protein." He regarded his experiment as a "triumph of his previous teaching." "The reader knows," he wrote in *Deutsche Medizinische Wochenschrift* of March 1920, "how sharply I have emphasized the advantages of a lacto-vegetarian diet. I am not in principle a vegetarian but I believe I have shown that a diet containing a large amount of meat and eggs is dangerous to health."

Delhi, 9-5-'46

PYARELAL

### Still Worse

Last week I appealed to women to pull their full weight in trying to alleviate the sufferings of our Harijan brothers and sisters everywhere and asked a band of sisters to go to the Harijan quarters in Reading Road, New Delhi and minister to the needs of the inhabitants, in particular of the women and children there.

Since then Gandhiji has visited the Harijan quarters in Ajmeri Gate and I was one of the party who accompanied him. I had visited this place ten years ago with Mahadevbhai and his facile pen had then tragically described this *basti* in 'Harijan'. It was sad to find these unfortunate human beings still wallowing in the mire with the pigs who share their lot. Their woeful state needs to be seen to be believed. The committee in charge of this particular area and the M. O. H. ought to be relieved of their duties if they are incapable of fulfilling them. The residents of Delhi ought also to be ashamed of themselves for being callous in regard to these plague spots. Concerted public agitation can never fail if it is arrayed against manifest evil. This is surely a matter on which both Indian and European, official and non-official can join hands. These plague spots, truth to tell, exist all over our country and the blame for them must be shared by us all. Women will acquit themselves to some extent if they get Harijan *bastis* everywhere reformed and made as habitable as their own homes.

Simla, 3-5-'46

A. K.



# HARIJAN

May 26

1946

## AN ANALYSIS

(By M. K. Gandhi)

After four days of searching examination of the State Paper issued by the Cabinet Mission and the Viceroy on behalf of the British Government, my conviction abides that it is the best document the British Government could have produced in the circumstances. It reflects our weakness, if we would be good enough to see it. The Congress and the Muslim League did not, could not agree. We would grievously err if at this time we foolishly satisfy ourselves that the differences are a British creation. The Mission have not come all the way from England to exploit them. They have come to devise the easiest and quickest method of ending British rule. We must be brave enough to believe their declaration until the contrary is proved. Bravery thrives upon the deceit of the deceiver.

My compliment, however, does not mean that what is best from the British standpoint is also best or even good from the Indian. Their best may possibly be harmful. My meaning will, I hope, be clear from what follows.

The authors of the document have endeavoured to say fully what they mean. They have gathered from their talks the minimum they thought would bring the parties together for framing India's charter of freedom. Their one purpose is to end British rule as early as may be. They would do so, if they could, by their effort, leave a united India not torn asunder by internecine quarrel bordering on civil war. They would leave in any case. Since in Simla the two parties, though the Mission succeeded in bringing them together at the Conference table (with what patience and skill they could do so, they alone could tell), could not come to an agreement, nothing daunted, they descended to the plains of India, and devised a worthy document for the purpose of setting up the Constituent Assembly which should frame India's charter of independence, free of any British control or influence. It is an appeal and an advice. It has no compulsion in it. Thus the Provincial Assemblies may or may not elect the delegates. The delegates, having been elected, may or may not join the Constituent Assembly. The Assembly having met, may lay down a procedure different from the one laid down in the Statement. Whatever is binding on any person or party arises out of the necessity of the situation. The separate voting is binding on both the major parties, only because it is necessary for the existence of the Assembly and in no otherwise. At the time of writing, I took up the Statement, re-read it clause by clause, and came to the conclusion that there was nothing in it binding in law. Honour and necessity alone are the two binding forces.

What is binding is that part of it which commits the British Government. Hence, I suppose, the

four members of the British mission took the precaution of receiving full approval of the British Government and the two Houses of Parliament. The Mission are entitled to warm congratulations for the first step in the act of renunciation which the Statement is. Since other steps are necessary for full renunciation, I have called this one a promissory note.

Though the response to be made by India is to be voluntary, the authors have naturally assumed that the Indian parties are well organized and responsible bodies capable of doing voluntary acts as fully as, if not more fully than, compulsory acts. Therefore, when Lord Pethick-Lawrence said to a press correspondent, "If they do come together on that basis, it will mean that they will have accepted that basis, but they can still change it, if by a majority of each party they desire to do so," he was right in the sense that those who became delegates, well knowing the contents of the Statement, were expected by the authors to abide by the basis, unless it was duly altered by the major parties. When two or more rival parties meet together, they do so under some understanding. A self-chosen umpire (in the absence of one chosen by the parties, the authors constitute themselves one) fancies that the parties will come together only if he presents them with a proposal containing a certain minimum, and he makes his proposal, leaving them free to add to, subtract from or altogether change it by joint agreement.

This is perfect so far. But what about the units? Are the Sikhs, for whom the Punjab is the only home in India, to consider themselves against their will, as part of the section which takes in Sindh, Baluchistan and the Frontier Province? Or is the Frontier Province also against its will to belong to the Punjab, called "B" in the Statement, or Assam to "C" although it is a predominantly non-Muslim province? In my opinion, the voluntary character of the Statement demands that the liberty of the individual unit should be unimpaired. Any member of the sections is free to join it. The freedom to opt out is an additional safeguard. It can never be a substitute for the freedom retained in paragraph 15(5) which reads:

"Provinces should be free to form groups with executives and legislatures and each group could determine the Provincial subjects to be taken in common."

It is clear that this freedom was not taken away by the authors by section 19 which 'proposes' (does not order) what should be done. It presupposes that the Chairman of the Constituent Assembly at its first meeting will ask the delegates of the Provinces whether they would accept the group principle and if they do, whether they will accept the assignment given to their Province. This freedom inherent in every Province and that given by 15 (5) will remain intact. There appears to me to be no other way of avoiding the apparent conflict between the two paragraphs as also the charge of compulsion which would immediately alter the noble character of the document. I would, therefore, ask all those who are perturbed by the



group proposal and the arbitrary assignment, that, if my interpretation is valid, there is not the slightest cause for perturbation.

There are other things in the document which would puzzle any hasty reader who forgets that it is simply an appeal and an advice to the nation showing how to achieve independence in the shortest time possible. The reason is clear. In the new world that is to emerge out of the present chaos, India in bondage will cease to be 'the brightest jewel' in the British crown, it will become the blackest spot in that crown, so black that it will be fit only for the dustbin. Let me ask the reader to hope and pray with me that the British crown has a better use for Britain and the world. The 'brightest jewel' is an arrogation. When the promissory note is fully honoured, the British crown will have a unique jewel as of right flowing from due performance of duty.

There are other matters outside the Statement which are required to back the promissory note. But I must defer that examination to the next issue of 'Harijan'.

New Delhi, 20-5-'46

### MANGO SEED KERNEL

(By M. K. Gandhi)

A friend has sent me an extract from "Current Science" showing how mango seed kernel is a fair substitute for cereals and fodder.

"According to a recent estimate, the concentrates available in India are sufficient only for 29.1% and fodder for 78.5% of adult bovine population. This does not take into account the requirements of goats, sheep and equines. The shortage is further accentuated during periods of famine. In order to meet the shortages, the Nutritional Research Laboratory at Izat-Nagar have been exploring new sources of foodstuffs. This investigation relates to the use of mango seed kernel as a cattle and human food. At present the material is thrown away as a waste. From chemical analysis of kernels it has been found to be rich in carbohydrates and fats (crude protein 8.5%, ether extract 8.85% and soluble carbohydrates 74.49% on dry basis.)

"The observations credit mango seed kernel with a place in the category of food grains and make available every year about 70 million lbs. digestible protein and 780 million lbs. of starch equivalent from a hitherto unutilized source. It has been also calculated that the digestible protein obtained from 80 lbs. of oats is equal to that of 100 lbs. of the kernel and the starch equivalent for 86 lbs."

I have known this use from my early youth. But no one seems to have thought of conserving this seed for food. The mango season is upon us and though much time has been lost, it will be a good thing if every mango seed was saved and the kernel baked and eaten in the place of cereals or given to those who need it. Every ounce of food saved is so much gained.

Delhi, 21-5-'46

### NATURE CURE IN KANCHANGAON

(By M. K. Gandhi)

I settled down and started work in Uruli Kanchan in response to the invitation of the inhabitants there in the hope of making it a model nature cure centre for the villages of India. The people of the village had promised their co-operation. They were to have provided the land and erect buildings on it. But that has not yet materialized. They have given the money. But that is not enough for buying land and buildings. They have to find the land and to erect the buildings on it. Their active interest in it is more important than mere monetary aid.

According to the reports received from co-workers there, the inhabitants of Kanchangaon have begun to understand and appreciate nature cure. And the workers have developed such self-confidence that they won't mind, if I do not return there before June. They say that the people are co-operating with them so wholeheartedly that they can well afford to wait till I descend from Mahabaleshwar and Panchgani at the end of the warm season. All this has filled me with hope.

Nature cure consists of two parts. Firstly, to cure diseases by taking the name of God or *Ramanama* and secondly, to prevent illness by the inculcation of right and hygienic living. The report from the village says that the inhabitants are co-operating with them in keeping the village clean. I hold that where the rules of personal, domestic and public sanitation are strictly observed and due care is taken in the matter of diet and exercise, there should be no occasion for illness or disease. Where there is absolute purity, inner and outer, illness becomes impossible. If the village people could but understand this, they would not need doctors, *hakims* or *vaidyas*.

In Kanchangaon there are hardly any cows. That is unfortunate. There are some she buffaloes. But all the evidence that has come to me so far shows that buffalo's milk is no match for cow's in the health-giving quality. The *vaidyas* specially recommend cow's milk for patients. I, therefore, hope that the people of Uruli Kanchan will keep a herd of cows to insure a supply of fresh clean cow's milk to all. Milk is an absolute necessity for health.

Then, the sooner the buildings are erected the better. In the first place, it is a question as to how long we ought to go on using Shri Datar's bungalow. Secondly, and that is more important, so long as there is not adequate housing accommodation, proper treatment of patients is not possible. Accommodation for indoor patients is a necessity. I shall always hope that Kanchangaon will become an ideal village. Nature cure implies an ideal mode of life and that in its turn presupposes ideal living conditions in towns and villages. The name of God is, of course, the hub round which the nature cure system revolves.

Delhi, 21-5-'46

(From *Harijansevak*)



## WEEKLY LETTER

## BACK IN SWEEPERS' COLONY

Gandhiji was glad to be back once more in the Sweepers' Colony at Reading Road where he feels far more at home than on the Simla heights. Public prayer was resumed from the very first day of his arrival. But the prayer gatherings are now held not on the *Ramalila* grounds near the Ajmeri Gate but in the *Mehtar* compound itself. The Quranic prayer was led by the Fakir Badshah Khan. (He is now gone to his province.) Twice during the week he addressed the prayer gathering. On the first day he explained that all prayer, in whatever language or from whatever religion it was, was prayer addressed to one and the same God and taught mankind that all belonged to one family and should bear love to one another.

Echoing Badshah Khan's words at the end of the prayer, Gandhiji said it was a travesty of true religion to consider one's own religion as superior and others, as inferior. All religions enjoined worship of the One God who was all pervasive. He was present even in a droplet of water or in a tiny speck of dust. "Even those who worship idols, worship not the stone of which it is made; they try to see God who resides in it." Similarly it was a libel to call the Parsis fire-worshippers or sun-worshippers. The Parsi hymn which Dr. Dinshah Mehta had recited corresponded to the *Gayatri* of the Hindus. It was nothing but pure worship of God. Various religions were like the leaves on a tree. No two leaves were alike, yet there was no antagonism between them or between the branches on which they grew. Even so, there is an underlying unity in the variety which we see in God's creation.

## SPECULATION FEVER

Speculation as to the contents of the impending announcement of the Cabinet Mission had reached a feverish height with the return from Simla of the Mission and other members of the Tripartite Conference. Friends had been asking, remarked Gandhiji, as to what the message was likely to contain. He did not know, nor did he speculate. It was no use giving a thought as to what it would contain. A man of prayer could not do otherwise. Good or bad, they would know all in another twentysix hours. It would then be open to them to accept or reject it. Instead of looking outwards let them search inward and ask God what their duty was in either event. For him and them in the meanwhile, it should be enough to know that the Cabinet Delegation had come all the way leaving their hearth and home to find out in what manner British rule was to end and when the last British soldier was to leave India, and not whether or not to leave India. It was necessary for them to find out whether the Congress and the Muslim League could be brought together. British rule had separated them and if they (the Cabinet Mission) failed it was small wonder. They were bound to come together soon after British hold on India had demonstrably ceased. The Cabinet Dele-

gation's concern was to quit India without a moment's delay.

## NO PAROCHIAL OUTLOOK

"But supposing the reverse happens," he continued, "they will be the losers, not we. We have chosen the path of self-suffering. We rise through our suffering. That is nature's law. He who clings to his sordid self or family interests loses. Man is sent into the world to perform his duty even at the cost of his life if necessary. We must therefore be braced for any suffering that may come in the performance of duty.

"All of us, Hindus and Musalmans, constitute an integral whole. If someone errs all must suffer for it. God has so ordered this world that no one can keep his goodness or badness exclusively to himself. The whole world is like the human body with its various members. Pain in one member is felt in the whole body. Rot in one part must inevitably poison the whole system. Let us, therefore, cease to think in terms of individuals and think in terms of the whole country. We must put faith in God and be careful for nothing. We hold our destiny in our own hands and no one but ourselves can make or mar it."

## ON THE EVE

The after-prayer address on the following day, too, was devoted to preparing the people's mind for a just and dispassionate examination of the forthcoming announcement. He asked the gathering not to allow themselves to be led away by prejudice or hearsay, but to study the document itself carefully and then form their own opinion. He deprecated the habit of borrowing opinions from newspapers. "Newspapers should be for the study of facts. They should not be allowed to kill the habit of independent thinking." The English language, he warned them, was a difficult medium to master. Even he, after his residence for nearly twenty years among English speaking people, could not claim to have full mastery over it. They should therefore study the document in Hindustani to be able to grasp its full meaning. Whether they liked the announcement or not, it was going to be a most momentous one in the history of India and therefore deserved careful study. As men of prayer it further behoved them to put themselves entirely in the hands of God and pray to Him to illumine and purify them so as to fit them for understanding the document aright.

## NOT AN AWARD

The Cabinet Delegation's announcement was published on Wednesday the 18th. The following day's discourse, therefore, naturally contained an examination of that document.

Taking as his text the song sung by Shrimati Sucheta Kripalani about "the land that was without sorrow and suffering," he proceeded to examine the Cabinet Mission's pronouncement in the light of the ideal set forth in that song. How far was the Cabinet Mission's pronouncement calculated to



enable them to realize that ideal? "The poet says we are citizens of a country in which there is neither sorrow nor suffering. Where is such a country to be found in this world? I confess, throughout my wanderings I have not come across such a country so far. The poet has later described the conditions for the attainment of that ideal state. It is easy to observe them individually. For one who really and truly is pure at heart, there is no sorrow or suffering. But it is a difficult state for the millions to attain. Nevertheless we want India to be such a country." He had asked them on the previous day to examine independently of other people's opinions the Statement of the Cabinet Delegation when they saw it. They should examine it from the point of view of a country which would be without sorrow or suffering. He would give them his own reactions. He, however, did not want to contradict himself by asking them to follow his ideas if they did not appeal to them. Everyone should think for himself and herself. They were to weigh opinions and adopt only those they had assimilated.

He had glanced at the document casually on the previous night as soon as it was received. He had read it carefully in the morning. It was not an award. The Mission and the Viceroy had tried to bring the parties together but they could not bring about an agreement. So they had recommended to the country what in their opinion was worthy of acceptance by the Constituent Assembly. It was open to that body to vary it, reject it or improve upon it. There was no 'take it or leave it' business about their recommendations. If there were restrictions, the Constituent Assembly would not be a sovereign body, free to frame a constitution of independence for India. Thus the Mission had suggested for the Centre certain subjects. It was open to the Assembly by the majority vote of Muslims and non-Muslims separately, to add to them or even reduce them. And it was open to the Assembly to abolish the distinction which the Mission had felt forced to recognize. Similarly about grouping. The provinces were free to reject the very idea of grouping. No province could be forced against its will to belong to a group, even if the idea of grouping was accepted. He instanced only two things to illustrate his point. He had not exhausted the list of things which seemed to him to be open to objection or improvement.

Subject to the above interpretation, which he held was right, he told them that the Mission had brought forth something of which they had every reason to be proud.

#### SPIRIT OF C. F. A.

There were some, he proceeded, who said the English were incapable of doing the right thing. He did not agree with them. The Mission and the Viceroy were as God-fearing as they themselves claimed to be. It was beneath their dignity as men to doubt a person before he was proved to be untrue to his word. "The late Charlie Andrews was every inch of him an Englishman who had

died slaving for India. It would be grievously wrong to doubt in advance every one of his countrymen." Whatever the wrong done to India by British rule, if the statement of the Mission was genuine, as he believed it was, it was in discharge of an obligation which they had declared the British owed to India, namely, to get off India's back. It contained the seed to convert this land of sorrow into one without sorrow and suffering.

#### THE LESSON OF THE TREES

Pursuing the theme of the previous day's song, Gandhiji asked in his next prayer discourse how they were to convert India, which was today the home of sorrow and suffering, into the ideal country about which the poet had sung. The reply he said was furnished by the song about the sermon of the trees which had just been sung. "In that song one is asked to take the lesson from the trees which themselves suffer the fierce rays of the sun and give shade to those who take shelter under them. To those who throw stones at them they respond by dropping fruit. That is true philanthropy. To learn that philanthropy we are asked in that song to go to Harijans. Today society has condemned Harijans to a life of filth and degradation. That is not their shame but our shame. Society has treated them as untouchables and condemned them to live in ghettos and yet they continue to render invaluable services to society for a mere pittance. It was open to them to take to more lucrative avocations as some of them have done. The fact that the vast majority of them have chosen not to, resounds to their credit." If they could show that spirit of service in spite of their ignorance and backwardness, he asked, how much more spirit of selfless service and sacrifice ought the so-called *savarna* classes to show?

#### THE ANNOUNCEMENT X-RAYED

He had remarked in his previous day's address that he saw the germs of the realization of the ideal envisaged by the poet in the song that had been sung on that day, in the announcement of the Cabinet Mission. But it was subject to the condition that it meant what it said. He likened that announcement to a promissory note, whose worth depended entirely on its genuineness and validity. "If the promise inscribed on a promissory note is not honoured, the note is worth nothing and fit only to be torn to pieces and thrown away." Truth meant everything to him. He had said that he would not purchase even Swaraj at the cost of truth, because Swaraj so purchased would be illusory. It was his hope and prayer, in which he invited the audience to join him, that the announcement of the Cabinet Mission would be finally honoured in letter and in spirit and that God would help the members of the Mission to discharge their promissory note even as He had done for His devotees in days of old.

#### MEANING OF PRAYER

On Sunday the 19th Fakir Badshah Khan again addressed the prayer gathering. His theme was the



meaning and significance of prayer. The object of prayer, *prarthana*, or *namaz*, he said, was the same, viz. to purge ourselves of all dross and baseness so as to enable us to realize the bond of unity with the entire human family. Unfortunately, mankind had today lost its essential oneness and had got divided up into mutually antagonistic groups. All this was the result of a tragic delusion. "Prayer should fit one for service not of any particular section or community but of God's entire creation, for which he has sent us into this world."

Commenting on it Gandhiji said that if they had carefully followed and assimilated Badshah Khan's remarks they would know that the object of prayer was not to please God, who does not want our prayers or praise, but to purify ourselves. "God is omnipresent. There is not an atom in the universe without His presence. The process of self-purification consists in a conscious realization of His presence within us. There is no strength greater than that which such realization gives."

It had pleased him to see so many of them coming to attend the prayers, he said. But it would hurt him if he found that they had come just for fun, or, what would be worse still, to hear his political views. As a rule, politics should not be permitted to intrude upon prayer. He, however, could not avoid referring to current political topics sometimes in the course of his after-prayer discourses because life could not be divided into water-tight compartments. Presence of God had to be felt in every walk of life. If they thought that as soon as they left the prayer ground they could live and behave anyhow, their attendance of the prayer was useless. If their interest in prayer was genuine, the next day's prayer, he hoped, would be as numerously attended as on the day he spoke, although he would not be speaking on account of his Monday silence.

Monday is always the day of self-examination and prayer with Gandhiji. The silence enables him to be alone with God. Never has he felt the need to wait on the inner light for guidance more than on the present momentous occasion. And so, although he is now surrounded by his 'family', his thoughts are continually turned inward. Out of the depth of his silence and repose came his written message to the prayer gathering yesterday. "I only want to say to you that for India it is a day for deep and serious thinking. We should do nothing in haste. For, we are dealing with the destinies of dumb millions. It therefore becomes our bounden duty that, with God as witness, we should think only of the country with its 40 crores of people, not of our petty selves nor of our respective communities or groups. And whatever we decide we should act upon without fear or shame."

New Delhi,  
21-5-'46

PYARELAL

## A FAIR HIT

(By M. K. Gandhi)

"A report from New Delhi dated 16th April, published in the 'Times of India' of the 18th says that at a prayer meeting held on Tuesday evening you said:

"1. 'The machinery and even engineers were all foreign. He had no enmity with machinery. Mills, he said, could not remove the poverty of India, but on the other hand had deprived crores of villagers of their work and practically ruined them. Those Indians responsible for ruining the villages had become foreigners and as such they should live in foreign countries.'

"How can you reconcile this statement with the gentlemen who form the Board of Trustees of the Kasturba Memorial Fund, the primary aim of which is to improve conditions in villages. Majority of these gentlemen are industrialists and owners of mills. Can they, who are responsible for ruining the villages, and still continue to ruin them by their mills, be ever capable of sincere help in improving the condition of villagers?

"2. You have so often talked and written against the curse of black markets. How many of the trustees of the Kasturba Memorial Fund can lay their hands on their hearts and say they have not dealt in the black market either as buyers or sellers?"

This is a fair hit. That mill-owners and such others have joined the Kasturba Trust is a compliment to my *ahimsa*. Though I express my opinions strongly, there is no sting in them, nothing personal. I have no sense of shame in befriending mill-owners whose business, I hold, should be stopped, not forcibly but by reason. Education of the public could bring about results which no force can. I must say in favour of the capitalist class trustees that they never interfered with the decision of non-capitalist trustees. Indeed, they have always helped by their knowledge. The combination is good and beneficial to the Trust. Their sincerity cannot be questioned; for, they have faith in their capacity and the modern trend.

As to black markets, I do not know that any of the Trustees have black market dealings. But should I discover any, I should think twice before inviting them to leave the Trust. They have not imposed themselves on the Trust.

Delhi, 21-5-'46

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# HARIJAN

12 Pages

Editor: PYARELAL

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AHMEDABAD — SUNDAY, JUNE 2, 1946

[TWO ANNAS

## SALARY OF M. L. A.'s

(By M. K. Gandhi)

**Q.** The monthly salary of an M. L. A. is Rs. 200/-. He is a mofussil member and, as such, is entitled to a daily allowance of Rs. 15/- when the Assembly is in session. Besides that, he may draw a conveyance of Rs. 2/8/- for any day on which he attends the meeting of the Assembly. Moreover, he is entitled to 'travelling allowance' for his journey from the usual place of residence to the City at the rate of one and a half times first class fare but he cannot draw 'travelling allowance' and 'daily allowance' for the same day.

1. (a) Should such a person as a representative and servant of the poor draw the salary?

(b) Would he be absolved from the wrong if he gave the whole amount to the local Congress Committee or the institution under which he is working for constructive work?

(c) If so, would it not mean that the end justifies the means?

2. He will have to live in the City when the Assembly is in session and has to incur some other expenditure for discharging his duties and responsibilities as an M. L. A.

(a) In the circumstances, may he, consistently with his ideal, draw the daily allowance to meet the expenses?

(b) If so, and if it be not permissible to draw a part of it, should he draw the whole of it and give the balance to the institution under which he is working?

(c) In that case, may he, consistently with his ideal, spend the balance or part thereof for his family, which will have otherwise to depend upon the charity of friends to make the two ends meet?

3. (a) Should he draw the conveyance allowance (meant for his conveyance inside the city for attending meetings) when the daily allowance will be more than sufficient to cover all his expenses including the conveyance?

(b) Should he avail of costly conveyance for attending meetings, if he usually travels in tram cars and buses?

4. If such a member travels third class on principle, what should he do regarding drawing 'mileage allowance' if it is not permissible to draw at lower rate than one and a half first class fares?

**A.** In my opinion, the salary and allowances drawn by the gentlemen of the various Assemblies are out of all proportion to the services they render to the country. The scales fixed are on the English pattern, not at all compatible with the income of this country—the poorest in the world. Therefore, the answer I suggest is that the Ministers should, with the consent of the Assemblies, reduce the whole scale in accordance with requirements and, in the meantime, either the amount taken should be handed to the party to which the member belongs, drawing what the party has fixed or, if that be not possible, drawing what his conscience thinks just for himself and his family and devoting the balance to some item of the constructive programme or some such public activity. The money allowed has to be drawn but nobody is obliged to use it for oneself except to the extent needed. No question here arises of end justifying the means.

New Delhi, 25-5-'46

## INDIANS IN SOUTH AFRICA

(By M. K. Gandhi)

The Indian Deputation from South Africa have made a great stir in India. They propose to approach the U. N. O. with a view to enlist the latter's sympathy. But the legislation is going through. The Indian High Commissioner will be withdrawn as he should be. What little aid he can render is nothing compared to the indignity of representing a country whose inhabitants are to be treated as an inferior race. This new caste is worse than the ancient but dying institution of India which has some redeeming features, even while it is dying. But the new civilized edition has none. It shamelessly proclaims that white civilization requires the erection of legal barriers in order to protect itself against Asiatics and Africans. The Indians in South Africa are bearing a heavy burden which they are well able to discharge. Satyagraha, the mightiest weapon in the world, was born and bred there. If they make effective use of it, it will be well with the sacred cause they are handling. It is not one of making it easy for a handful, to be permitted to live and trade there if they wear the badge of inferiority called years ago by an Englishman of South Africa 'dog's collar'. The cause is the cause of the honour of India and through her of all the exploited coloured races of the earth, whether they be brown, yellow or black. It is worth all the suffering of which they are capable.

New Delhi, 27-5-'46



## QUESTION BOX

(By M. K. Gandhi)

### WHO IS RAMA?

**Q** You have often said that when you talk of 'Rama' you refer to the Ruler of the universe and not to Rama, the son of Dasharatha. But we find that your *Ramadhun* calls on 'Sita-Rama' 'Raja Rama' and it ends with 'Victory to Rama the Lord of Sita'. Who is this Rama if not the son of the King Dasharatha?

**A.** I have answered such questions before. But there is something new in this one. It demands a reply. In *Ramadhun* 'Raja Rama', 'Sita-Rama' are undoubtedly repeated. Is not this 'Rama' the same as the son of Dasharatha? Tulsidas has answered this question. But let me put down my own view. More potent than Rama is the Name. Hindu Dharma is like a boundless ocean teeming with priceless gems. The deeper you dive the more treasures you find. In Hindu religion God is known by various names. Thousands of people look doubtless upon Rama and Krishna as historical figures and literally believe that God came down in person on earth in the form of Rama the son of Dasharatha, and by worshipping him one can attain salvation. The same thing holds good about Krishna. History, imagination and truth have got so inextricably mixed up. It is next to impossible to disentangle them. I have accepted all the names and forms attributed to God, as symbols connoting one formless omnipresent Rama. To me, therefore, Rama described as the Lord of Sita, son of Dasharatha, is the all powerful essence whose name inscribed in the heart, removes all suffering, mental, moral and physical.

New Delhi, 26-5-'46

(From *Harijansevak*)

### PEACEFUL STRIKES

**Q.** How should a strike be conducted so that hooliganism and violence are avoided?

**A.** A strike should be spontaneous and not manipulated. If it is organized without any compulsion there would be no chance for goondaism and looting. Such a strike would be characterized by perfect co-operation amongst the strikers. It should be peaceful and there should be no show of force. The strikers should take up some work either singly or in co-operation with each other, in order to earn their bread. The nature of such work should have been thought out beforehand. It goes without saying that in a peaceful, effective and firm strike of this character, there will be no room for rowdyism or looting. I have known of such strikes. I have not presented a Utopian picture.

New Delhi, 26-5-'46

### WHY DOCTORS?

**Q.** Why do you go to the doctors for examination and diagnosis and not to the *vaidyas*?

**A.** The *vaidyas* do not possess the knowledge of the human body as the doctors do. The basis of diagnosis in *Ayurveda* is the theory of *tridosh*. They have not got to the bottom even of that. The doctors are ever carrying on research and making

new discoveries. One either goes forward or backward. Nothing remains static in the world. Those who become static, become lifeless. God alone is static, but amazing as it may sound, He is described both as motionless and full of motion.

Moreover, doctors and *vaidyas* are my friends. The doctors have clung to me. One of them has become more than my own daughter. One's own daughter can leave her father; how can one who has chosen to become daughter? The *vaidyas* themselves use though indifferently the methods of diagnosis used by the doctors or else they advise the patient to go to the doctors for it. The *vaidyas* possess the knowledge of certain drugs which they use effectively.

But the doctors, *vaidyas* and *hakims* all slave for money. They do not take to the profession purely from a spirit of service. That some of them have that spirit does not contradict my statement. Nature cure is the only thing which has come into existence purely from the point of view of selfless service. Today even that has become a means of making money. Thus money has taken the place of God. The doctors examine me, but I depend on none but God. He is the Master of every breath I take. If He wills it, He will keep me up to 125 years. If not, He might carry me off any moment, leaving the medical friends staring as helpless spectators.

New Delhi, 27-5-'46

(From *Harijanbandhu*)

### WORKING COMMITTEE RESOLUTION

[The following resolution was passed by the Working Committee of the Indian National Congress on May 24, 1946, at New Delhi.]

The Working Committee have given careful consideration to the Statement dated May 16, 1946, issued by the Delegation of the British Cabinet and the Viceroy on behalf of the British Government, as well as the correspondence relating to it that has passed between the Congress President and the members of the Delegation. They have examined it with every desire to find a way for a peaceful and co-operative transfer of power and the establishment of a free and independent India. Such an India must necessarily have a strong central authority capable of representing the nation with power and dignity in the counsels of the world. In considering the Statement, the Working Committee have kept in view the picture of the future, in so far as this was available to them from the proposals made for the formation of a Provisional Government and the clarification given by members of the Delegation. This picture is still incomplete and vague. It is only on the basis of the full picture that they can judge and come to a decision as to how far this is in conformity with the objectives they aim at. These objectives are: independence for India; a strong, though limited, central authority; full autonomy for the provinces; the establishment of a democratic structure in the centre and



in the units; the guarantee of the fundamental rights of each individual so that he may have full and equal opportunities of growth; and further that each community should have opportunity to live the life of its choice within the larger framework.

The Committee regret to find a divergence between these objectives and the various proposals that have been made on behalf of the British Government, and, in particular, there is no vital change envisaged during the interim period when the Provisional Government will function, in spite of the assurance given in paragraph 23 of the Statement. If the independence of India is aimed at, then the functioning of the Provisional Government must approximate closely in fact, even though not in law, to that independence, and all obstructions and hindrances to it should be removed. The continued presence of a foreign army of occupation is a negation of independence.

The Statement issued by the Cabinet Delegation and the Viceroy contains certain recommendations and suggests a procedure for the building up of a Constituent Assembly, which is sovereign in so far as the framing of the constitution is concerned. The Committee do not agree with some of these recommendations. In their view it will be open to the Constituent Assembly itself at any stage to make changes and variations, with the proviso that, in regard to certain major communal matters a majority decision of both the major communities will be necessary.

The procedure for the election of the Constituent Assembly is based on representation in the ratio of one to a million, but the application of this principle appears to have been overlooked in the case of European members of Assemblies, particularly in Assam and Bengal. Therefore, the Committee expect that this oversight will be corrected.

The Constituent Assembly is meant to be a fully elected body, chosen by the elected members of the Provincial Legislatures. In Baluchistan, there is no elected assembly or any other kind of chamber which might elect a representative for the Constituent Assembly. It would be improper for any kind of nominated individual to speak for the whole province of Baluchistan, which he really does not represent in any way.

In Coorg, the Legislative Council contains some nominated members, as well as Europeans elected from a special constituency of less than a hundred electors. Only the elected members from the general constituencies should participate in the election.

The Statement of the Cabinet Delegation affirms the basic principle of provincial autonomy and residuary powers vesting in the Provinces. It is further said that Provinces should be free to form groups. Subsequently, however, it is recommended that provincial representatives will divide up into sections which 'shall proceed to settle the Provincial Constitutions for the Provinces in each section and shall also decide whether any Group Constitution

shall be set up for the Provinces'. There is a marked discrepancy in these two separate provisions, and it would appear that a measure of comolusion is introduced which clearly infringes the basic principle of provincial autonomy. In order to retain the recommendatory character of the Statement, and in order to make the clauses consistent with each other, the Committee read paragraph 15 to mean that, in the first instance, the respective provinces will make their choice whether or not to belong to the section in which they are placed. Thus the Constituent Assembly must be considered as a sovereign body with final authority for the purpose of drawing up a constitution and giving effect to it.

The provisions in the Statement in regard to the Indian States are vague and much has been left for future decision. The Working Committee would, however, like to make it clear that the Constituent Assembly cannot be formed of entirely disparate elements, and the manner of appointing State representatives for the Constituent Assembly must approximate, in so far as is possible, to the method adopted in the Provinces. The Committee are gravely concerned to learn that even at this present moment some State governments are attempting to crush the spirit of their people with the help of armed forces. These recent developments in the States are of great significance in the present and for the future of India, as they indicate that there is no real change of policy on the part of some of the State governments and of those who exercise paramountcy.

A Provisional National Government must have a new basis and must be a precursor of the full independence that will emerge from the Constituent Assembly. It must function in recognition of that fact, though changes in law need not be made at this stage. The Governor-General may continue as the head of that Government during the interim period, but the Government should function as a cabinet responsible to the Central Legislature. The status, powers and composition of the Provisional Government should be fully defined in order to enable the Committee to come to a decision. Major communal issues shall be decided in the manner referred to above in order to remove any possible fear or suspicion from the minds of a minority.

The Working Committee consider that the connected problems involved in the establishment of a Provisional Government and a Constituent Assembly should be viewed together so that they may appear as parts of the same picture, and there may be co-ordination between the two, as well as an acceptance of the independence that is now recognized as India's right and due. It is only with the conviction that they are engaged in building up a free, great and independent India, that the Working Committee can approach this task and invite the co-operation of all the people of India. In the absence of a full picture, the Committee are unable to give a final opinion at this stage.



# HARIJAN

June 2

1946

## VITAL DEFECTS

(By M. K. Gandhi)

Intrinsically and as legally interpreted, the State Paper seems to me to be a brave and frank document. Nevertheless, the official interpretation would appear to be different from the popular. If it is so and prevails it will be a bad omen. During the long course of the history of British rule in India, the official interpretation has held sway. And, it has been enforced. I have not hesitated before now to say that the office of the lawgiver, judge and executioner is combined in one person in India. Is not the State Document a departure from the imperialistic tradition? I have answered 'yes'.

Be that as it may. Let us try to glance at the shortcomings.

The Delegation, after a brief spell in Simla, returned to Delhi on the 14th instant, issued their statement on the 16th, and yet we are far from the popular government at the Centre. One would have thought that they would have formed the Central Government before issuing the Statement. But they issued the Statement first and then set about the search for the formation of the Interim Government. It is taking a long time coming, whilst the millions are starving for want of food and clothing. This is defect No. 1.

The question of paramountcy is unsolved. It is not enough to say that paramountcy will end with the end of British rule in India. If it persists without check during the interim period, it will leave behind a difficult legacy for the independent Government. If it cannot be ended with the establishment of the Interim Government, it should be exercised in co-operation with it and purely for the benefit of the people of the States. It is the people who want and are fighting for independence, not the Princes who are sustained by the alien power even when they claim not to be its creation for the suppression of the liberties of the people. The Princes, if they are true to their professions, should welcome this popular use of paramountcy so as to accommodate themselves to the Sovereignty of the people envisaged under the new scheme. This is defect No. 2.

Troops, it is declared, are to remain during the interim period for the preservation of internal peace and protection against external aggression. If they are kept for such use during the period of grace, their presence will act as a damper on the Constituent Assembly and is more likely than not to be wanted even after the establishment of independence so-called. A nation that desires alien troops for its safety, internal or external, or has them imposed upon it, can never be described as independent in any sense of

the term. It is an effete nation unfit for self-government. The acid test is that it should be able to stand alone, erect and unbending. During the interim period we must learn to hop unaided, if we are to walk when we are free. We must cease from now to be spoon-fed.

That these things are not happening as we would wish is to be accounted as our weakness, be the causes whatever they be, not the cussedness of the British Government or their people. Whatever we get, will be our deserts, not a gift from across the seas. The three ministers have come to do what they have declared. It will be time to blame them when they go back upon the British declarations and devise ways and means of perpetuating British rule. Though there is ground for fear, there is no sign on the horizon that they have said one thing and meant another.

New Delhi, 26-5-'46

## RIDICULING RAMANAMA

(By M. K. Gandhi)

Q. You know we are so ignorant and dull that we actually begin to worship the images of our great men instead of living up to their teachings. *Ramalila*, *Krishnalila* and the recently opened Gandhi temple are a living testimony of that. The *Ramanama* bank in Benares and wearing clothes printed with *Ramanama*, is, in my opinion, a caricature and even insult of *Ramanama*. Don't you think that under these circumstances your telling the people to take to *Ramanama* as a sovereign remedy for all ailments is likely to encourage ignorance and hypocrisy? *Ramanama* repeated from the heart can be a sovereign remedy, but in my opinion religious education of the right type alone can lead to that state.

A. You are right. There is so much superstition and hypocrisy around that one is afraid even to do the right thing. But if one gives way to fear, even truth will have to be suppressed. The golden rule is to act fearlessly upon what one believes to be right. Hypocrisy and untruth will go on in the world. Our doing the right thing will result in their decrease if any, never in their increase. The danger is that when we are surrounded by falsehood on all sides we might be caught in it and begin to deceive ourselves. We should be careful not to make a mistake out of our laziness and ignorance. Constant vigilance under all circumstances is essential. A votary of truth cannot act otherwise. Even an all-power remedy like *Ramanama* can become useless for lack of wakefulness and care, and become one more addition to the numerous current superstitions.

New Delhi, 25-5-'46

By J. C. Kumarappa

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## FAMINE NOTES

## ABUSE OF FOOD GRAINS

Now that the expectation of consignment of food grains arriving from America has receded into the background and we are threatened with the breakdown of our rationing system by the third week of June, most stringent measures must at once be taken to prevent a single grain of foodstuffs from being wasted or put to any other use than that of saving human lives threatened with starvation. The use of enormous quantities of food grains for the manufacture of dextrine and starches for industrial use, was commented upon in these columns some time back. A friend has now sent a detailed note showing that not only one lakh and sixtyone thousand and odd tons of food grains are diverted to this use, but also a considerable proportion is wasted. It could either be greatly reduced or eliminated altogether. He writes:

"At present as far as I could gather, there are 13 starch factories manufacturing starches, dextrines, flour etc. on a large scale all over British India and the States. The raw material used for manufacturing starches and dextrines are maize, wheat, rice, tapioca, potato, barley, etc.

"These starches and dextrines find application in many industries for various processes but I touch upon only three main uses of these on a very huge scale:

1. AS "SIZE" OR "SIZING PRODUCT" IN THE TEXTILE TRADE. In order to give sufficient winding and/or weaving strength to fibre and/or fabric "Sizing" is the process generally employed. As far as I could collect details, the total all India consumption of such sizing products made of starch or dextrine by various textile mills and handloom societies and factories is estimated to be in the neighbourhood of 1,32,000 tons a year. The percentage of "Sizing" or "Size" depends on the counts of yarn used, the quality of textile material manufactured, the price at which it is marketed and particularly the whims and fancies of the manufacturers. The cheaper varieties of textiles are given very heavy sizing to fetch better prices, the burden of which ultimately falls on the lower class who go in for cheap consumer goods. To manufacture 1,32,000 tons of sizing products, 70,200 tons of starch or dextrine are necessary on a 60% basis every year, which in turn consumes double the raw materials. In other words, yearly 1,40,400 tons of foodstuffs mentioned above are used up in the manufacture of sizing products. Here in India, starch is made of all essential foodstuffs given above and the starch contents range between 30 to 60% of the raw materials. But for our calculations, I have taken an average of 50%.

2. IN MANUFACTURING GUMS OR PASTES. Though the statistics are not available, the flour of wheat and rice, and tapioca powder used in manufacturing gums, pastes, etc. for various purposes including sticking or affixing etc. can be estimated at about 1,500 tons a year from 2,000 tons of raw materials (foodstuffs).

3. IN REDUCING THE STRENGTH OF DYE-STUFFS. Use of dextrine as a reducing agent in

the "Dyes" or "Colours" trade is a well-known fact. As far as I could gather, the consumption of the reducing agent in various provinces is approximately 5,500 tons, Bombay Province leading the list with 2,500 tons. These figures I fear may be on the lower side as I could not get accurate consumption. The necessary data can only be collected by the Government machinery.

"Reducing dyestuffs for the bazar consumers is a common practice with all leading firms like Imperial Chemical Industries, Ciba (India) Ltd., Shaw Wallace, and Geigy as also many Indian firms. Fine dextrine or starch is used as a reducing agent. Only 30% dextrine can be manufactured of raw materials that is to say, to prepare 5,500 tons of dextrine 19,000 tons of raw material are consumed.

"Thus for all the three purposes a total of 1,61,400 tons of foodstuffs are consumed.

"I have gathered these statistics from the actual consumers of starch and dextrines and my assumption is based on the actual consumption and not on the manufacturers' production. To these must be added another 20% for wastage, the stocking and storing tendencies of the manufacturers and so on. The actual quantity of foodstuffs used for these purposes may thus be about 2,00,000 tons a year."

The correspondent then goes on to describe the wastage due to mismanagement and corrupt practices in mills and factories.

"There is a lot of wastage of these sizing products in textile mills and colour factories, merely because of corruption. The sizing master or the mixer or the manager of the establishment is generally offered a *bakshis* or *illegal gratification* or commission depending on the quantity he orders or recommends. Sometimes and in some places there are chains and the margin of commission is more. In some cases the master or manager becomes greedy and goes on ordering the quantity, always stressing the importance of such products. Enormous quantities are wasted to show huge consumption.

"In some cases textile material costing 6 to 8 annas, by giving a very thick and heavy size, can be sold at 10 to 14 annas to very poor but ignorant consumers. This can be checked or remedied by appointing textile experts to fix the minimum and maximum sizing for a particular kind of textile of a particular count of yarn. I think this will have to be tackled by the National Government.

"So also points 2 and 3 can be controlled by offering suitable substitutes or at least prohibiting the use of all these in colour-reducing by colour importers, mixers and packers. Here again there is corruption on one side and duping the consumers on the other. Colours which may normally cost Rs. 3 to 6 are even sold at a higher if not the same price after reducing the strength by 50% by the addition of dextrine, thus deriving over 100% profit."

This enormous use of huge quantities of grains and roots, etc. can either be prohibited forthwith or at least restricted to a very great extent, thus making a considerable quantity available for human consumption. This step, it is suggested, would not



in the least affect or paralyse the textile industry or the colour trade as suitable substitutes in the form of coffee-dextrine, tamarind-starch, mango-seed-starch, and a score of other forest products can take its place. At present hundreds of tons of tamarind seeds are being exported to foreign countries.

#### AN UNWELCOME INTRUDER

Even more startling are the facts about the spread of tobacco cultivation at the expense of food crops, to which a correspondent from Gujarat has drawn attention. The following is the gist of his letter:

"While on the one hand you are asking people to dig up flower gardens to grow vegetables and food grains and to sink more wells and repair old ones for cultivation, lakhs of acres of land are being used for growing tobacco, which not only has no food value but is positively harmful to health. Thus tube wells and oil engines and quantities of crude oil which could serve to grow more food to alleviate famine are being used for growing tobacco for the black market.

"In 1942 the British Government imposed a tax of as. 9/- per lb. or Rs. 23/- per maund on tobacco and with a view to obtain the maximum revenue from it encouraged the cultivation of tobacco. This has resulted in an enormous increase of the acreage under tobacco.

"In States where the tobacco tax was not levied the State authorities offered free land and tobacco seed and engaged the services of tobacco growers from outside by paying salaries to grow tobacco within their territories. Thus nearly 3,000 families of tobacco growers migrated from Gujarat and engaged themselves in tobacco growing in the neighbouring States of Bhavnagar, Junagadh, Morvi, Jamnagar etc. Tobacco growing has also spread to the States of Udaipur, Jodhpur, Khetri, Neemuch, Piplode, Ratlam, Gwalior, Bhopal, Dewas, Indore, Ujjain and Sirohi in Marwar. In Hyderabad, Sukkur and Kharej in Sind, 90,000 *bighas* have been put under tobacco. In the Nizam's territory and Palanpur State a tax on tobacco has been levied and tobacco growing is encouraged for the sake of revenue. In Amaraoti, Yeotmal and Khamgaon in C. P., Patidars from Charotar are engaged for tobacco growing. In Mehsana in Baroda State, tobacco yield has increased from 1,000 bags to 7,00,000 bags."

The correspondent ends by suggesting that all tobacco cultivation should be stopped by law while the threat of famine lasts and that in the case of areas assigned to food crops preference should be given to growing oil seeds and cotton, so that the oil-cake and cotton seed might be fed to milch cattle, instead of grain.

#### A WAIL FROM GUNTUR

Shri Sitarama Shastry from Guntur writes:

"I discussed the question of tobacco cultivation in the Guntur District with the Deputy Director of Agriculture, Guntur, last month. The Government called for suggestions regarding the stopping of the tobacco crop and utilizing the lands, thus released, for foodcrops. Virginia tobacco is grown on about 70,000 acres of land and country tobacco is grown on about the same extent. The total area under tobacco is thus 1,40,000 acres of land. It was calculated that tobacco crop of either variety will yield about Rs. 150/- per acre and

that a food crop will yield about Rs. 80/- per acre. The money crop cultivator has thus an advantage apparently of about Rs. 70/- per acre. It was then proposed that a subsidy of Rs. 70/- per acre should be given to the cultivator of tobacco on the basis of acreage as shown in the cultivation accounts for the current fasli.

"There are vested interests in tobacco and to minimize the damage caused to them by total prohibition, it was also suggested at the time that 50% of area might be converted into food crops this year and the other half might be switched over to food crops next year.

"The Director of Agriculture speaking at Bapatia the other day hinted that Government contemplated measures to check tobacco cultivation.

"The extent of 1,40,000 acres, above referred to, is exclusive of the extent on which Virginia seedlings are grown; such seedlings are grown on about 1000 acres of land in this district. That extent also will be available for foodcrops.

"It is unnecessary to dilate upon the evil effects of tobacco. It affords neither food nor drink to any man or beast or bird.

"This tobacco is an all India question and concerted action should be taken by all the provinces and states. The matter may be considered by the Working Committee and a definite lead may be given to the whole country."

There can be no question as to the desirability of prohibiting by law the raising of this most exhausting of money crops at a time when dire famine threatens the land. The proposal about paying compensation to tobacco growers, however, is preposterous and can arise only in a capitalistic order that has made money its God. Vested interests can have no claim on famine and starvation. Cultivation like other production should primarily be for use. The invasion of our economy by 'money crops' has become a national menace. In a well ordered society land will belong only to those who till it and will be worked in answer to the people's needs, not for making money. Agriculture must be freed from the octopus of vested interests which enslaves it today.

#### TWO VALUABLE SUGGESTIONS

Two valuable suggestions have been made for growing more food which are worthy of immediate attention of the Government. An engineer from Quetta writes:

"If the Government are really in earnest about growing more vegetables, wherever practicable, to supplement the rations that could be made available immediately by human effort in India, I would suggest you to request the Viceroy to persuade the provincial governments to order their Public Works Departments to put into commission, for the growth of vegetables, all those pieces of land along the canals called *berms*. A *berm* of a canal is from six to twenty feet in width on either side and is about six inches above the level of water.

"The area of *berms* if put into use will mean thousands of acres of virgin and fertile land needing no extra expenses of making new water courses



or regulation of water. The soil of these *berms* keeps always sufficiently moist for the purpose and in practice it has been found very workable. In Sind, at least, on almost all the regular sites (where there is a P. W. D. establishment stationed for the purposes of regulation of water) vegetables are grown by the P. W. D. staff for their own consumption.

"If the facilities of approach to the *berms* are given to certain local farmers of adjoining lands they would gladly employ their spare time usefully in the plantation of vegetables and look after them. The P. W. D. only has to overlook the encroachment of the "foreigners" on their area; but this should not be objected to considering the immediate good that will accrue to the country at this critical time.

"The provincial governments have also to make necessary arrangements for transport of the vegetables to the railway stations or nearby markets for further disposal. This can be done exactly as was being done during the war period for the supply of vegetables to the army camps. The lease lend lorries given to many contractors could be put into commission at a reasonably fixed rate; (this is one of the conditions of the issue of these lorries to the contractors). The existence of a service road along every canal, its branches and distributaries will be usefully employed by these lorries and no further charges have to be borne for making any new roads etc. Of course the road has to be maintained which also can be easily done through the farmer who would be willing to look after that length of the road which comes in his jurisdiction.

"There is no article of food so quickly grown as vegetables. If the Government could only organize it, it would not be difficult to dehydrate (by sunshine only) most of the vegetables."

#### ARMY TO THE RESCUE

The other suggestion is from a British army man. He writes in a letter to Gandhiji:

"It is with concern and regret that I find the Indian people have now to face yet another famine. I have followed this matter in the press and read your published letter of 21st February to Mr. G. E. B. Abell, Private Secretary to the Viceroy.

"The Indian Army should certainly be used as you suggest, and I also think both the British and Indian Army and Air Force should start growing food in cantonments and all other permanent stations and camps. There is ground that can be set aside for this purpose, there is the labour and there is usually a fairly plentiful water supply at such places. The Army in Britain was called upon to do this during the war and the present position in India warrants that similar steps be taken in India now.

"It was with interest that I noted you also suggested the distribution of food should be through co-operative societies or similar organizations. In civilian life I am connected with the Co-operative Movement in Britain, and whilst I have been in India I have been observing the position here. There are, of course, some big differences, one of the most important that you will appreciate being that in Britain the Co-operative Societies are of the people, whereas in India they are mostly Government-sponsored. However,

from my contacts with the Societies in India I think the retail stores that have been set up mostly during the war have been doing good work in ensuring the people of their supplies of *atta*, sugar, oil cakes etc. at fair prices and I was interested to see some recognition of this in your suggestion."

Delhi, 11-5-'46

PYARELAL

#### PROGRAMME FOR THE CONGRESS MINISTERS

Now that the Congress has once again accepted office in the Provinces, it is very essential that the Ministers should have before them a definite programme of constructive work in terms of the Congress Election Manifesto. This programme should be completed within six months, if not earlier; the Ministers should, then, be free to plunge into another struggle if and when necessary. It would have been in the fitness of things if the Congress Working Committee or the Central Parliamentary Board had chalked out such a programme for the Ministries. Since this may not be done in the near future, I venture to place before the Ministers in all humility a concrete programme of national reconstruction. The following items constitute only the barest outline of this programme:

1. The Village Communities should be resuscitated and revitalized by devolving maximum local autonomy on the *Gram Panchayats*. A bold policy of decentralization should be carefully formulated with due regard to local conditions.

2. The Ministries should plan to make the Village Communities, more or less, self-sufficient in regard to food, cloth and other necessities of life. To this end a vigorous policy of rehabilitating and subsidizing cottage industries like spinning, weaving, paper-making, paddy-husking, oil-pressing etc. should be adopted. The Ministers should immediately seek the guidance and assistance of the A. I. S. A. and the A. I. V. I. A.

3. Intensive efforts should be made to introduce and popularize co-operative farming and co-operative marketing. Cheap credit facilities for both short and long terms should be arranged.

Drastic steps should be taken to scale down rural indebtedness.

4. The existing land tenure systems should be radically overhauled so as to provide full security to the actual tillers of the soil. I suggest that the *Mausawari* (Village tenure) system should be introduced, as far as possible, in all the provinces with necessary modifications to suit local conditions. (Details of the *Mausawari* system will be found in the "Gandhian Plan of Economic Development for India".)

5. Intoxicating drinks and drugs should be totally prohibited except for medicinal purposes.

6. Basic education or *Nayee Taleem* should immediately be given the fullest scope in the primary and secondary educational system. Even during the period of transition, the existing primary and secondary courses of study need radical recasting.

7. The medium of instruction at all stages of education must be the predominant language or languages of the territorial area. The English medium



has had its day and should now cease to be. The Education Ministers should abolish the English medium up to the high school stage immediately. A definite policy of imparting college education as well through the medium of the provincial language or languages should be announced by them. Immediate steps should be taken to prepare and publish suitable text books in the Indian languages.

In this connection, it is gratifying to note that the Nagpur University has accorded the necessary permission to the authorities of the Seksaria Commerce Colleges at Nagpur and Wardha to introduce Hindustani and Marathi media of instruction from the ensuing session.

8. The Provincial Governments should, as far as possible, directly control primary or basic education and try to transfer existing Government high schools and colleges to private educational societies or universities.

In the domain of higher education, the Governments should maintain only technical and research institutions.

9. The Ministries should fully exploit the natural and mineral resources of their respective provinces and wherever possible develop key industries which should be State-owned.

10. With a view to promoting public health, especially in the rural areas, indigenous systems of medicine and naturopathy should be encouraged and popularized. Cottage dispensaries and maternity centres should be established as far as possible in every village. Special medical institutes for training doctors and midwives for rural areas should be started.

11. The system of public taxation should be overhauled in order to make it more direct and equitable. Whenever necessary, the provincial Governments should raise public loans and not be "fastidious" about "balancing the budget".

12. Special attention should be devoted to schemes of labour welfare.

13. Ministers are expected to lend impetus to the propagation of Hindustani in both the styles and scripts.

14. The present judicial system encourages unnecessary litigation. It should be decentralized in order to render it cheap, just and speedy. Settlement of disputes by arbitration through local *panchayats* should be the usual practice.

15. British jails are monstrous institutions; they are breeding places of crime. The existing jails should become veritable reformatories.

The above list is not exhaustive; it could be multiplied according to immediate local needs and circumstances. Needless to mention that the impending food famine should be the first concern of the Ministries. But without tackling the fundamental problems of India's poverty and social degeneration, permanent results could never be achieved. Hence the need for intensive constructive work in different sectors of national life.

Wardha,  
6-5-'46

SHRIMAN NARAYAN AGARWAL

## TRUE PHILANTHROPY

Great truths are universal. They are not confined to any particular race or religion. Every schoolboy knows the story of the dying Sir Philip Sydney passing on the cup of water, just as he had lifted it to his lips to slake his thirst, to a fellow soldier whose need he felt was greater than his. A correspondent draws attention to the story of Rantideva in the 9th *skandha* of the *Bhagavata* bearing on the same theme. He writes:

"The story of Rantideva as narrated in the epic of *Bhagavata* in the 9th *skandha* will be interesting to you and your readers of 'Harijan' from the point of view of the food situation:

वियद्वित्तस्य दत्तो कथं कथं बुभुक्षतः ।

निकिंचनस्य धीरस्य सङ्कुम्बस्य सीदतः ॥

Rantideva used to give whatever he possessed to the needy and did not mind the starvation of his own family.

व्यतीयुरष्टचत्वारिंशद् अहान्यपिबतः किल ।

घृतपायससंयारवं तोयं प्रातरुपस्थितम् ॥

कृच्छ्रमासङ्कुम्बस्य क्षुत्तृड्भ्यां जातवेपथोः ।

अतिथिर्ब्राह्मणः काले भोक्तुकामस्य चागमत् ॥

तस्मै संन्यमजत् सोऽन्नम् आदत्त श्रद्धयान्वितः ।

हरिं सर्वत्र संपश्यन् स मुक्त्वा प्रययौ द्विजः ॥

He passed fortyeight days without water. One morning ghee, pudding and water were brought before him. He was just about to partake the food, when one *Brahmin* suffering from hunger and thirst came to him. Knowing that God was everywhere, he gave some food and water to the *Brahmin*.

अयान्धो भोक्ष्यमाणस्य विभक्तस्य गृहीपतेः ।

विभक्तं व्यभजत् तस्मै वृषलाय हरिं स्मरन् ॥

Rantideva was about to eat what was left, when a *Shudra* came to him for food and he gave him also a part of the food.

याते शूद्रे तमन्वोऽगाद् अतिथिः शशिरावृतः ।

राजर् मे दीयताम् अन्नं सगणाय बुभुक्षते ॥

स आदृत्यावशिष्टं यद् बहुमानपुरस्कृतम् ।

तत् च दत्त्वा नमश्चक्रे शम्भुः श्वपतये विभुः ॥

Another guest came with dogs and beseeched Rantideva for food. Rantideva granted his request and gave him food.

पानीयमात्रमुच्छेपं तत्त्वैकपरितर्पणम् ।

पास्यतः पुष्कलोऽभ्यागाद् अपो देहक्षुभस्य मे ॥

न कामयेऽहं गतिमीश्वरात्पराम् अष्टद्वियुक्तामपुनर्भवं वा ।

आर्तिं प्रपद्येऽखिलदेहभाजास् अन्तःस्थितो येन भवन्त्यदुःखाः ॥

So only water was left just sufficient to quench the thirst of one man. Just then a *Chandala* came and said he was thirsty. Rantideva said that he was not desirous for attaining salvation i. e., *siddhi* or *moksha* but it was his life's desire to remove the distress of the needy even at the cost of suffering to himself.

क्षुत्तृड्भ्रमो गात्रपरिश्रमः च दैन्यं क्लमः शोकविषादमोहाः ।

सर्वे निवृत्ताः कृपणस्य जन्तोः जिजीविषोः जीवन्तर्पणान् मे ॥

He said to the *Chandala* that his own hunger and thirst had disappeared since he had quenched the thirst of the *Chandala* who might otherwise have died."

Delhi, 11-5-'46

PYARELAL



## DR. MEHTA'S INSTITUTION

(By M. K. Gandhi)

I have received several questions about Dr. Dinshah Mehta's institution. Two of them are worth noticing. They are given below :

"In order to make the institution more scientific, more modern and more useful for the public, is it not desirable that some capable enthusiastic nature cure man or men should be sent abroad for higher studies in nature cure ? Would not such experts on their return evolve a system of nature cure suitable for our country and enable it to become popular and stand on its own feet ?

"You want a simple and cheap method of nature cure for our villages. Can the methods described by Kuhne, Just and Kneip etc. serve that purpose ? Can these methods be useful and suitable for village work ?"

The clinic at Poona could not serve the purpose of village nature cure in the opinion of the Trustees. Therefore, it was closed down and an experiment in village nature cure started at Uruli Kanchan. There the work is going on satisfactorily, though on a small scale. There is nothing there worth seeing as yet. Even the land has not been bought and no buildings have been built.

Now let us take the main question. The tendency of looking to the West in order to make progress in whatever we do, should be checked. If we have to go to the West to learn nature cure, it cannot be of much use to India. Nature cure is a thing which everyone can practise in the home. The advice of nature cure experts should not be necessary for all time. It is such a simple thing that everyone can learn it. If we have to go to Europe to learn to recite *Ramanama*, it simply will not do. *Ramanama* is the very foundation of nature cure of my conception. Nor should it be necessary to go across the seas in order to learn the use of earth, water, ether, sun and air. This is self-evident. Whatever other knowledge is required in this direction can be had in our villages. For instance, if herbs are used, they must be village herbs. *Ayurveda* teachers know all about them. If some *Ayurvedic* physicians are scoundrels, they cannot become good men and servants of the people by going abroad. The knowledge of anatomy and physiology has come from the West. It is very useful and necessary for all physicians. But there are plenty of means of learning it in our own country. In short, whatever useful contribution to knowledge has been made by the West, it has reached everywhere and can be learnt everywhere. I might add here that the knowledge of anatomy and physiology is not essential for learning nature cure.

The writings of Kuhne, Just and Father Kneip, are simple, popular and useful for all. It is our duty to read them. Practically every nature cure physician knows something about them. Nature cure has not been taken to the villages so far. We have not thought deeply and no one has thought of it in terms of the millions. This is just the beginning. No one can say where we shall stand in the end.

As in all great and good enterprises, sacrifice and dedication are required to make this successful. Instead of looking up to the West, we should turn the searchlight inwards.

New Delhi, 24-5-'46

(From *Harijanbandhu*)

## NATURE CURE FOR THE POOR

(By M. K. Gandhi)

Q. Is it not a cruel joke to ask the poor villager to live on orange juice when he cannot afford even ordinary diet ? He has to work throughout the day to feed his wife and children. His land and his children mean more to him than life itself. Nature cure is meant for the rich who have plenty of money and time at their disposal.

If you really wish to serve the villagers through nature cure, you should see that the right type of nature cure homes are started everywhere. At these homes the patients should get free food, clothing and bedding. And, if the patient happens to be a wage earner, arrangements should be made to support his family.

You have said nature cure means re-orientation of the way of living. Is it not necessary that education in that direction should form a necessary part of nature cure treatment ?

A. The question betrays the correspondent's ignorance. He has not taken the trouble to read carefully what I have written on the subject. Nature cure implies that the treatment should be the cheapest and the simplest possible. The ideal is that such treatment should be carried out in the villages. The villagers should be able to provide the necessary means and equipment. What cannot be had in the villages should be procured. Nature cure does mean a change for the better in one's outlook on life itself. It means regulation of one's life in accordance with the laws of health. It is not a matter of taking the free medicine from the hospital or for fees. A man who takes free treatment from the hospital accepts charity. The man who accepts nature cure never begs. Self-help enhances self-respect. He takes steps to cure himself by eliminating poisons from the system and takes precautions against falling ill in the future.

The central feature of nature cure treatment is *Ramanama*. But it must come from the heart, if it is to be a remedy for all one's ailments.

Orange juice is not an essential part of nature cure treatment. Right diet and balanced diet are necessary. Today our villages are as bankrupt as we are ourselves. To produce enough vegetables, fruits and milk in the villages, is an essential part of the nature cure scheme. Time spent on this should not be considered a waste. It is bound to benefit all the villagers, and ultimately the whole of India.

It is true that nature cure homes of the right type should be opened in the villages and the cities. God willing, this will be done. The individual should rest content by doing his own duty leaving the rest to God.

New Delhi, 25-5-'46

(From *Harijansevak*)



## WEEKLY LETTER

## CONDITIONS OF REDEMPTION

The Working Committee's deliberations have been engaging practically the whole of Gandhiji's time during the week following upon the Cabinet Mission's pronouncement. The resolution of the Working Committee will be found reproduced elsewhere in these columns. Whilst the charter of independence that is to be framed by the popular Constituent Assembly, if its deliberations are successful, will launch us on the path of sovereignty, the contents of that sovereignty and independence will be realized solely through and to the extent of our own effort. In his first prayer discourse after his silent day's written message last week, Gandhiji described the conditions of individual and national redemption. In the song that had been sung by some of the Harijan girls of the Balika Ashram, Okhla, at the prayer, it was said that since God was known as the Redeemer he would redeem us some day. "The orthodox conception of redemption," remarked Gandhiji, "is redemption in the life to come. What I want to tell you is that redemption in that song is promised us here and now, if we fulfil the necessary conditions. They are firstly, self-purification and secondly obedience to the Law. It is vain, it is demoralizing to expect that in the life to come God will vindicate his title as Redeemer by saving us while we continue to carry the load of sin on our heads in this life. A businessman who lies and cheats his simple-minded, ignorant customers cannot hope to be saved."

It had been said, continued Gandhiji, that to one who is good the whole world becomes good. "That is true so far as the individual is concerned. But goodness becomes dynamic only when it is practised in the face of evil. If you return good for good only, it is a bargain and carries no merit, but if you return good for evil, it becomes a redeeming force. The evil ceases before it and it goes on gathering volume and momentum like a snowball till it becomes irresistible."

So much for the individual. How could a slave country like India be redeemed?—he next asked. His reply was that a slave country owes the continuation of its slavery to the vices which slavery engenders. The way of self-purification, therefore, is also the way of redemption for a slave country. It was no use putting off hopes for redemption to a future state. If they failed to gain redemption here they would probably miss it in the hereafter too. "Let us therefore turn the searchlight inward and purge ourselves of all dross. If we shed our petty quarrels and animosities and forget all communal differences and petty distinctions the foreign troops would find their occupation gone and nobody would be able to keep us in servitude for a day."

## SUN AND SHADE

The picture of "the land without regrets and sorrow" which he presented in the course of his discourses during the last week has gripped him. He

got that song printed and distributed at the prayer meeting.

A gentleman had donated Rs. 51/- for free distribution of the printed copies of that song but Gandhiji did not want it to be treated as a hand-bill and therefore decided that people should show their appreciation of it by paying the price of one pice. He was under the impression that the amount of the promised donation was Rs. 101/- and he had announced that figure accordingly. But when it was pointed out to him that the donation was Rs. 51/- only, he retorted that he could not allow the Harijans to be done out of the full amount which he had announced and therefore the donor should come forward and make up the balance. He apologized for the delay in the printing and distribution of the leaflet and twitted the Imperial City for its dilatoriness. He twitted too the printers of the leaflet for their 'greed' in charging for paper and printing. When he was told that nothing had been charged for printing, he twitted them still for charging the price of paper. The gentleman concerned thereupon announced that paper also would not be charged for.

Gandhiji had been told that he had been coming to the prayer meeting late. That was not so, he explained. Only his watch was slow and he kept time by it. Unpunctuality was not his weakness. Still less could he afford wilfully to be unpunctual at the prayer gathering where they assembled for the solemn purpose of renewing their covenant with God. "If we have to catch a train, we try to reach the station well in time because the train waits for nobody. That is even more true of God—the wheel of His Law never stops nor slows down."

## LAND WITHOUT REGRETS

Coming back to the text of the song that had been distributed, he once again explained in detail the inner meaning of the ideal set forth in it. The conception of a country where there was no suffering and no sorrow, might at first sight strike one as Utopian. Nevertheless, they wanted their country to be such a country and he had even allowed himself to say the other day that the announcement of the Cabinet Mission contained in it the germs of that fulfilment. The poet in that song, had not only set forth the ideal but also mentioned the conditions for its realization. Those conditions were freedom from illusions and regrets, delusion and desire. Such a country, however, was nowhere to be found on this earth. The poet, therefore, in order to be logical and true, had said that it was within us—it was identifiable with the realm of the spirit within. It connoted Swaraj, that is to say, self-rule or rule over self. A person who had perfect mastery over self could realize in his own person the ideal depicted in the song. As he had remarked on the previous day, to a person who is good the whole world becomes good. If millions did that, the Kingdom of God would be realized on earth. But even if all did not, there was no need for the individual to despair. He could make



a beginning with himself straightaway in the faith that what he did today the rest would do tomorrow.

#### A SUBTLE TEMPTATION

As result of Gandhiji's remarks on Wednesday last the gentleman who had donated Rs. 51/- brought an additional fifty rupees to make up the balance of Rs. 101/- announced by Gandhiji in his previous day's prayer discourse. All the printed copies of the song being sold out a fresh lot was printed for distribution. Gandhiji, however, decided that it should be sold at the fixed price of one pice for each copy and on no account at a fancy price. Similarly, he said that he would hereafter insist on the printer receiving his due charge for printing and stationery. He did not want to be greedy. It was a subtle snare in which humanitarian workers sometimes fell. If he charged more for the *bhajan* than its fixed price, the money would become tainted and would hinder instead of helping the cause of the removal of untouchability. Untouchability could not be eradicated by the expenditure of crores of rupees. But it could be eradicated in the twinkling of an eye without spending a penny if there was a true change of heart among the so-called Caste Hindus. That would elevate both the Harijans and the *Savarnas*. "Today the '*Savarnas*' ride on the backs of the so-called Untouchables. That degrades them both. For, it is nature's law that one cannot degrade another without degrading himself." They should not tempt him, said Gandhiji, by offering fancy prices. If any one wanted to pay the price for more than one copy of the *bhajan* leaflet, he or she would have to produce a corresponding number of bona fide purchasers. Just as the leaflet would not be distributed free so it would not be sold for more than its fixed price. The way to earn merit was to translate into their lives the teachings of that *bhajan*.

#### BONDAGE OF LOVE

Commenting next on the *bhajan* of the evening "*Sabase unchi prem sagai*" he said that in that song the poet had sung of the bondage of love or *ahimsa*. There was no bond higher or stronger than that of love. Under the power of Sudama's love Lord Krishna had accepted the former's gift of broken rice taken out of a dirty rag and had preferred to partake of the simple greens and herbs of Vidura in preference to Duryodhana's rare and luscious fruit. Again, it was in return for Arjuna's loving devotion that he had forgotten his royalty and became Arjuna's charioteer and we are told that it was the mastery of his art that contributed more to Arjuna's victory than the might of the latter's bow. Service of love was the highest service one could render to another. It asked for no consideration or return. "Love becomes a sordid bargain when it asks for return or compensation; it degrades. Spontaneous service of love purifies and elevates."

#### SUPERSTITION

Gandhiji's next two discourses were devoted to the subject of nature cure or the cure of ailments spiritual, mental and physical, by the application prin-

cipally of *Ramanama*. A correspondent had written to him, pointing out how some people superstitiously wrote *Ramanama* on their clothes so as to wear it 'next to the heart'! Others wrote *Ramanama* millions of times minutely on a piece of paper which they afterwards cut up into small bits and swallowed so that they could claim that *Ramanama* had entered into them! Another correspondent had asked him whether he had prescribed *Ramanama* as the sovereign remedy for all ills because Rama was God's anointed and was a descendant of Dasharatha, the illustrious King of Ayodhya. There were people who thought that he was self-deluded and was trying to delude others by adding one more to the thousands of superstitions which filled this superstition-ridden land. He had no answer to such criticism. He only said to himself, what did it matter if truth was abused and fraud practised in its name by others? So long as he was sure of his truth he could not help proclaiming it for fear of its being misunderstood or abused. "Nobody in this world possesses absolute truth. This is God's attribute alone. Relative truth is all we know. Therefore, we can only follow the truth as we see it. Such pursuit of truth cannot lead anyone astray."

#### WHO IS THIS RAMA?

He reiterated that Rama whose name he prescribed as the infallible remedy for all ills was neither the historical Rama nor the Rama of those who used the name as a charm or black magic. Rama whose name he prescribed as a cure-all was God, by taking whose name devotees attained purity and peace, and he claimed that it was the one infallible remedy for all ailments whether mental, spiritual or physical. It was, of course, possible to cure physical ailments by going to doctors and *vaidyas*. But *Ramanama* enabled one to become one's own doctor or *vaidya* and to find the elixir of healing within oneself. Even when the ailment could not be cured, because physically it was incurable, it enabled one to endure it with equanimity and peace of mind. "A person who has faith in *Ramanama* would not run from pillar to post and dance attendance at the doors of celebrated doctors and *vaidyas* in order to prolong existence anyhow. Nor is *Ramanama* meant to be taken only when the doctors and *vaidyas* have failed. It is meant to enable one to do without them altogether. For a believer in *Ramanama* it is the first as well as the last remedy."

#### HOW TO RECITE RAMANAMA

Continuing the theme Gandhiji in his next day's discourse explained the conditions under which alone *Ramanama* could become an effective remedy for the three-fold malady, to which man was subject. The first condition was that it should come from the heart. What did that mean? People did not mind going to the ends of the earth to find a cure for their physical ailments which were much less important than the mental or spiritual. "Man's physical being is after all perishable. It cannot, by its very nature, last for ever. And yet men make a fetish of it while neglecting the immortal spirit



within." A man who believed in *Ramanama* would not make a fetish of the body but would regard it only as a means of serving God. And for making it into a fit instrument for that purpose, *Ramanama* was the sovereign means.

To install *Ramanama* in the heart required infinite patience. It might even take ages. But the effort was worthwhile. Even so success depended solely on the grace of God.

*Ramanama* could not come from the heart unless one had cultivated the virtues of truth, honesty and purity within and without. Every day at the evening prayers they repeated the *shlokas* describing the man with a steadfast intellect. Every one of them, said Gandhiji, could become a *sthita prajna* — man with steadfast intellect — if he kept his senses under discipline, ate and drank and allowed himself enjoyment and recreation only to sustain life for service. If one had no control over one's thoughts, if one did not mind, for instance, sleeping in a hole of a room with all doors and windows shut, and breathing foul air or drinking dirty water, his recitation of *Ramanama* was in vain.

That, however, did not mean that one should give up reciting *Ramanama* on the ground that one had not the requisite purity. For, recitation of *Ramanama* was also a means for acquiring purity. "In the case of a man who repeats *Ramanama* from the heart, discipline and self-control will come easy. Observance of the rules of health and hygiene will become his second nature. His life will run an even course. He will never want to hurt anyone. To suffer in order to relieve others' suffering will become a part of his being and fill him with an ineffable and perennial joy." Let them therefore, said Gandhiji, persevere and ceaselessly repeat *Ramanama* during all their waking hours. Ultimately, it would remain with them even during their sleep and God's grace would then fill them with perfect health of body, mind and spirit.

#### A BRIEF HOLIDAY

A lull in the Cabinet Mission's deliberations has enabled Gandhiji to take a brief holiday for rest and recuperation. He had been advised by his doctors some time ago to pass two months of the hot weather at some hill station to enable him to build up a reserve for the rest of the year. He could not do so this year for reasons that all know. He has decided to go to Mussoorie in preference to Panchgani or Simla as it is nearer. He will return when the Maulana Saheb or the Cabinet Mission require him again.

In announcing his plans to the prayer gathering on Sunday he said that they had been coming to the prayer gathering daily in order to join him in reciting *Ramanama* or rather in learning how to do so. *Ramanama* could not be taught by word of mouth. But more potent than the spoken word was the silent thought. "A single right thought can envelop the world. It is never wasted. The very attempt to clothe thought in word or action limits it. What

man has ever succeeded in expressing fully a thought in word or in action?"

"Then, why not go into perpetual silence, one might ask", proceeded Gandhiji. "In theory that is possible," he replied. "But it is very difficult to fulfil the conditions by which silent thought can wholly replace action." He for one could not claim to have attained the requisite intensity or control over thought. He could not altogether keep out useless or irrelevant thoughts from his mind. It required infinite patience, vigilance and *tapashcharya* to attain that state.

He was not indulging in a figure of speech, he continued, but had meant it literally when on the previous day he had told them that there was no limit to the potency of *Ramanama*. But in order to experience that, *Ramanama* had to come from a heart that was absolutely pure. He himself was striving to attain that state. He had envisaged it in the mind but had not fully realized it in practice. When that stage was reached, even the recitation of *Ramanama* would become unnecessary.

He hoped they would continue to recite *Ramanama* in their homes severally and in company during his absence. The secret of collective prayer was that the emanation of silent influence from one to the other could be of help in their spiritual striving.

New Delhi, 27-5-'46

PYARELAL

#### Flags and Uniforms

A correspondent writes :

"During the recent election meetings I was astonished at the number of flags — not to speak of the special uniforms worn by Congress volunteers for the occasion. In these days of cloth shortage, is not the use of cloth for flags and special uniforms a criminal waste?"

Flags and uniforms are in order when they are in their time and place. They are easily an abomination when they take the place of bread. Satisfaction of hunger has precedence over everything. Similarly, flags and uniforms cannot replace cloth for wear. Hence, if the correspondent is right, congressmen and others will have to be strictly economical in the use of flags and uniforms for demonstrative purposes.

New Delhi, 26-5-'46

M. K. G.

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# HARIJAN

Editor: PYARELAL

VOL. X, No. 18]

AHMEDABAD — SUNDAY, JUNE 9, 1946

[ TWO ANNAS

## EXCESSIVE PRAISE

(By M. K. Gandhi)

Thus an army officer to a friend:

"... And what a pity it is that, in all democratic countries, politicians are so ignorant of and uninterested in the army. The army could teach them much. Is it not at least worthy of deep thought as to why it is, that the army has held the loyalty and affection of the man serving in it to a far greater degree than any other Government service? And held it moreover under conditions of danger and discomfort and trial far exceeding those of any other service. You have a fine army and it will be finer still when your best men come forth in large numbers to officer it. Find the right officers and you need have no fears about it. It will be second to none. But put in the wrong officers or get it mixed up with politics and you will have a heavy bill to pay. India is bound to have many troubled years ahead, but I am convinced that the one thing which can pull you through them most quickly and with the minimum bloodshed is your present army, provided you find officers for it and keep politics and religious differences out of it."

It is not a matter for pity if it is true that in all democratic countries politicians are uninterested in the army. The pity of it is that they are wrongly interested in it. The democracies regard army men as their saviours. They bring wealth and subjugate other countries and sustain authority in times of civil disturbance. What is, therefore, to be wished is that democracy to be true, should cease to rely upon the army for anything whatsoever.

What has the army done for India? It is for that army that the writer pleads. I fear that in no sense has it served India's interest. It has kept millions of inoffensive and disarmed people under subjection. It has impoverished them. It is an army of which the sooner the British part is sent away and better employed, the better for both India and England, and the world. The sooner the Indian part is turned away from its destructive purpose and its talent employed for constructive purposes, the better it will be for democracy in India. It will be a poor democracy that depends for its existence on military assistance. Military force interferes with the free growth of the mind. It smothers the soul of man. Thanks to years of foreign domination brought about by the "highly efficient" army, India, in spite of the efforts of the Mission, might have to pull through a long or short civil war which, I shall hope, will bring to an end all infatuation for armed forces. They are a brutalizing process after you have isolated discipline which should be common for any social

order. If Free India has to sustain the present military expenditure, it will bring no relief to the famishing millions.

Mussoorie, 30-5-'46

## WEEKLY LETTER

### THE LENGTHENING SHADOW

Gandhiji left for Mussoorie under the lengthening shadow of communal disturbances in many cities of India. The senselessness of these riots oppresses him. He knows that very often they are either directly engineered by unscrupulous persons to serve as a weapon for blackmail and intimidation or are the result of mass hysteria let loose by unthinking propaganda. And it is always the deluded man in the street who is the victim while the real culprit sits secure behind the facade of respectability.

A celebrated English writer describing the panic-stricken years of the Popish Plot of 1678-80 has recorded how in his times, "there were a hundred stout fellows ready to fight to death against Popery without knowing whether Popery was a man or a horse." The same holds good in regard to our present day communal riots. What is a man of prayer to do under such circumstances, asked Gandhiji, in his silence day's written message which was read out at the last prayer meeting that he had at Delhi. "It is obvious," he remarked, "that one cannot go to all the places where the riots may break out. But one can refuse to encourage them by word, deed or thought. If riots should break out before one's eyes, one should try to prevent them even at the risk of one's life, but never by taking the life of another. As I said yesterday, more potent than the spoken word is a pure thought. Do you believe it? And if so, will you act according to your belief?"

### MUSSOORIE

Mussoorie with its cool, pine-scented breezes, shady walks and thickly wooded crags and hill-sides has afforded welcome relief after the broiling heat and dust storms of the Imperial City. This is Gandhiji's third visit to this hill station — the last one being eighteen years ago on the eve of the Independence Resolution that was passed in the Lahore Congress that year. A deep note of resignation, sadness and introspection ran through his first public utterance at the evening prayer gathering which was held in the compound of the Birla House where he is putting up. How could he feel at home amidst the endless saturnalia of fashions that is Mussoorie? He recalled his previous visits to Mussoorie, which were in connection with Congress work. This time he had come purely on his own. "As you know I



am not even a four-anna member but only a humble servant of the Congress like the unnamed crores who are not on its rolls but serve it all the same humbly and quietly to the best of their capacity without expectation of name or reward. And why? Because the thirst of freedom has taken possession of their souls. They do not know how it can be won. But they have heard that the Congress is the one organization that has for the last sixty years been fighting the good fight that would bring freedom to all without distinction. That is why they are devoted to it. I have come to Mussoorie as one of them—a humble, private individual." He did not want anyone to be bothered with taking care of him. "God alone is my protector. How can puny man, who is not sure even of his own tomorrow, presume to protect another? I am content to be under God's care. He may protect or destroy. I know He sometimes even destroys to protect."

He had been told before, and again since his arrival at Mussoorie, of the life of the fashionable rich in Mussoorie. Like other Himalayan hill stations, Mussoorie was no place for the poor. "The poor slave for you. They draw your rickshaws. It hurts me, and it ought to hurt you too, that a fellow human being should pull the rickshaw of a healthy and able-bodied person. I say this not to criticize you but to remind you of those whose very existence you are otherwise apt to forget, but who nevertheless are India. It is up to you to think of them and enter into their lives.

"I long for the day when *Ramanama* would save me from the necessity of having to go to hill stations during the summer. Crores cannot go to the hill stations. They are born to live and die on the plains.

I have not come here for pleasure but only under medical necessity so that I might be able to serve you the more. Give me your blessings and let me have a little quiet so that I can attend to my work and commune with the Maker undisturbed."

#### A SANCTUARY FOR THE POOR

He did not allow the matter to rest there. On the following day he again took it up and suggested that Mussoorie should have a place where the poor could come and avail themselves of the benefits of the hill climate whenever necessary. "I myself have become a Harijan by choice. I would love to be in a place where Harijans too can come and dwell. A Harijan by birth may repudiate his *varna* but how can I who has become a Harijan by choice? I have not hesitated to suggest to Caste Hindus that today they have all to become *atishudras*, if the canker of caste feeling is to be eradicated from Hinduism and Hinduism is not to perish from the face of the earth." If there were such a place in Mussoorie itself, where even Harijans would be welcome, he would rather stay there. In answer to a similar suggestion at Panchgani, the people there were planning to have a place of that type. He was glad to inform the gathering that there was some talk already of a committee of the citizens of Mussoorie being formed for that purpose.

#### COFFIN AT THE FEAST

What, however, exercised his mind even more was the impending famine. He reminded his fashionable audience of the coffin at their feast. As a matter of fact the famine was already in the land. Crores were not getting enough to eat. Rich people were perhaps ready to give money, but no one could eat money. There was not enough food in the country. Whatever there was could not be transported quickly to the deficit areas. Such was the bankruptcy of Government. Then again there were places where people went hungry in spite of the fact that the food was stored on the spot. The reason was all round corruption and the greed of our own people. He appealed to those who were well off and could afford to get somehow whatever they wanted, to spare every grain of foodstuffs, that they could. If the people co-operated and there was no black-marketing and corruption, possibly there was enough food in the land to enable them to tide over the crisis. There were some who did not agree with him and maintained that if we did not get food from other countries we could not avoid starvation and death. He was not of that opinion. It would take time for the supplies to reach India in the first instance and even after they were landed in the ports, it would take about six weeks to transport them to the needed areas. The only real remedy was self-help and co-operation among all and disappearance of corruption. He appealed to the well-to-do men and women of Mussoorie to save every grain they could for the famishing people. If all voluntarily restricted themselves absolutely to what was needed for their health, they would be well able to tide over their difficulties.

Mussoorie, 1-6-'46

PYARELAL

#### QUESTION BOX

(By M. K. Gandhi)

Q. What can one do if in spite of putting in a full day's labour, one cannot get enough to eat?

A. The labourer is worthy of his hire. This law is as old as the hills. All useful labour ought to bring in the same and adequate wages to the labourer. Till that time comes, the least that should be done is to see that every labourer gets enough to feed and clothe himself and his family. A government that does not ensure this much is no government. It is anarchy. Such a state should be resisted peacefully. Looting of grain shops and rowdyism is not the remedy. It leads to needless loss and death. Even if the authorities give in out of fear, it does not really help them or the people. It does not remove anarchy and things remain as they were. A look round the world will confirm what is here stated.

If, in spite of the collections of food grain in the depots, the hungry cannot get it, they can offer peaceful Satyagraha. They should not take by force what has not been given to them. They can go on a fast unto death and thus secure relief for themselves and for others. If they have patience, the method suggested by me is sure of success.

Mussoorie, 29-5-'46

(From *Harijanbandhu*)



## IS LYING EVER JUSTIFIABLE ?

Q. What do you say to the following from Bertrand Russell? "I once in the course of a country walk saw a tired fox at the last stages of exhaustion still forcing himself to run. A few minutes afterwards I saw the hunt. They asked me if I had seen the fox, and I said I had. They asked me which way he had gone, and I lied to them. I do not think I should have been a better man if I had told the truth."

A. Bertrand Russell is a great writer and philosopher. With all respect to him I must dissent from the view attributed to him. He made the initial mistake of admitting that he had seen the fox. He was not bound to answer the first question. He could even have refused to answer the second question unless he deliberately wanted to put the hunt off the track. I have always maintained that nobody is bound always to answer questions that may be put to him. Truth-telling admits of no exceptions.

## ADDRESSES AND FLORAL TRIBUTES

Q. A correspondent complains: "In many of the provinces there are Congress ministries, and the public is proud of the fact. So when any Minister visits any place, the local bodies or local institutions show their respect by presenting addresses of value. In almost all the cases, these things become the property of the Minister. This practice, in my opinion, is not good. Either this system of receiving addresses must be stopped or the things presented should go, say, to the local Congress Committee. There should be some definite policy regarding the garlanding of the Ministers or the Congress leaders. I have seen several cases where these Ministers have been honoured with flowers costing not less than 300 to 400 rupees. This is mere waste of money."

A. The complaint is valid. No public servant should receive for his own use addresses of value or costly floral tributes. These things have become a nuisance, if they are not much worse. The argument is often trotted out that costly frames and flowers put money into the pockets of artisans. The latter are well able to take care of themselves without the aid of Ministers and the like. These gentlemen do not travel for pleasure. Theirs are business tours undertaken often for listening to what the people have to say. The addresses presented to them need not extol their virtues which are their own reward. They should express accurately local wants and grievances if any. In these times the Ministers and their secretaries have a hard task before them. Public adulation instead of being a help will become a hindrance.

Mussoorie, 31-5-'46

By M. K. Gandhi

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## FAITH CURE v. RAMANAMA

(By M. K. Gandhi)

Here is fine banter from a friend :

"I have read your 'Confession and Cure' in *Harijan* of 17-3-'46. I wonder whether this Nature Cure has any close relation to what is being called Faith Cure. Of course one should have faith in treatment. But there are some exclusive faith cures, for example, small-pox, stomach pain, etc. For small-pox as you might know, especially in the South, no treatment is given but it is considered Divine Play. We do *poojas* to Goddess Mariamma and it is almost miraculous to see most of the cases come out successful. For stomach pain, even chronic cases, many make vows before the deity at Thirupathi and finding themselves cured fulfil their ablutions and other obligations. To give you a fitting example, my mother had the same pain and after her visit to Thirupathi she is now free from that disease.

"Will you kindly enlighten me on this and may I ask why people should not have such faith in Nature Cure also and save the recurring expenditure to the doctors who, as Chaucer said, maintain a fine conspiracy with the apothecary to keep a patient always a patient which is part of the natural order of things."

The examples that have been quoted are neither Nature Cure nor yet *Ramanama* which I have included in it. But they do show how nature cures without any treatment in many cases. They are undoubtedly cases which show the part superstition plays in Indian life. *Ramanama* which is the centre of Nature Cure is the enemy of superstition. Unscrupulous men will abuse *Ramanama* as they will any other thing or system. Mere lip recitation of *Ramanama* has nothing to do with cure. Faith cure, if I know it correctly, is blind cure, such as the friend describes and thereby ridicules the living name of the living God. The latter is not a figment of one's imagination. It has to come from the heart. It is conscious belief in God and a knowledge of His Law that make perfect cure possible without any further aid. That law is that a perfect mind is responsible for perfect health of the body. A perfect mind comes from a perfect heart, not the heart known by a doctor's stethoscope but the heart which is the seat of God. It is claimed that realization of God in the heart makes it impossible for an impure or an idle thought to cross the mind. Disease is impossible where there is purity of thought. Such a state may be difficult to attain. But the first step in the ascent to health is taken with its recognition. The next is taken when the corresponding attempt is made. This radical alteration in one's life is naturally accompanied by the observance of all other nature's laws hitherto discovered by man. One cannot play with them and claim to have a pure heart. It can be said with justice that possession of a pure heart should do equally well without *Ramanama*. Only, I know no other way of attaining purity. And it is the way trodden by the sages of old all over the world. They were men of God, not superstitious men or charlatans.



If this is Christian science, I have no quarrel with it. The way of *Ramanama* is not my discovery. It is probably much older than the Christian era.

A correspondent questions whether *Ramanama* avoids *bona fide* surgical operations. Of course, it does not. It cannot restore a leg that is cut off in an accident. In many cases surgical operations are unnecessary. Where they are required they should be performed. But a man of God will not worry if a limb is lost. Recitation of *Ramanama* is neither an empirical method nor a makeshift.

Mussoorie, 30-5-'46

## HARIJAN

June 9

1946

### RELIGION v. NO RELIGION

(By M. K. Gandhi)

A correspondent writes:

"In the *Harijanbandhu* of the 5th May you have written that your non-violence contemplates destruction of animals dangerous to mankind, such as leopards, wolves, snakes, scorpions etc.

"You do not believe in giving food to dogs etc. Several other people, besides the Gujaratis look upon the feeding of dogs as a meritorious act. Such a belief may not be justifiable in times of food shortage like the present. Yet we must remember that these animals can be very useful to man. One can feed them and take work out of them.

"You had put 27 questions to Shri. Raichandbhai from Durban. One of these questions was: 'What should a seeker do when a snake attacks him?' His answer was: 'He should not kill the snake and, if it bites, he should let it do so.' How is it that you speak differently now?"

I have written a lot on this subject in the past. At that time the topic was the killing of rabid dogs. There was much discussion on the subject but all that seems to have been forgotten.

My non-violence is not merely kindness to all living creatures. The emphasis laid on the sacredness of sub-human life in Jainism is understandable. But that can never mean that one is to be kind to this life in preference to human life. While writing about the sacredness of such life, I take it that the sacredness of human life has been taken for granted. The former has been overemphasized. And, while putting it into practice, the idea has undergone distortion. For instance, there are many who derive complete satisfaction in feeding ants. It would appear that the theory has become a wooden, lifeless dogma. Hypocrisy and distortion are passing current under the name of religion.

*Ahimsa* is the highest ideal. It is meant for the brave, never for the cowardly. To benefit by others' killing and delude oneself into the belief that one is being very religious and non-violent, is sheer self-deception.

A so-called votary of non-violence will not stay in a village which is visited by a leopard everyday. He will run away and, when someone has killed the leopard, will return to take charge of his hearth and home. This is not non-violence. This is a coward's violence. The man who has killed the leopard has at least given proof of some bravery. The man who takes advantage of the killing is a coward. He can never expect to know true non-violence.

In life it is impossible to eschew violence completely. The question arises, where is one to draw the line? The line cannot be the same for everyone. Although essentially the principle is the same, yet everyone applies it in his or her own way. What is one man's food can be another's poison. Meat-eating is a sin for me. Yet, for another person, who has always lived on meat and never seen anything wrong in it, to give it up simply in order to copy me will be a sin.

If I wish to be an agriculturist and stay in the jungle, I will have to use the minimum unavoidable violence in order to protect my fields. I will have to kill monkeys, birds and insects which eat up my crops. If I do not wish to do so myself, I will have to engage someone to do it for me. There is not much difference between the two. To allow crops to be eaten up by animals in the name of *ahimsa* while there is a famine in the land is certainly a sin. Evil and good are relative terms. What is good under certain conditions can become an evil or a sin under a different set of conditions.

Man is not to drown himself in the well of *Shastras* but he is to dive in their broad ocean and bring out pearls. At every step he has to use his discrimination as to what is *ahimsa* and what is *himsa*. In this there is no room for shame or cowardice. The poet has said that the road leading up to God is for the brave, never for the cowardly.

Finally, Raichandbhai's advice to me was that if I had courage, if I wanted to see God face to face, I should let myself be bitten by a snake instead of killing it. I have never killed a snake before or after receiving that letter. That is no matter of credit for me. My ideal is to be able to play with snakes and scorpions fearlessly. But it is merely a wish so far. Whether and when it will be realized I do not know. Everywhere I have let my people kill both. I could have prevented them if I had wished. But how could I? I did not have the courage to take them up with my own hands and teach my companions a lesson in fearlessness. I am ashamed that I could not do so. But my shame could not benefit them or me.

If *Ramanama* favours me I might still attain that courage some day. In the meantime, I consider it my duty to act as I have stated above. Religion is a thing to be lived. It is not mere sophistry.

Mussoorie, 29-5-'46

(From *Harijanbandhu*)



## MORE SUGGESTIONS

(By M. K. Gandhi)

It is a good sign that food shortage is taxing many minds. Suggestions for meeting it come in from all quarters. A friend, who knows what he writes about, sends the following:

"(1) When there is an acute shortage of cereals why need non-vegetarians, who can take animal food, be given the same ration of cereals as vegetarians? A substantial saving in cereals should be possible by reducing the ration of cereals to non-vegetarians to the extent that it is possible to supplement equal nutrition value by non-vegetarian food.

"(2) Ration of cereals has been reduced. I expect that a large number of men who do manual work find difficulty in satisfying hunger with the reduced rations. Several supplement the reduced quantity by adding *mung*, gram and barley to wheat and then have the mixture made into flour. But the cost of these three is higher than that of wheat. Many cannot afford it. It, therefore, follows that to the extent that cereals are reduced to non-vegetarians, animal food, having equal nutrition value, should be substituted and that also for the same cost as that of the cereal reduced. I have calculated the cost and it is not likely to exceed 15 crores during the next few months. No amount can be too large to save human life. It is mentioned that 10 to 15 millions may die in India due to food shortage.

"(3) Taking of life is very repugnant to me. But when the choice lies between human life and animal life, I think that the former should have preference. There is a large damage to crops by deer, rabbit, boar, pig and pigeon. I am a vegetarian. But non-vegetarians tell me that these have food value and can be used for food. By a proper organization, though difficult, but not impossible, it should be possible to organize shooting of these animals so as to provide regular supply in certain areas, particularly in large cities. Incidentally, destruction on a large scale of these would be reflected in reduced destruction of field crops.

"(4) To save food in order that it will be available for famine areas under the present system of ration appeals to very few. There is so much of black-marketing and corruption that one feels that what one saves would find its way to the black market. There would be a good psychological appeal if the food-grains saved are collected and guaranteed to be sent to the famine areas. This will have to be organized. But I feel that substantial quantities will be forthcoming."

Whether the authorities act up to the first or not, it is one which those honest meat-eaters who draw full vegetarian rations can. They can easily part with a portion of their cereals for the benefit of those in need. Mutual aid is the swiftest way of reaching relief to the needy in such cases.

The second follows from the first.

The third is contentious. In a country where all life is largely held sacred and even when it is not, habit has made people reluctant to take any life, the suggestion may be difficult of adoption even by non-vegetarians. But a confirmed respecter of all life though I am, I have no difficulty in recommending for acceptance by meat-eaters the suggestion that

the correspondent's wisdom has dictated. I hope to examine an argument in "*Harijanbandhu*" advanced against the taking of even noxious life without any connection with food.

The fourth suggestion, though sound, is not likely to produce any tangible result because of the ruling corruption and the inefficiency and irresponsibility of the Government. The difficulty will only be met when there is a national government which is responsible to the people and to which the people may look forward with confidence. It has been long coming. Will it ever come?

Mussoorie, 29-5-'46

## Notes

### Wholesale Releases

Responsible ministries in the provinces have naturally meant wholesale releases of political prisoners. These include convicts sentenced for murder, arson, robbery etc. Correspondents ask how far these releases should be acclaimed by the public as of heroes and martyrs.

It is one thing to release, for a variety of reasons, persons who were convicted of such crimes. It is wholly another thing to praise the acts as of heroes to be received with every mark of honour. I have no doubt that it is thoughtless and wrong. If I am in need of money for a public purpose and commit robbery I do not cease to be a robber, because the robbery committed by me is for public use. This indiscriminate praise of every crime, so long as it is dignified by the name of patriotism, is a boomerang bound to return with redoubled force to the nation which will have to pay heavily for it. Independence, though it includes the freedom even to commit a crime, may easily prove a curse, if it does not carry a voluntary rigid restraint. The public approbation referred to, is wrong education of the people and a harmful preparation for the independence that is coming much sooner than many of us expect.

Mussoorie, 31-5-'46

### Uruli Kanchan

My co-workers from Uruli Kanchan inform me that patients from far distances are coming there for treatment. I have already written in '*Harijansevak*' that up till now there is nowhere any permanent arrangement for anyone to live and no room for in-patients. I have just heard that some land has been made available but the work of building huts on it remains. There is no house available in the village either where patients from outside could be taken in and, in any event, it has never been the intention to turn a village into a city. The real aim is for every village to have a nature clinic to adorn it just as it should have a school.

Readers should bear in mind that my co-workers in Uruli Kanchan are unable to guide patients through correspondence. Persons who live far away can carry out their own nature cure treatment. Who cannot recite *Ramanama* in his own home? It is also possible for everyone to have sitz baths etc., wherever he is.

Mussoorie, 2-6-'46

(From *Harijansevak*)

M. K. G.



## I. N. A. MEN'S DILEMMA

Between 50 to 60 senior officers of the I. N. A. met Gandhiji in the Sweepers' Colony the other day during his stay in Delhi. They first sang in a chorus the I. N. A. Hindustani adaptation of Gurudev's song "*Janaganamana adhinayaka jaya he Bharata-bhagyavidhata*" just as they had sung during Gandhiji's visit to them behind the barbed wire fence in the Kabul Lines when their fate still hung in the balance. Gandhiji then addressed them a few words in Hindustani.

"Other friends have placed before me," he began, "the dilemma which, I am told, faces many of you too. The Congress creed is, of course, that of winning Swaraj through non-violence and peaceful means but there are many men outside, and even within the Congress, who have begun to doubt whether that policy of the Congress has not exhausted its purpose and now become effete for the tasks that lie ahead, especially in view of the changed and changing times.

"You who have served under Subhash Babu as veteran fighters have proved your mettle on the battlefield. Success and failure are, however, not in our hands, but in God's hands alone. Netaji told you when bidding good-bye to you that, on your return to India, you must put yourself under the Congress discipline and act according to its policy. Your object, as I have been told, was only to free India, never to help the Japanese. You failed in your direct objective, i.e. to defeat the British. But you have the satisfaction that the whole country has been roused and even the regular forces have been stirred into a new political consciousness and have begun to think in terms of independence. You have achieved a complete unity among the Hindus, Muslims, Parsis, Christians, Anglo-Indians and Sikhs in your ranks. That is no mean achievement. What, however, you realized under conditions of freedom outside India, you have now to sustain and keep alive under Indian conditions. That will be your real test.

"If you have imbibed the spirit of non-violence, you will remain free men at heart even here. For instance, no government on earth can make men, who have realized freedom in their hearts, salute against their will. If they threaten to kill them they will offer their necks to them, but refuse to submit. The odds are that a soldier's spirit will revolt against such cold-blooded murder. Thus, whether they live or die it will be as free men. They will never be slaves. If you all become free men at heart, the whole of India will be free. They might imprison you. You will welcome it or you can tell them that you will be a corpse before they can put you into prison. Both alternatives are open to a non-violent soldier and both call for bravery of the highest order. Our task is no less than to reinfuse life into the 400 millions of India. We have to dispel fear from their hearts. On the day they shed all fear, India's fetters shall fall and she will be free.

"Years ago I said at Nankanasahib: 'Sikhs have given proof of their martial valour. But the consummation of Guru Govind Singh's ideal will be reached only when they will substitute for their *kirpans* the sword of the spirit or non-violence.' So long as one wants to retain one's sword, one has not attained complete fearlessness. No power on earth can subjugate you when you are armed with the sword of *ahimsa*. It ennobles both the victor and the vanquished. Netaji has fired you with a new spirit. That spirit can now be kept alive only through non-violence."

Having thus explained to them the significance of *ahimsa* in terms of martial courage, Gandhiji proceeded to place before them the higher type of courage that is required of a Satyagrahi soldier to become an ideal, self-respecting citizen. "Above all, you must never beg or throw yourself on anybody's charity. Because you have risked your lives for India's sake and fought for her on the Imphal plain, you must not expect to be pampered in return. If you do that, you will lose all worth like the salt that has lost its savour. You should prefer to earn your bread by the sweat of your brow, but refuse to beg or accept charity. In short, you have to show the same degree of bravery and courage of the non-violent type as you have done in the use of arms hitherto.

"If you want land you will have it. You will clear it and turn it into model farms. You have to overcome the inertia of ages which weighs down our masses. That you will be able to do only by setting an example of industry and hard work. You must be able to wield the bucket and the broom with skill and diligence and not consider the cleaning of latrines as dirty or beneath your dignity. Graduation in this work is more heroic than winning the Victoria Cross."

Then followed questions and answers.

Q. How can one who has spent his whole life in fighting take to *ahimsa* with success? Are not the two incompatible?

A. I do not agree. Badshah Khan is a Pathan. But today he has become a soldier of non-violence. Tolstoy too served in the army. Yet he became the high priest of non-violence in Europe. We have not yet realized fully the power that is in non-violence. If the Government had not arrested me in 1942, I would have shown how to fight Japan by non-violence.

Q. Surely, it is no breach of *ahimsa* to use the sword in self-defence?

A. Even Wavell, Auchinleck or Hitler does not use the sword without necessity. But that does not make it *ahimsa*. It is *himsa*, whatever its justification.

Q. You cannot take the world along with you if you adopt *ahimsa*. You have to choose the one or the other.

A. There again I disagree. A reformer has to sail not with the current, very often he has to go against it, even though it may cost him his life. You must not be carried off your feet by unthinking, popular applause. The essential part of your message



to the country is not how to wield the sword but to cease to be afraid of it.

Q. What would you have done if Subhas Babu had returned to you victorious?

A. I would have asked him to make you put away your weapons and stack them before me.

Mussoorie, 30-5-'46

PYARELAL

### THE IDEAL WOMAN

"A virtuous woman who can find?  
For her price is far above rubies.  
The heart of her husband trusteth in her,  
And he shall have no lack of gain.  
She doeth him good and not evil  
All the days of her life.  
She seeketh wool and flax,  
And worketh willingly with her hands.  
She is like the merchant ships;  
She bringeth her food from afar.  
She riseth also while it is yet night,  
And giveth meat to her household,  
And their task to her maidens.  
She considereth a field and buyeth it;  
With the fruit of her hands she planteth a vineyard.  
She girdeth her loins with strength,  
And maketh strong her arms.  
She perceiveth that her merchandise is profitable;  
Her lamp goeth not out by night.  
She layeth her hands to the distaff,  
And her hands hold the spindle.  
She spreadeth out her hand to the poor;  
Yea, she reacheth forth her hands to the needy.  
She is not afraid of the snow for her household;  
For all her household are clothed with scarlet.  
She maketh for herself carpets of tapestry;  
Her clothing is fine linen and purple.  
Her husband is known in the gates,  
When he sitteth among the elders of the land.  
She maketh linen garments and selleth them;  
And delivereth girdles unto the merchant.  
Strength and dignity are her clothing;  
And she laugheth at the time to come.  
She openeth her mouth with wisdom;  
And the law of kindness is on her tongue.  
She looketh well to the ways of her household,  
And eateth not the bread of idleness.  
Her children rise up and call her blessed;  
Her husband also, and he praiseth her, saying:  
Many daughters have done virtuously,  
But thou excellest them all.  
Favour is deceitful, and beauty is vain;  
But a woman that feareth the Lord,  
She shall be praised.  
Give her of the fruit of her hands;  
And let her works praise her in the gates."

The above picture is centuries old. It is Hebrew, drawn from Solomon's wisdom. It is possible to get similar descriptions from Indian seers. It would appear that in those days women must have worked with skill and ability and shared the burden and heat of the day equally with men and thus made life worth-while. The words of wisdom were meant not so much for the poor as for the well-to-do. In any event the ideal is there for every woman today to turn her attention to. The strength depicted in the picture, the variety of woman's

activities, her position as a builder not only of the home but of society, all have gone from her in the East, at any rate. Instead of being the mainstay of her home, woman has become a weak dependent. It is high time she returned to the spindle and sought wool and flax in order to mend the broken tapestry of life. If woman in India can rise to the heights described by the seer, she will certainly contribute greatly towards the regeneration, not only of her own country but also of the world. It is not much use planning for a new world unless one tries forthwith and firstly to make oneself worthy to fit into a true structure.

Mussoorie,

29-5-'46

A. K.

### HARIJAN WORK IN BHUSAWAL TALUKA

(By M. K. Gandhi)

Shri Thakkar Bapa writes:

"It has been decided to carry on sound and extensive Harijan work in the Bhusawal Taluka. For that purpose two meetings were arranged on the 14th of May. Shri Vaikunthbhai Mehta, Shri Ganapatrao Tapase, Shri Barve, Shri Dastane and myself were present. We aim at having all the public wells opened to Harijans. The villagers showed great enthusiasm and we are hopeful of success. The circumstances are favourable."

What Bapa says is true. By favourable circumstances, Shri Thakkar Bapa probably means the establishment of a Congress ministry. That does not mean that henceforth reforms will be imposed upon the people. There is the least room for the use of force in such things. An evil like untouchability which has found its way to the very marrow of the people's bones, and that too in the name of religion, cannot be removed forcibly. But an alien government uses its influence to further suppress the suppressed by force. And when it tries to help them from a motive, pure or selfish, that too is done by the exercise of force. The Congress has not established its position through force. It is a purely democratic organization. Therefore, it is hoped that the Congress ministers will educate public opinion and win popular support for all its progressive measures. This should result in an impetus to reforms like Harijan work in their province and the forces standing in the way of such reforms would automatically disappear. Moreover, intensive work in the limited area of the Bhusawal Taluka is likely to prove very fruitful. We cannot reach the whole of India at one and the same time. Wherever the workers have the requisite ability and influence, the work will proceed at a quicker pace. Sound work in a small area is therefore likely to be copied by others and thus lead to an early success. Let us hope that will be the result of the work which has been started in Bhusawal.

Mussoorie, 29-5-'46

(From *Harijanbandhu*)



## INSTRUCTIVE CONVERSATION ON KHADI

(By M. K. Gandhi)

A Khadi worker writes:

"I give below a recent conversation between the manager of a Khadi Bhandar and some customers. Should Khadi be sold to such persons?"

"Q. 'Is this yarn spun by you?'"

"A. 'No. I have bought these 8 hanks for Rs. 10."

"Q. To a second customer: 'Are you able to spin all this yarn?'"

"A. 'No. This is spun by my daughter. We sell yarn too at the rate of 12 annas per hank."

"Q. To a third: 'You cannot buy Khadi unless you produce the requisite quantity of yarn.'"

"A. 'It does not matter. So long as I cannot get the yarn, I will buy uncertified Khadi.'"

"Q. To a fourth: 'Why do you buy Khadi?'"

"A. 'Because it is easy to procure.'"

"Q. To a fifth: 'You are not a regular wearer of Khadi. What will you do with what you have bought?'"

"A. 'Today Khadi is looked upon as being in the fashion.'"

"Q. To a sixth: 'You do not spin yourself. From where then comes this yarn?'"

"A. 'A good friend of mine always provides me with yarn.'"

"Q. To a seventh: 'Why do you always wear either silk or wool Khadi?'"

"A. 'Because I do not have to give yarn for these.'"

"Q. To an eighth: 'You have bought a large quantity of Khadi. What will you do with it all?'"

"A. 'This will last me two or three years. After that it will be seen whether I can get any or not.'" "

The above questions and answers are revealing. If the new policy in regard to Khadi is correct and Khadi customers are of the above nature, it proves the necessity for the abolition of the Khadi clause from the Congress constitution. It is worthy of note that the questions and answers concern eight persons. The Charkha Sangh need not cater for the needs of a single one of them. The Spinners' Association exists only for the poor. Those who wear Khadi, do so either for the sake of the poor or for winning Swaraj or both. The eight customers mentioned above are concerned with neither. If the Charkha Sangh is to prove the rightness of the ideal for which Khadi stands, then its workers must be loyal enough to the new policy and not fear even the closing down of the sales Bhandars. They must have the strength to bear any consequences in order to set right the mistakes of the past.

The above conversation also holds a warning to the managers of the Bhandars to be wide awake. They should become experts in the science of Khadi and be prepared to teach customers the inner meaning of Khadi with patience and humility. This may take time but it is worth-while. If there is faith in the power of Khadi I have no doubt that we shall remain steadfast and thereby inspire others to the belief also. But if workers themselves lack faith then the claim for Khadi will fall to the ground.

I have taken for granted that the conversation has been truly reported.

Mussoorie, 1-6-'46

(From Harijansevak)

## MINISTERIAL SALARIES

(By M. K. Gandhi)

I have to pay heavily for the caution with which I wrote the other day the paragraph in 'Harijan' in regard to increase in ministerial salaries. I have to go through long letters bemoaning my caution and arguing with me to revise my view. How can ministers make large increases in their own original fat salaries when the poor *chaprasis* and clerks get an increase which hardly meets the occasion? I have re-read my note and I claim that the short note includes all that the various correspondents desire. But, in order to avoid any misunderstanding, I expand my meaning.

I have been twitted for not referring to the Karachi Resolution. The lower scale of ministers' salaries rests on much higher ground than the authority of a resolution. In any event, so far as I am aware, the Congress has never varied that resolution. It is as binding today as it was when it was passed.

I do not know that the increase in the salaries is justified. But I must not offhand condemn the increase without knowing the case of the ministers. Critics should know that I have no authority over them or any one else except myself. Nor am I present at all the meetings of the Working Committee. I attend only when required by the President. I can only give my opinion for what it is worth. And, if it is to have any weight, it must be well-conceived and based on ascertained facts.

The question of the hideous inequality between the rich and the poor and the lower services and the higher is a separate subject requiring drastic and well thought out method and could not be merely incidental to the lowering of the salaries of the few ministers and their secretaries. Both subjects require to be dealt with on merits. The question of salaries could be and should be easily disposed of by the ministers concerned. The other is a much vaster subject requiring a thorough overhauling. I would any day agree that the ministers should tackle the subject in their own provinces without delay and that the lower ranks should before everything else have their salaries fully reconsidered and increased wherever necessary.

Mussoorie, 31-5-'46

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# HARIJAN

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TWO ANNAS

## URDU, THE LANGUAGE OF BOTH?

(By M. K. Gandhi)

1. "You are making strenuous efforts to get every Indian, particularly Hindus with whom you naturally come most in daily contact, to learn Urdu. Similarly, is any Mohammedan striving to induce Muslims to learn Hindi? If not, will not the result of your labours be that Urdu will become the language of both and Hindi remain the medium solely for Hindus? Will not this be a disservice to Hindi?"

2. "The Urdu equivalent of the Hindi word is invariably given in brackets in the Hindustani Prachar publications, but the converse is not done. Does that not signify a desire to teach Urdu by force to Hindus?"

3. "There are any number of Persian and Arabic words used in these publications. Do you think they are understood by the general run of people? For example *adab* (अदब), *ādāb* (आदाब), *etakat* (एताकत).

4. "If Hindustani is in fact a language, why in your educational readers is there such a difference in terminology in the Urdu and Hindi editions?"

5. "My fear is that the lakhs of Southern Indians who have so far been trying to learn Hindi will be so scared of the Urdu script that they will learn neither and in the end the work hitherto done by the Hindustani Prachar Sabha will be completely wiped out."

1. Efforts are being made that those who are unacquainted with the Urdu form should learn it and vice versa with those who do not know the Hindi form. It is true that my contacts are more with Hindi knowing Hindus. But that does not worry me. Hindus are not likely to forget their Hindi. In fact I believe that their Hindi will be enriched by their knowledge of Urdu. The majority of Indians, whether Hindus or Mussalmans, generally know best the languages of their provinces which contain a large number of Sanskrit words. I myself have neither the fear nor the desire that everyone will, as a result of my efforts, learn the Urdu form to the exclusion of Hindi. Desire or no desire, whatever is natural will happen. The attempt to have a wise blending of the two forms for a national tongue is, in my opinion, a good venture in every way.

2. I have not read all the publications of the Hindustani Prachar Sabha. It is commendable if the Urdu equivalent of some Hindi words is given in brackets. This only means that in the opinion of the writers of the books these words are not commonly known. That the Hindi equivalents are not given signifies that those Urdu words have become current coin in Hindi. It is a pity that a learned person like the correspondent should have such suspicions. Suspicion is not an attribute of learning.

3. This does not seem to be a correct charge. And even if it were true, what harm can there be? The introduction of new words into any language enriches it. The words of Latin origin that came into the English language after the Norman Conquest added to its virility. Whatever was not good or unnecessary or forced did not remain. The words given by way of example by the correspondent are known to all Hindi lovers in the North and have taken their rightful place in Hindi. It is true that they are new for Southern Indians and therefore their Sanskrit equivalents should be and are given. The truth is that the Hindustani Prachar Sabha has neither antagonism towards one nor partiality towards the other. Both forms are there and will remain and these should not present any difficulty. But, of course, if there is jealousy and antagonism between the two, Hindustani will never come into being. And such an eventuality will be a bad thing for India.

4. Hindustani existed at one time. The present effort is directed to revive it through a wise mixture of Hindi and Urdu and let it grow thereby. Neither Hindi nor Urdu lovers should sorrow over this. Hindi and Urdu are sisters. What harm, therefore, if they mix with each other? It cannot be a matter of surprise that in this transition stage there should be a difference of terminology in Hindi and Urdu books.

5. My experience is quite contrary to that of the writer. I have not known anyone who has given up learning either script because of the insistence on the Urdu script. Nor do I fear that this will ever be so.

My appeal to the writer is to divest himself of his prejudices.

Mussooree, 4-6-'46

(From *Harijansevak*)



## MINDFULNESS, THE REMEDY

(By M. K. Gandhi)

"It is your insistence on truth and non-violence that has attracted me to you so powerfully. The realization that the mere desire for truth and non-violence is not sufficient to make people non-violent made me think that mere preaching of non-violence is not enough and that a way must be taught, which would enable people to rebuild themselves fundamentally.

"Just being fascinated by non-violence and wanting to be non-violent does not make a man truly non-violent. The sub-conscious does not react easily to the movements of the conscious mind and remains unaffected even when the conscious mind has been apparently soaked in the idea. The cause of this opacity of the unconscious lies in the hidden desires and fears which do not allow contrary ideas to become spontaneously active. Unless the sub-conscious is cleared and the hidden resistances removed, the man's real nature, which is wise and kind, cannot be revealed.

"Therefore, it is necessary to give to those who are earnest correct advice as to how to proceed to clear themselves of the unknown inner obstacles to truth and non-violence and to make truth and non-violence really reliable, spontaneous and effective.

"External observances like prayers, handicrafts etc. are not the efficient means for truth and kindness. The proof of it is in the whole history of mankind. Only by inner and well directed effort can a man rebuild himself. Good intentions are not enough—the correct means have to be used. Fortunately such means, well tested as correct and efficient and in harmony with the structure of the human psyche, are known, although practised by very few. I have in mind the way of mindfulness, recommended by Buddha in glowing terms, as supremely efficient. Sober and reticent as He was, He has gone to the point of saying that this way can bring a man to perfection in seven days.

"In case you have not read about the way of mindfulness, I am giving a short account of it.

"The way of mindfulness consists in being constantly observant, conscious, attentive, watchful, awake, uninterruptedly aware of the mental and emotional content of our consciousness and of its expressions through the body. Man must set himself into an attitude of constant observation, awareness, alertness. It is very important that he should maintain this awareness fully impersonal, detached, non-judging, non-condemning, non-approving, just awareness and nothing else. You will catch the point easily if you watch for a moment your breathing as it moves up and down, because not having any desires and fears attached to mere breathing you can watch it impersonally.

"If a man maintains this intense and perpetual awareness of the movements of his mind and feelings and of their expressions through the body, very soon things begin to happen to him. The mind becomes

clear, translucent, as if void and into the clarity of the conscious mind the unconscious tangles begin to emerge. They melt away in the light of awareness allowing deeper, still less accessible layers of the unconscious to emerge and get dissolved.

"The entire process, if carried out correctly, is effortless and accompanied by a sense of release and intense happiness. Man grows wiser and kinder from day to day and his wisdom and kindness are not self-imposed, but self-revealed. Therefore they are reliable, because there is nothing in the subconscious to oppose them.

"I am purposely avoiding quoting Western and Indian classics to prove that the way of mindfulness was well known to the ancients. It needs no authority for support. It stands by its own simplicity and ease with which a man can test on himself its efficacy. You can easily try it out on yourself. Within a week you will be convinced that Buddha has left with us a tool of unparalleled efficacy for rebuilding ourselves truly and permanently.

"We cannot have truth and non-violence in the world unless we as individuals are truthful and non-violent. Therefore, the problem of becoming truthful and non-violent is of the utmost importance. There is a way well spoken of by the great and tested by many as sound, correct, efficient, direct. You can have it tested again and again in small groups of friends, who will concentrate on it intensely and compare notes. You will see for yourself the result. The test can be made as scientifically accurate as you wish.

"There is also another aspect to consider. You have come across honest and earnest people, who have been defending falsehood and cruelty on the grounds of higher efficiency and quick results. Teach them only the way of mindfulness and they will see for themselves the roots of stupidity and hatred of which their methods are but a rationalized expression. The way of mindfulness will lead even the dull and cruel to wisdom and kindness, because it will dispel the very causes of dullness and cruelty, which are in craving and in the fear born out of craving.

"Please do not judge the message by the messenger. The message, although poorly conveyed, is of supreme importance to your work."

Thus writes Mr. Frydman, better known to the public as Bharatanand. I reproduce it for what it is worth. I have not fallen in love with it because this too has not caught on. If it was a seven days' work, why is it that it has so few witnesses in the world today? In so far as it is an aid, it is in general vogue and takes its place among the other remedies, whether it is called mindfulness, vigilance or meditation. It does not take the place of prayer or the 'mala' or any other outward practice. It is in addition to these outward observances so long as the latter are not for show. Indeed, prayer is purely an inward act. Those who found in *Ramanama* the talisman knew mindfulness and found by experience that *Ramanama* was the best of all the remedies adopted for the practice of Truth and Non-violence.

Mussooree, 4-6-'46



## KASTURBA WORK IN ASSAM

The following is a synopsis of Shrimati Amalaprabha's report of her work in Sarania:

16 Village girls, mostly teachers and two of whom are Harijans are receiving training. There are two permanent members of the staff who live with the girls and share their life as one of them. All the house and cooking work is done by the girls under the supervision of the staff and Shrimati Amalaprabha, the only outside help taken being for fetching water, which has to come from some little distance necessitating a climb.

The main handicraft is *muga* reeling and weaving. As this work was new the production in the first 1½ months was small but even so one *than* worth Rs. 30 has been woven and yarn for two more worth Rs. 120 has been prepared. After deducting the price of cocoons the net profit is reckoned at Rs. 82. Cotton Khadi is also being made and the girls are being taught all the processes. Gardening is included in the programme. During the month of February, 35 seers of vegetables were produced. Physical drill forms a daily feature of the training and once a week the trainees go to serve the people there.

Hindustani, elementary science relating to diet, cooking and gardening, hygiene and sanitation and the principles of the Constructive Programme are subjects taught in the theoretical classes. Some friends from outside have helped in lectures.

The food is simple but wholesome. With an increase in the number of reeling machines and looms it is hoped in time to attain self-sufficiency in the matter of cloth.

### Errata

In Harijan of May 19, 1946, in article 'An Exaction and Oppression', page 141, para 4, line 3, salt requirement for cattle should read *sixteen* (16) pounds instead of *eighteen* (18). In the same para, line 9 total requirement of salt should read *thirteen* (13) crores instead of *seventy-three* (73) crores and seventy-three lakhs maunds.

In Harijan of May 5th, in article 'A Light in Darkness', page 120, col. 1, para 2, line 10, read 1½ months instead of 1½ years.

Col. 2, para 2, line 8, read Anasuya Desai instead of Anasuya Mehta.

Same page, col. 1, last line, the figures for income and expenditure should be as being for 2 years instead of as being for 6 months.

By M. K. Gandhi

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## NOT ENOUGH

Since Gandhiji's appeal to Gujarat to expiate for the wrong in keeping away the Harijans from fetching water from public wells and denying them the other social amenities, to which Shri Hemantkumar had drawn his attention, there has been a stirring in the 'Savarna' Hindu conscience in many places. Shri Parikshitlal of the Harijan Ashram, Sabarmati, in his letter to Gandhiji reporting the experiences of his recent tour in some of the Gujarat villages, writes:

"I had the opportunity in the course of my recent tour of the Surat District to visit the places where the villagers gladly gave permission to the Harijans to use the village wells. Both the incidents took place during the National Week and in both places a public function was held to take the Harijan families to the public wells. *Kolis* constituted the bulk of the population in both the villages in question.

"In Budiya village in Choryasi taluka a programme of interdining on a small scale was held after the visit of the Harijans to the public wells in the village. As there is a separate well for the Harijans in this village they still feel hesitation in going to the public wells newly thrown open to them. But I have learnt that they are satisfied that the bulk of the village people are in full sympathy with them. A public meeting was also held in the village, at which Harijan women were accorded a welcome.

"The other village was that of Hajira in the same taluka. It is a well-known sea-side health resort in the Surat District. Since the 1942 struggle, young men of the village have started a successful Bal Mandir. A weaving school is being run by the Charkha Sangh. Besides, there are classes for adult education. There is only one Harijan family in this village. The auspicious tilak mark was put by the village people on the forehead of the sweeper sister representing this family and she was taken to the public well to fetch water. As the poor woman was too poor to afford a rope for drawing water, a rope was lent by a 'Savarna' woman of the village. On inquiry since I have learnt that she can now use the public village well without any let or hindrance.

"In Vadadla village in Kaira District also, young men of the village had arranged a programme during the National Week for securing this right to the Harijans and had invited the workers of the district on the occasion. But it was found that the orthodox section was not fully ripe for the reform. The spokesman of the youth thereupon declared that so long as the public wells of the village were not thrown open to the Harijans, he would himself (he was from a Patidar family) fetch water from only the Harijan well. His wife joined him in his resolve. Several other young men in the village expressed their desire to follow suit. In the public meeting that was held in this connection water from the Harijan well was served and drunk. This softened



down the opposition of the orthodox section and the village well was declared open to the Harijans. But the Harijans have not so far ventured to avail themselves of their right."

All this is good so far as it goes, but not good enough, if Gujarat aspires to be in the vanguard of the freedom struggle. A vigorous campaign with a definite time limit for the complete removal of all the disabilities under which the Harijans suffer ought to be launched. Emancipation of the Harijans can no longer be postponed to an indefinite distant date. It has to be realized here and now even like Independence. Independence itself will turn into bitter ashes in our mouth if the most useful section of the community is baulked of its essential rights.

Mussooree, 7-6-'46

PYARELAL

## HARIJAN

June 16

1946

### THE UNKNOWN

(By M. K. Gandhi)

Some learned men describe Him as Unknowable, some others as Unknown, yet others as 'Not This.' 'The Unknown' is good for the present purpose.

When yesterday (9th June) I said a few words to the prayer audience, I could say nothing more than that they should pray for and rely upon the strength and the guidance that this big X could give. There were difficulties to be overcome by all parties in the great Indian drama that was being enacted before them. They were all to rely upon the Unknown who had often confounded man's wisdom and in the twinkling of an eye upset his tin-pot plans. The British party claimed to believe in God, the Unknown. The Muslim League did likewise. They delighted in saying Allah-o-Akbar. The Congress naturally had no single equivalent cry. Nevertheless, if it sought to represent the whole of India, it represented the millions of believers, no matter to what compartment in the House of God they belonged.

At the time of writing, in spite of my irrepres-sible optimism, I am unable to say decisively that at least in political parlance, the thing is safe. All I can say, therefore, is that if, with the best efforts of all the parties, the unsafe happens, I would invite them to join with me in saying that it was as well and that safety lay in unsafety. If we are all children of God, as we are, whether we know it or not, we will take in good part whatever happens and work with zest and confidence for the next step whatever it may be. The only condition for that zest is that each party does its honest best for the good of the whole of India. For that is the stake and no other.

New Delhi, 10-6-'46

### TAKE CARE OF PENNIES

(By M. K. Gandhi)

I have discovered honourable members of Assemblies using most expensive embossed note paper even for private use. So far as I know, office stationery cannot be used for private purposes such as writing to friends or relatives or for letters from members of Assemblies to constituents outside matters of public business. So far as I know, this is a universal objection in every part of the world.

But for this poor country my objection goes deeper. The stationery I refer to is too expensive for us. Englishmen belonging to the most expensive country in the world and who had to flourish on the awe they could inspire in us introduced expensive and massive buildings for offices and bungalows requiring for their upkeep an army of servants and hangers-on. If we copy their style and habits we will be ruined ourselves and carry the country in this ruin. And what was tolerated in the case of the conquerors will not be tolerated in ours. There is, too, paper shortage. I am of opinion, therefore, that all these expensive habits should be given up. Hand-made paper with ordinarily printed letterheads in Nagari and Urdu should be used. The embossed stationery already printed can easily be cut up and put to better use, and should not be used up under cover of economy. Surely village products cannot be made to wait till the expensive and possibly foreign stuff is used up. Popular Governments should signalize their advent by adopting popular measures and inexpensive habits.

Mussooree, 8-6-'46

### Notes

#### Its Language

A correspondent writes:

"You must be aware that when constitutions have been drawn up in any of the countries of the world they have been invariably drafted in the language of the country concerned, e. g. France, Germany, Ireland, Egypt, Japan, etc.

"It would be fitting, if our constitution were to be drawn up in our national language. But one difficulty will be that few, if any, of the judges of our High and Federal Courts know Hindustani. They will, therefore, have to have an English translation for their use.

"The other question that will arise is as to whether the members of the Constituent Assembly will know enough Hindustani to grasp its essentials."

This letter appeals to me. Why should our constitution be in English? It should certainly be in an Indian language and, in my opinion, that language can only be Hindustani which crores can easily understand. In addition such an act will electrify the masses. As circumstances are, it is right that the Constituent Assembly should make an English translation of the document and, indeed, there should be translations also in every one of the provincial languages.

The second point raised by the writer is also apt. But since the members of the Constituent



Assembly will be chosen by the present legislative bodies, it will be open to the latter to elect, so far as possible, only those persons as are conversant with Hindustani and thus act on the correspondent's letter. Mussooree, 3-6-'46

(From *Harijansevak*)

#### True but not New

Maulvi Hamidullah Sahib of Lucknow came to see me in Mussooree and handed two of his pamphlets. They are an attempt to prove the necessity of making obligatory up to the high school standard a knowledge of both Hindi and Urdu and Nagari and Persian scripts, whether for boys or girls. The idea appeals forcibly to me. My effort has always been directed to this end. Time was when Maulana Hasrat Mohani and Babu Purshottamdas Tandon were working for the same objective but alas! we did not meet with success. Nevertheless, I neither abandoned hope nor effort and the result was the creation of the Hindustani Prachar Sabha. The Maulvi Sahib's request, therefore, is nothing new for me.

If the U. P. Government is able, with the general consent, to make the attempt, they will have rendered a great service. I am of opinion that in all the provinces where Hindi or Urdu is the mother tongue, a knowledge of the other should be made compulsory. I have no doubt that the natural outcome of such a step will be the easy birth of Hindustani, in which the two will blend into one. The present controversy between the two sisters will then cease. Another advantage that will accrue is that tuition up to the high school will be in the national language instead of English.

Mussooree, 5-6-'46

(From *Harijansevak*)

#### No Publicity Required

A Brahmin correspondent asks me to publish the fact that he has become a Harijan and wants to eliminate his name as a Caste Hindu from the census too. This is a sequence to my having asked all Caste Hindus to look upon themselves as Harijans of the so-called lowest stratum. But what is the point in giving publicity to an inner change? The real proof is for the convert to practise the change in his daily life. He will, therefore, mix freely with *Bhangis* and take an active part in their life. If possible, he will live with them or get a *Bhangi* to live with him. He will give his children in marriage to Harijans and on being questioned he will say that he has become a Harijan of his own free will and will register his name either as a Harijan or *Bhangi* in the census when he has to classify himself. But having done so he will on no account arrogate to himself any of the rights of Harijans as, for example, he will not enter his name as a voter on their list. In other words, he will undertake to fulfil all the duties of a Harijan without seeking any of the rights that pertain to them. So long as separate voting lists are maintained he will cease to be a voter.

New Delhi, 9-6-'46

(From *Harijansevak*)

#### Petrol and the Black Market

A correspondent writes as follows:

"Owing to lack of time it is not always possible to do all the necessary touring by rail. Workers have, therefore, to travel long distances by car. As petrol is rationed and the required quantity is not available recourse is had to the black market. It is either brought through someone or the taxi-driver is commissioned to obtain it from the black market and payment per mile is given to him according to the price paid for the petrol.

"Is it right for workers to use a car under these circumstances?"

"It is possible that if they do not, they will have to cut down their touring which will seemingly be harmful to the work. Am I right in believing that there is no alternative?"

I am of opinion that the worker who believes in truth should not use a car under these conditions. Even if he is not a believer but tries to render service thoughtfully he should not do so. If he does, he knowingly encourages black marketing and nothing but harm can come of such action. I go further and say that to use a car at all times for service is wrong in itself.

New Delhi, 10-6-'46

(From *Harijanbandhu*)

#### Decimal Coinage

It seems that I inadvertently allowed to be printed in the last paragraph of Shri K. Mashruwala's article on this subject the statement that a second instalment would follow showing how, if at all, decimal coinage without loss to the poor could be promulgated. As a matter of fact I do not think the time has come for a serious consideration of the contemplated reform. I am quite clear that however attractive any scheme of decimal coinage may be, it should not be considered before there is an independent national Government. Therefore, the publication of any such scheme is wholly premature. There are many more pressing and urgent problems occupying the best mind of the country. Surely the country can easily wait for a more fortunate moment for a proper understanding of a scheme before legislation on the subject is undertaken. If England has waited for years and is still waiting, why should poor famishing India have a radical reform in coinage sprung upon it without the man in the street being instructed in the pros and cons of the subject? It is not a matter which has nothing to be said against it. It will certainly not add one grain of corn to the existing stocks. Whether a rupee is to contain 100 cents or 64 pice is a problem that can await solution for a happier day. Democracy demands patient instruction on it before legislation. Hence I intended to erase the announcement of the second article in order to avoid raising a hope I had no desire to satisfy.

New Delhi, 9-6-'46

M. K. G.



## WEEKLY LETTER

## HIS LIBRARY

Perhaps very few people besides his close companions know that Gandhiji calls his lavatory 'library'. It is not merely a matter of nomenclature but is so in fact. He has done more reading in his 'library' than an average man does in his lifetime. It is also the place where he has done some of his hardest thinking—I can recall at least three occasions when decisions of a most far-reaching character were either taken or reversed in the solitude of that sanctum, the only solitude that he could have. The expression 'library' was borrowed from an esteemed friend. Gandhiji often loves to describe how this friend kept his lavatory so clean that one could sit and read in it without discomfort. He had even got fixed over the seat of his lavatory a book shelf which was put to its full and legitimate use. "The lavatories of even the poorest of the poor ought to be as clean and neat as a library or the kitchen. There should not be a trace of dirt or foul smell in it," remarked Gandhiji before the prayer gathering at Mussooree on Sunday last. He was speaking to them about the necessity of building a sanctuary or a *musafarkhana* at Mussooree for the poor folk, where they could avail themselves of the cool hill climate in case of need. "You might think that I am speaking with my tongue in my cheek. The fact is that a meticulous sense of cleanliness, not only personal but also in regard to one's surroundings, is the alpha and omega of corporate life. We in India have made a ritual of cleanliness. But we have yet to make good our claim that we possess the sanitary instinct. I have seen how we foul the banks of our holy rivers. Ganges water is regarded by us as holy, capable of washing off our sins. The idea is symbolical. Just as water washes the body clean, a devotee prays and hopes for the cleansing of the heart by the water of life. But if we contaminate our holy rivers as we do, how can their water effect inner cleansing?"

He had heard that the living conditions of the labourers in Mussooree were deplorable. They lived in small, overcrowded, dirty and evil smelling rooms. No one could afford to overlook that. All life was one. If they cleaned their own homes and neglected their neighbours' they would have to pay the price in the form of epidemics and the like. In the West they had been able to rid their countries of plague. He himself had witnessed in South Africa how by prompt and energetic action the Johannesburg Municipality was able to arrest the outbreak of plague so effectively that it never came back. But in India it returned again and again—it had become almost endemic. "The remedy lies in our own hands. We must not only observe the rules of health and hygiene in our own persons but we must see that our poor neighbours do so too. To neglect to do so is a sin for which we cannot escape the penalty. I do not grudge the rich their riches provided that they do not forget the poor and share their riches with them and provided

their riches are not gained at the expense of the impoverishment of others."

## THE GADFLY

Socrates described himself as a gadfly, the mission of whose life was to shake the complacency and quicken the conscience of the rich and the powerful. Gandhiji did not allow the conscience of the fashionable rich of Mussooree any rest or respite. Only he accompanied it with the healing message of *Ramanama*. "*Ramanama* is not for the few; it is for all," he told them on the following day. "He who takes His name lays by a rich store for himself, and it is inexhaustible. The more you draw upon it, the more it increases. It is infinite. As the Upanishad says, you take out infinite out of infinite and infinite remains behind. It is the unfailing panacea for all the ills, physical, mental and spiritual to which man is subject. *Ramanama* is only one of the numerous names of God. In fact there are as many names of God as there are human beings in the world. You may substitute Krishna for Rama or you can substitute for it any of His countless names and it will make no difference." He himself had got the mantra of *Ramanama*, he said, from his nurse when he was a child. "I used to be frightened of ghosts and evil spirits in the dark. My nurse told me, 'If you repeat *Ramanama* all the ghosts and evil spirits will vanish.' I accepted her advice with all the unquestioning faith of a child. That cured me of my cowardice." If that was the experience of a child, how much more would the grown-ups stand to gain by it if they repeated *Ramanama* with understanding and faith, he asked.

But the condition was that it must come from the heart. "Do evil thoughts possess you or, are you tormented by lust or greed? Then there is no charm against it like *Ramanama*." And he illustrated his meaning by a parable. "Supposing you are tempted to amass a big fortune by some easy and dishonest means. If you have faith in *Ramanama* you will say to yourself, 'Why should I amass for my wife and children riches which they might squander away—why not leave them a legacy in the shape of sound character and sound education and training that will enable them to earn their living by honest industry and body labour?' Ceaseless repetition of *Ramanama* will dispel your delusion and false attachment and the living realization will dawn on you that you were a fool to hanker after millions for the sake of your dear ones instead of offering them the priceless treasure of His name which frees one from all bondage and wandering. Filled with the joy of that realization such a person will tell his wife and children, 'I have not brought for you the treasure I had set out for but something infinitely richer.' 'Where is it, show it to us?' they will say incredulously. 'It is the Name which is richer than all treasures' he will reply, 'because it quenches the thirst for all riches. It is enshrined in my heart.'"

## SKELETONS IN THE CUPBOARD

As at Simla so at Mussooree, he more than once rattled the skeletons in their cupboards. He



spoke to them of the poor rickshaw pullers and load carriers there. They should be everyone's concern. They made life possible for the wealthy and yet the latter, while willing to take from them even the inhuman service of rickshaw-pulling, did not care to see where and how they lived, what they ate and what they earned. He had heard that these poor men lived in tiny rooms without adequate light and air; they did not want to reveal how many herded together into one room lest they should be evicted or fined. They were dirtily clad as could be seen from the little crowd of them that had come to attend the prayers that evening. But perhaps they had not the wherewithal to afford a change of clothes. They might be like the woman in Bihar, when he first went there, who, when asked to wash herself and her clothes, said to Ba: "How can I bathe when I have not another sari to put on?" It was the bounden duty of those to whom God had given more than their needs to spend the extra on those who were in want. He had been told that the Congress Government was now in power and would see to it that labour quarters everywhere were rebuilt. If they did so it would be a good thing. It would be no more than their bare duty. That would not, however, exonerate rickshaw riders from *their* duty. Doctors had told him that these poor people pulled these vehicles for four years or so and the work was so hard that they died soon after of lung and heart trouble. How could the users be so callous as not to see that they were properly housed and sufficiently paid and clothed and not overworked.

#### AN ERROR AND CONFESSION

In the mirror of Satyagraha what might appear as trifles to others, some times assume gigantic proportions. Not satisfied with what he had heard from others about the condition of the load bearers and rickshaw coolies of Mussooree, he deputed one of his party to visit their slums and study at first hand the conditions of living there. In the course of his report, the friend who had been deputed, mentioned to him, what he had been told by some rickshaw pullers, that they had been turned out from the prayer gathering on account of their dirty clothes. On the basis of that report he had allowed himself to address a few remarks to the prayer gathering. His remarks were taken to heart by one of the workers who was in charge of the meeting. On subsequent inquiry Gandhiji learnt that the information which he had received was of doubtful authenticity. As a Satyagrahi he felt he had fallen from grace in accepting a statement made to him without full scrutiny and by basing his public remarks thereon. Making a public confession of his mistake in his address after the prayer on the following day, he stressed the importance of speaking only when necessary and uttering every word after the most careful thought. A Satyagrahi could not afford to be credulous or to be careless in his speech. There is a Sanskrit verse saying that not to begin is the first sign of wisdom, but

once you begin a thing you should do it well. "It would have been best not to have made use of the unsifted information. But having done so I should end it well by making the admission that on inquiry I found that the accusation could not be supported." He next told them of his three *gurus*—the three Japanese monkeys, a replica of which he always kept before him on his desk. "There is a great piece of sculpture in Japan depicting three monkeys. One of them is shutting his mouth with his hands, the second is shutting his ears and the third is shutting his eyes. The lesson of the first one is not to speak unless absolutely necessary and then too, to weigh every word before speaking. The message of the second is not to hear evil things, of the third not to let one's eyes wander here, there and everywhere." Therefore, when going along the road, one should either contemplate the beauty of nature or else fix his gaze on the ground before one. He carried about the three *gurus* with him wherever he went and he advised them all to bear their instruction in mind.

#### ANOTHER LESSON

Accidental delay of a few moments at the prayer meeting provided Gandhiji with another theme for his after-prayer discourse on Thursday last. An important visitor had detained him beyond the stipulated time, so that when he reached the prayer-grounds the prayer had already commenced. Apologizing for the delay in his address at the end of the prayer, he told the audience how pleased he was that Shri Kanu Gandhi had started the prayer without waiting for him. "It should be the general rule that prayers must not be delayed for anybody on earth. God's time never stops. From the very beginning the wheel of His time has gone ceaselessly on. As a matter of fact there is no beginning for Him or His time.

"God is not a person. No one can describe Him as no one has seen Him. He is the Law and the Law-giver combined into one. The author of the Vedas, after the profoundest search has described him as *Neti, Neti* (not this, not this). He moves all and yet no one can move Him. Not a blade of grass moves without His will. For Him there is no beginning and no end.

"Everything that has a beginning must end. The sun, the moon and the earth must all perish one day even though it might be after an incalculable number of years. God alone is immortal, imperishable. How can man find words to describe Him? How can anyone afford to miss the time of offering prayers to Him whose watch never stops?" Had Kanu Gandhi waited for him it would have hurt him, he said. He had felt ashamed of disturbing the meeting by walking up to the dais when the prayer was going on. If others came late during the prayers he inwardly fretted against them: why did they not stand at the far end of the gathering instead of walking in and disturbing the meeting? He would have liked to



wait outside but he knew that people were waiting for him. They might feel worried over his absence. Therefore, he had dared to walk to the dais and take his seat there though not without trembling. His car had not failed him. But he could not rudely tear himself from his visitors.

He wanted them all to learn a lesson from the incident. If they kept the time for the prayers the habit would be reflected in all that they did. "A man who works regularly in a systematic fashion never feels overworked or tired. It is not hard work that kills a man, but irregularity or lack of system."

New Delhi, 11-6-'46

PYARELAL

## HINDUSTANI CRITICIZED

(By M. K. Gandhi)

Shri Jivanji Desai has sent me samples of some criticisms of the edition in Urdu Script of 'Harijan-sevak' from both Hindi and Urdu newspapers. They have made fun of its Hindustani. Hindi critics opine that the articles are deliberately filled with unnecessary Urdu words and Urdu critics complain of the use of Sanskrit words which Muslims cannot understand.

I am glad of these criticisms. Thus, why should the paper be called 'Harijansevak' instead of 'HarijanKhidmatgar'? Why 'Sampadak' and not 'Editor' or 'Mudir' and so on? Lovers of Urdu believe that Hindustani and Urdu are synonymous. Lovers of Hindi feel the same conversely even when it is written in the Urdu script. Presumably they hope that this criticism will go home and make me give up the Urdu script in sheer despair. But the hope is not likely to be fulfilled. In fact neither Urdu nor Hindi is to be termed Hindustani. Though not in vogue today Hindustani is a wise mixture of the two. If newspaper and other critics will exercise a little forbearance they will presently see that it is not difficult to understand what is Hindustani as distinguished from Hindi and Urdu. I admit that those who write for 'Harijansevak' are still struggling but they are determined to reach the desired goal. Readers must bear kindly with what may today seem a hotch-potch of the two forms. If God spares my life, I hope to prove to the readers of 'Harijansevak' that Hindustani can be as sweet as either Urdu or Hindi. The seeming quarrel of today will shortly disappear when the two forms, it is realized, are sisters and that through their joint effort will come into being a stately language which will serve the crores of India.

In the interim I hope critics will point out what to them may appear as mistakes. Taken in a friendly spirit such criticism will help to improve the language of 'Harijansevak'.

Mussooree, 5-6-'46

(From Harijansevak)

## DURING MUSSOOREE SOJOURN

(By M. K. Gandhi)

During the prayer meetings in Mussooree I suggested that the gay people of the place might well think of the poor among them, and make their living comfortable, clean and hygienic as also enable the poorest of all classes to find an abode where it would be possible for them to receive the benefit of the hill climate. Both the suggestions have been taken up with enthusiasm. An influential committee has been formed to carry out the idea of a *dharmashala* or *musafarkhana*. I write this note to suggest that much the most important thing would be to have a committee of workers or even one worker who would make it his business to run the guest house in a becoming manner. Seeing that the place will be free of rent it will be no small task to choose the guests who may occupy the premises. Care will have to be taken to exclude those who are at all able to pay a reasonable rent. The visitors must be those who have nothing wherewith to pay. If the place is to be kept absolutely clean, there will have to be rules to be rigidly enforced in the interests of the visitors themselves. And yet the occupants will have to be treated with perfect courtesy. They must never be allowed to feel that poverty is a crime. Every third class traveller knows that the poor receive rough treatment in the railway carriages and at railway stations. It is a sad commentary that in this poor country where according to books poverty carries with it a certain dignity, in public places the poor are treated almost with contempt and they are made to pay for receiving it. It is in this unfortunate atmosphere that this guest house is to be built. Let the committee seek out from now an ideal caretaker who will answer the requirements of the office which are undoubtedly onerous. If such a person is found, the project is bound to be a pattern for all such places on hill stations.

Mussooree, 8-6-'46

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# HARIJAN

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TWO ANNAS.

## A TOUCHSTONE AND A CHALLENGE

Shri Ghanashyamasingh Gupta writes:

"The employees of the Durg Municipality, including the sweepers, went on a strike from the 7th instant on the rejection of their demand for a 300 per cent increase in their pay. The Municipality requested the Karmachari Sangh not to include the sweepers in the strike. But the request was turned down. They would not refer the matter to impartial arbitration. The decision of the sweepers to strike work naturally put the Municipality into a dilemma.

"A public meeting was held on the 7th. at which both the President of the Municipality and that of the Sangh put their respective viewpoints before the public. I was present at the meeting. Although in my opinion the employees' case was weak, I took the stand that without entering into the merits of the dispute between the Sangh and the Municipality, the citizens should make arrangements to keep the essential services going. They should volunteer to take up scavenging duties themselves and maintain sanitary condition in the city rather than import sweepers from outside and thereby possibly precipitate trouble. Accordingly no help from outside was sent for or came and the sanitation work was done by the people themselves with the result that after four days the strike collapsed and the strikers returned to their work on the 5th day. Throughout the period there was no incident and complete peace prevailed.

"At the public meeting announcing the termination of the strike, the President of the Sangh said, referring to me and my companions, that in taking up the sweepers' work during the strike we were guilty of *himsa* towards the strikers. The implication was that if we had abstained, the Municipality would have been forced to concede their demands. Our intervention had hit them and therefore was of the nature of violence. What is your view? Were I and my companions guilty of violence? Was our action morally wrong? I may add that I have no feeling of antagonism in me in regard to the strikers. I have in my own small way even served them. In 1942, when I was President of the Municipality, I even brought trouble upon myself by admitting Harijan boys to schools along with other non-Harijan children."

The question raised by Shri Ghanashyamasingh is an important one. Sweepers' strikes are becoming the order of the day. They are a challenge to our civil conscience and a touchstone on which the sincerity of our cry for independence will be tested. Shri Khandubhai Desai has sent an account of similar action taken by the citizens of Ahmedabad during the recent sweepers' strike there. Sweepers occupy a pivotal position in our social and municipal life. They ought to have the first claim on our consideration for the amelioration of their living conditions and improved instruments of work. Instead of their having to resort to direct action for redress, it is the citizens and municipal rate payers who ought to resort to direct action on their behalf.

Not all the demands put forth by the strikers are necessarily just and it is, therefore, wrong to refuse to submit a dispute over wages and the like to impartial arbitration. In the two cases, if the intention behind the action taken by the citizens was simply to coerce the strikers into submission, it was reprehensible from the strikers' standpoint. But they had every right to resist the dictation of the strikers, if the latter's demands were unreasonable and unjust.

The strike however being now over, the interest evinced by the citizens in the sanitation problem should not cease. It is up to them to see that the cause for their recurrence is eradicated by the root. The disgraceful living conditions which characterize sweepers' quarters in many cities ought to go without delay. The sweepers should be taught the best method of rendering sanitation service. They should have facilities for education and medical relief for themselves and their children to enable them to become model citizens. If the wages are inadequate, they should be raised. Above all, having found from personal experience what sanitation work means, reformers should be able to judge better what should be done for the removal and disposal of night soil and refuse, so that the sweepers' avocation may cease to be regarded as unclean. If this urgent reform is not attended to in time and without further agitation, the excellent work done would be counted as waste of effort.

New Delhi, 23-6-46

PYARELAL



## MORE LEGAL OPINIONS

Following upon Shri Shivanarain's legal opinion on the question of the right of the Europeans to vote or be candidates for the Constituent Assembly, Shri D. N. Bahadurji, Shri K. M. Munshi, Sir Alladi Krishnaswami Aiyar and Sir Bakshi Tekchand have sent their opinions to Gandhiji in response to the latter's invitation. After examining the question from different angles, they all arrive at the same conclusion as Shri Shivanarain. The following excerpts from their opinions will be found to be illuminating :

Shri D. N. Bahadurji after noticing paragraphs 1, 3 and 16 of the State document of May 16, proceeds :

"It is clear from the above quoted paragraphs that the declared intention of the author of the said Paper was that the future constitution of the Indian Government was to be devised by Indians only.

"I see nothing in paragraph 18 of the said Paper which may be construed as departing from the intention emphasized in the previous paragraphs of the said Paper. Paragraph 18 divides Indian nationals into three groups: (1) Muslims, (2) Sikhs, (3) "General Community" for reasons of convenient expression. Just as Muslims and Sikhs in paragraph 18 are assumed to be persons of Indian Nationality, so it must be assumed in the case of "General Community" that the persons comprising it, must be of Indian Nationality.

"In my opinion Europeans who are foreigners are not entitled to vote at the election of or be candidates for the election of members of the proposed Constituent Assembly."

Shri K. M. Munshi's opinion runs :

"In the last portion of the Statement the Mission further state :

'We hope in any event that you (Indians) will remain in close and friendly association with our people. But these are matters for your own free choice.'

"The British subjects who are in the country as non-national Britishers are clearly included in 'our people' and 'countrymen' and as different from 'they' (Indians) and 'the Indian people'."

Referring to paragraph 18 of the State Paper he observes :

"For the purpose of the Constituent Assembly the paragraph recognizes three main communities of Indians, namely, the General, Muslim and Sikh. The words to wit : 'We therefore propose that there shall be elected by each provincial legislative Assembly', in paragraph 19 (1) mean the same thing as representatives allotted to each of these communities.

"The General Community is deemed to include persons who are neither Muslims nor Sikhs. It is to consist of Hindus and other groups of persons referred to therein as 'smaller minorities'. The word 'smaller' as qualifying the word 'minority' has been used in contradistinction to Muslims and Sikhs who are classified as major

communities of Indians. The word 'community' had to be used for 'minority' for the Muslims and the Sikhs only because a new artificial group, called General Community consisting of the majority, viz. the Hindus and the smaller minorities has to be formed."

He then proceeds to discuss the meaning of the word 'minority' as used in paragraphs 19 and 20 of the State Paper :

"The word 'minority' as used in constitutional treatises, enactments and documents means a group of nationals with distinct interests as against the interests of a larger group of nationals called the majority. But in all cases both such groups are treated as always belonging to the same State having a common domicile and citizenship. The Treaty of June 28, 1919, by the Allied Powers made with Poland contains provisions relating to minorities, which Poland undertook to recognize as its fundamental laws. The Articles of the Treaty have since then been recognized as a precedent for minority rights. Article 7 of the said Treaty provides that 'all Polish nationals shall be equal before the law' etc. Article 8 provides as follows : 'Polish Nationals who belong to racial, religious, or linguistic minorities shall enjoy the same treatment and security in law and in fact as the other Polish Nationals.' Similar provisions are included in the treaties concluded by the Allies with Czechoslovakia, Rumania, Bulgaria, Turkey etc. See Wheaton's *International Law*, p. 80. Clearly therefore the word 'minorities' used in paragraphs 19 (iv) and 20 of the Statement in connection with rights of citizens and fundamental rights means national minorities.

"It must not be forgotten that the doctrine of minorities and majorities among the nationals of a country is as old as the 'Federalist' and after the first world war found expression in the Weimar Constitution of Germany. In considering the rights of the minorities provided in the said Peace Treaties, Mr. William Edward Hall, an eminent jurist on International Law, states in his work on International Law that "too much stress was laid on the rights of minorities while a corresponding duty incumbent by the said minority to co-operate loyally with other fellow citizens was hardly ever stressed." The learned author at page 64 of his treatise refers to a resolution passed at the third Assembly of the League of Nations emphasizing the said duty of racial, religious, linguistic minority in a State. Hall's *International Law* (8th Edn.), p. 64. 'A minority' in the Statement, therefore, means a comparatively smaller group of nationals of the State and not a group of nationals of another State living within the boundaries of the former.

"The Joint Committee on Indian Constitutional Reform 1933-34 in its Report on page 14, while dealing with the special responsibilities and powers of the Provincial Governors and the Governor-General also gave the same meaning



to the minorities in India. It is there stated that the authority of the Provincial Governors as also the Governor-General was interlinked with their responsibilities to the Crown and Parliament both, for peace and tranquility and 'for the protection of all the weak and helpless among her (India's) people.' In paragraph 321 of the said Report, the Committee while dealing with the Anglo-Indian community and the problem of their education makes a distinction between 'Europeans' and 'domiciled Europeans'. This clearly establishes that the Joint Committee treated Europeans other than the Europeans domiciled in this country, as being non-nationals of India."

Shri Munshi proceeds:

"The representation to Europeans given in the various Provincial Legislatures under the Government of India Act 1935 and in prior Statutes, is not a representation given to them as a racial minority of India but as a vested interest existing in the country at the time of framing of a constitution which was admittedly not based on the principle of self-determination or on a recognition of Indians as being entitled to frame their own constitution.

"That the Mission did not intend to depart from the accepted meaning of minorities is clear from paragraph 18 of their Statement, where they state that 'the most satisfactory method of election to the Constituent Assembly would be the one based on adult franchise.' Adult franchise in this clause can only mean a right exercisable by persons who are Indian citizens. But the procedure of granting adult franchise having been found by them to be impracticable, the Mission adopts an alternative course. This again would lead to the conclusion that there was no intention to get the constitution framed by persons who are not Indian nationals, or citizens.

"The words 'majority' and 'minority' therefore, in my opinion, were used with reference to India or Indian people as used by the British Prime Minister in his said announcement and 'Indians' as used in the Mission's Statement and do not include non-national residents in India. Any other view would conflict with the expressed intention to ask only Indians to frame their own constitution.

"In my opinion, therefore, the words 'elected by each Provincial Assembly' and 'by the smaller minorities' in paragraphs 18 and 19 must necessarily be construed as restricting the franchise to the Indian members of such Legislative Assembly inclusive of domiciled Europeans who are Indian nationals, and cannot be extended to apply to European British subjects not domiciled in India.

"The words in paragraph 19 'elected by each Provincial Assembly' may be argued to indicate a different meaning. But *ex-concessis* the election is not by the Provincial Assembly as such, but by its members representing the three groups.

"It follows also that the 'representatives on the Constituent Assembly' have to be Indians."

Sir Bakshi Tekchand after referring to the occurrence of the words 'community' and 'communities' in paragraphs 18 and 19 of the State Paper poses the following question:

"The question for consideration is whether the expression 'all persons who are not Muslims or Sikhs' is limited to Indians only, or it includes Europeans or other foreigners who may be members of the Provincial Legislatures under the Constitution of 1935.

"Clearly, para 18 is to be interpreted not as an isolated or independent clause, but in the context, according to the 'character and scheme' of the document as a whole. The rule of construction is 'that language is always used *secundum subjectam materiam* and that it must be understood in the sense which best harmonizes with the subject matter.' Where words of a general import are used, the real meaning is to be collected *ex antecedentibus et consequentibus*, that is to say, in reference to that which precedes and follows it. There is, therefore, no doubt that the expression 'all persons' included in the "General Community" means Indian members of the Provincial Assembly concerned and not foreigners or non-nationals.

"That this is the intention, is further clear from para 22 of the Statement which reads as follows:

'It will be necessary to negotiate a Treaty between the Union Constituent Assembly and the United Kingdom to provide for certain matters arising out of the transfer of power.'

Surely, it could not have been the intention that the Constituent Assembly, with which the United Kingdom is to negotiate the Treaty, will have as its members, persons who are not Indians, but are nationals of the United Kingdom which is to be the other party to the Treaty."

Sir Alladi Krishnaswami Aiyar after referring to the object of the machinery to be set up, viz. to enable "Indians" to decide the future constitution of India, observes:

"If the normal procedure in vogue in the framing of other constitutions were adopted the procedure would have been to have a convention based upon adult franchise of Indian Nationals or at least persons having an Indian Domicile. The procedure of having the body elected by the personnel in the existing Legislative Assemblies is merely followed with a view to speed up Indian Independence and the framing of a Constitution to implement India's right to Independence. The accident of that procedure is not to be availed of by persons who are not Nationals to exercise the franchise for the Convention or to take part in the Convention summoned for the framing of the Constitution."

New Delhi, 26-6-46

PYARELAL



# HARIJAN

June 30

1946

## WHITE MAN'S BURDEN !

(By M. K. Gandhi)

According to Reuters picked Indians, men and women, headed by Dr. Naicker, commenced Satyagraha (in South Africa popularly known as passive resistance) on June 14th in respect of the Segregation Law of the Union Parliament of South Africa. The same agency further reports that neither the Government nor the Municipality had taken any action against the passive resisters but that some 'Whites' of Durban had taken the execution of the law into their own hands by raiding the camp at night, cutting down tents swiftly and carrying them away. "A band of 100 young White men broke through the cordon of 50 Indian passive resisters, pulled down the tents and dragged them away torn. Some camp stretchers were smashed and blankets and pillows removed. Two women resisters were involved in the melee. They are stated to have been kicked but not injured."

The papers report that after three days of hooliganism the Borough Police had posted themselves near the scene of passive resistance and warned the hooligans against molesting the resisters and terrorizing them into submission. This is heartening news. Let us hope that it can be taken at its full value and that the protection means fullest protection against lawlessness, sporadic or organized. Organized popular lawlessness is known as lynching, so shamelessly frequent in America.

Before the Segregation Law was passed, White men, known to be respectable, had carried anti-Asiatic agitation to the point of frenzy. Not satisfied with their triumph in having legislation compelling segregation passed probably beyond expectation, the more advanced section among the agitators have become the executioners of their own laws. They do not know that they are thereby defaming the White man's name!!!

My appeal to the White men and women who have regard for laws for which they have voted is that they should create public opinion against hooliganism and lynch law.

Passive resistance is aimed at removal in a most approved manner of bad laws, customs or other evils and is designed to be a complete and effective substitute for forcible methods including hooliganism and lynch law. It is an appeal to the heart of man. Often reason fails. It is dwarfed by self. The theory is that an adequate appeal to the heart never fails. Seeming failure is not of the law of Satyagraha but of incompetence of the Satyagrahi by whatever cause induced. It may not be possible to give a complete historical instance. The name of Jesus at once comes to the lips. It is an instance of brilliant failure. And he has been acclaimed in the West as Prince of

passive resisters. I showed years ago in South Africa that the adjective 'passive' was a misnomer, at least as applied to Jesus. He was the most active resister known perhaps to history. His was non-violence *par excellence*. But I must no longer stray from my main subject. It is the resistance of the Jesus type that the White hooligans are seeking to thwart. Let us hope that our countrymen's heroic resistance will not only shame the hooligans into silence but prove the precursor of the repeal of the law that disfigures the statute book of South Africa. In concrete form, what pure suffering, wholly one-sided, does is to stir public opinion against a wrong. Legislators are, after all, representatives of the public. In obedience to it they have enacted a wrong. They have to reverse the process when the same public, awakened to the wrong, demands its removal.

The real 'White man's burden' is not insolently to dominate coloured or black people under the guise of protection, it is to desist from the hypocrisy which is eating into them. It is time, White men learnt to treat every human being as their equal. There is no mystery about whiteness of the skin. It has repeatedly been proved that given equal opportunity a man, be he of any colour or country, is fully equal to any other.

Therefore, White men throughout the world and especially of India should act upon their fellow-men in South Africa and call upon them not to molest Indian resisters who are bravely struggling to preserve the self-respect of Indians in the Union and the honour of their motherland. "Do unto others as you would that they should do unto you." Or, do they take in vain the name of Him who said this? Have they banished from their hearts the great coloured Asiatic who gave to the world the above message? Do they forget that the greatest of the teachers of mankind were all Asiatics and did not possess a white face? These, if they descended on earth and went to South Africa, will all have to live in the segregated areas and be classed as Asiatics and coloured people unfit by law to be equals of Whites.

Is a civilization worth the name which requires for its existence the very doubtful prop of racial legislation and lynch law? The silver lining to the cloud that hangs over the devoted heads of our countrymen lies in the plucky action of Rev. Scott, a White clergyman, and his equally White fellow workers, who have undertaken to share the sufferings of the Indian resisters.

New Delhi, 26-6-'46

By M. K. Gandhi

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## Notes

### Imitation

**Q.** You have averred that a person who gives up eating meat in mere imitation of you cannot be said to be doing the right thing. Are you not wrong in holding this view?

**A.** I see nothing wrong in what I have said. If a person may change his practice in imitation, it is equally possible for him to revert to the original practice in imitation. The gist of what I said was that nothing should be done without being well weighed and thought out and without deep conviction. Thoughtless imitation is the sport of little minds and may lead a man into a ditch with disastrous results.

New Delhi, 21-6-'46

### Harijan Collections

**Q.** You collect funds for Harijans wherever you go. According to press reports, you sometimes receive large sums for that purpose. What is the total amount that you have collected? How is it spent? Are the accounts inspected or 'audited' by anyone? I do not mean to suggest that the funds are being misused, but it ill-becomes you to keep the people in the dark about these things.

**A.** The question hardly calls for a reply. But there must be many uninformed people like the correspondent. By itself the question is legitimate. The answer is simple. All Harijan collections made by me are handed over to the Harijan Sevak Sangh. Shri Thakkar Bapa is the guardian of the fund. It is spent according to the direction and with the sanction of the Harijan Sevak Sangh. Some of it is spent according to my instructions, but it has to be for the service of the Harijans only. Similarly for other funds, donations are sent to be spent at my discretion. Strict account is kept of every pie and the income and expenditure accounts are duly audited and certified from time to time.

### Why This Antipathy?

**Q.** Simple-minded Jains take you for a Jain, and you are not ashamed to be regarded as such. And yet, you seem studiously to shun the very mention of Mahavira in the columns of 'Harijan'. Is this becoming for a Mahatma like you?

**A.** The above is the gist, in my own words, of a correspondent's question. The reader can infer from it, what the original must be like. I plead guilty to the charge of not being a Jain. But possibly I am a better informed devotee of Mahavira than many who claim to be Jains. If, however, I am not a devotee of Mahavira Swami, he or his devotees stand to lose nothing thereby. I alone will be the loser. I suggest that we merely betray our weakness when we resent the indifference of our neighbours about those whom we revere and idolize.

New Delhi, 25-6-'46

### Yarn Exchange

Shrimati Annapurna Devi sends me the following account of work carried on by her in Madhi, near Bardoli:

"I had been trying to work in this small village for the girls and thus come in contact with

their families but I was a little perplexed when Shri Jugatram pressed me to work in a larger area. On hearing from you, however, I was encouraged and gained confidence.

"I have made some good contacts and feel that people have begun to listen to me and appreciate with affection my endeavours to help them. I should like to tell you about the hank shop which we started over a year ago with a view to popularizing the idea of yarn currency. It came into being after a play about a hank shop which was part of a daily entertainment which we used to get up for the villagers after the evening prayer. Since May last year, we have been selling articles of daily use such as soap, oil, salt, *gur*, chillies, ground-nut etc. in exchange for yarn. The stock of hanks increased from 43 in May to 233 in September. Last month there was a big fall, but that was because of the people being occupied in the harvesting season.

"Children of 10 years of age who attend my school run this shop. Two such who used to spend their days in dust and dirt are now the chief actors in this little drama."

New Delhi, 23-6-'46

M. K. G.

(From *Harijanbandhu*)

## WEEKLY LETTER

Thanks to the irrepressible and, may I add, very often irresponsible activity of the gentlemen of the Press, the Imperial City during the week has been a seething cauldron of speculations, rumours and false alarms. Gandhiji had more than once to appeal to newspapermen not to injure themselves and the cause by indulging in this kind of journalism. "If I were appointed dictator for a day in the place of the Viceroy, I would stop all newspapers," he said on one occasion. "With the exception of *Harijan* of course," he added with a smile and a wink. Incidentally he remarked that if he had to rename his weekly he would call it not *Harijan* but *Bhangi*, i. e. Sweeper, that being more in tune with his present temper and the need of the hour as he understood it. As an illustration of the infinite harm that might result from such irresponsible journalism, he remarked that, if the people were to believe what had been appearing in the Press about his part in the deliberations of the Working Committee, Hindus would be right to execrate him as the enemy of their interests. It was further being made to appear, he observed that his was the only intransigent voice in the Working Committee. He wanted them to dismiss all that as pure imagination. He appealed to newspapermen to put a curb on their pen. Failing that it was up to the public to shed their craving for 'potted' news and to cease to patronize papers that purveyed it or at least cease to be misled by what might appear in them.

"There are two kinds of curiosity," he remarked on another occasion "— healthy and unhealthy." "One should always be curious to know one's duty at every step. But itch for news is a variety of dissipation debilitating to the mind and spirit, unless it is properly curbed."



## CAMPAIGN OF VILIFICATION

In spite of its diligence to come to a speedy decision on the Cabinet Mission's proposals, the Congress has not been able to escape a malicious campaign of vilification in a certain section of the Press. It has been accused of procrastination and delaying tactics. And when that theme was played out, it was given out that the delay was due to dissensions in the Working Committee. Giving the lie to these innuendoes in one of his prayer discourses Gandhiji remarked that it was wholly untrue that the delay in arriving at a final decision was due to divisions in the Working Committee. Differences of opinion were inevitable in a living organization. He himself did not know what the final decision of the Working Committee was going to be. It was but natural that there should be more Hindus on the Congress register than Muslims, as the Hindu population preponderated in India. But the Congress could not by any stretch of imagination be called a Hindu organization. Its President Maulana Azad had occupied the Presidential chair for a longer period than any other in the Congress history. He was held in equal respect by all those who claim to be of the Congress. The Congress had constituted itself into a trustee, not of any particular community, but of India as a whole. In an organization like that, it always became the duty of the majority to make sacrifices for the minorities and backward sections, not in a spirit of patronizing favour, but in a dignified manner and as a duty. "In the eyes of the Congress, Hindus and Mussalmans, Parsis, Christians and Sikhs are all Indians and therefore equally entitled to its care. The Congress has no sanction except that of non-violence. Unlike the Viceroy, who has the entire armed force of the British Empire at his back, the Congress President can rely only on the united and whole-hearted co-operation of all the communities and classes to give effect to India's will to independence. The Working Committee is, therefore, anxious that we should accept responsibility at the Centre only with the unanimous goodwill of all the communities. That is why they were giving such anxious thought to all the various interests. And that is a ticklish job. They do not want to make the Interim Government the arena of unseemly quarrels among ourselves."

## SOUTH AFRICA

The heroic struggle going on in South Africa has become a theme of his after-prayer talks. "We hold it to be a crime against man and God to submit meekly any longer to a policy of segregation that is causing disaster to our country and our people," runs the Passive Resistance resolution passed at a meeting of the Transvaal Indian Congress held at Johannesburg on April 21, 1946. "They must remember," continues the resolution, "that non-violence is the basis of this movement and that this struggle is directed against the policy of segregation and not against the White population of this country."

The struggle has the full sympathy of the European Democrats and the Negro section of South Africa.

Said the President General of the South African National Congress at the Transvaal Indian Congress mass meeting:

"I declare from this platform that we Africans do not only sympathize, but will support and assist in all possible manner the Indians in their struggle against this inhuman legislation."

"Yesterday," he continued, "it was the turn of Africans, to day it is the turn of the Indians, tomorrow it will be the turn of the coloured and there is no knowing where this policy of racialism will end."

Referring to the events of the struggle, as reported in the daily press, Gandhiji in his prayer address on 21-6-'46 described how some White people there had taken the law into their own hands and were harassing the passive resisters. "The Union Government seem to be just watching. It is wrong. It is bad enough to pass an unjust law, but it is worse to let White people take it into their own hands. They ought to realize that Indians are in no way inferior to them. The latter cannot and will not submit to segregation."

Some White men, said Gandhiji, were daily raiding their tents, and terrorizing them. Some women were also among the resisters. But the women had bravely told the men that they would stand by them and share their vicissitudes. "The passive resisters are not criminals but respectable citizens. As self-respecting people they will prefer imprisonment to segregation in ghettos. They will resist injustice and oppression with their last breath. It is open to the South African Government to visit them with the penalty of the law for breach or to abrogate the Segregation Act which is contrary to the dictates of humanity. But it will be a dark blot on the history of the White civilization if lynch law is allowed to have its course in South Africa." He hoped that the South African Government and the civilized conscience of mankind would not allow that.

"What is taking place in South Africa today is worse than martial law," remarked Gandhiji in the course of another prayer address. He did not say these things, he added, to incite them to anger against the Whites of South Africa. If they did that, they would be unworthy to sit in the prayers. He wanted them to go home and pray that God may give strength to their brethren and sisters in South Africa, who were fighting for the honour of India, to face all hardships bravely; secondly that He should show light to the White men so that they might cease to behave like less than men and that the eyes of the Government there may be opened so that they may treat Indians as fellow human beings. The Whites of South Africa too were their brethren, being children of the same God.

When they had the control of India's affairs in their own hands, Gandhiji concluded, such things would become impossible. A Free India wedded to truth and non-violence would teach the lesson of peace to the inhabitants of South Africa. But it would be for them and the Congress to decide whether a Free India would follow the way of



peace or the sword. It was bad enough that the small nations of the earth should denude humanity of its precious heritage, it would be awful if a sub-continent of some four hundred millions were to take to gunpowder and live dangerously.

New Delhi, 24-6-'46

PYARELAL

[P.S. For once fear has proved to be a liar. At yesterday's prayer, Gandhiji drew attention to the demi-official statement that had appeared in the Press that the instructions issued for the election of candidates for the Constituent Assembly did not bind them to anything in clause 19 of the Statement. This was clear in the declaration quoted in the papers. He was sorry, said Gandhiji, that he had not seen it before he made his Sunday's speech. He was glad to say that his fears on that score had proved groundless. He felt he owed it to the Delegation to own his mistake, however *bona fide* it was.

At the same prayer gathering he referred to the report of the deliberations of the Working Committee that had appeared in the newspapers. It was true that the Working Committee had decided to reject the proposals, put before them for the formation of a provisional government for the interim period. But they had decided to go into the proposed Constituent Assembly. There were several flaws in the proposal for the Constituent Assembly, he said, but the Working Committee had reasoned that after all, it would consist of the elected representatives of the people. So, after considering every aspect of the question, they had decided that it should not be rejected.

The papers had also reported, proceeded Gandhiji, that the Working Committee's decision had been taken in the teeth of his opposition. That was a misleading statement to make. The fact was that for the last four or five days his mind had been filled with a vague misgiving. He saw darkness where he had seen light before. He knew that darkness indicated lack of faith in God. One whose whole being is filled with God, should never experience darkness.

Be that as it may, said Gandhiji, the fact remained that he did not see the light just then. What was more, he could not explain or give reasons for his fear. He had, therefore, simply placed his misgivings before the Working Committee and told them that they should come to a decision independently of him. Those whose function was to give a lead to the country could not afford to be guided by another's unreasoned instinct. They could not guide the destiny of the country unless they had the capacity to think for themselves and convince others by reason. The members of the Working Committee, he concluded, were the servants of the nation. They had no other sanction except the willing consent of the people whom they tried to serve. The latter would remove them whenever they liked. His advice to the people, therefore, was to follow the lead given by the Working Committee. He would tell them when he saw the light. But so long as darkness surrounded him in anything, nobody should follow him in it. P.]

## THE UTILITY OF THE GROUND-NUT

The following is the essence of Dr. A. T. W. Simeons' long article on the ground-nut.

He opines that the low stamina of our people is primarily due to lack of protein, vitamins and salts in our diet. During the Bengal famine it was proved that the life of the victim of starvation depended more on administering protein than on starch. He maintains that if more protein could be provided, the net result on the national nutritional value would be infinitely better than of more cereals. Ground-nut flour contains over 50% protein and is richer in it than any other known vegetable substance and very edible. An acre of ground-nuts can produce many times the quantity of protein than an acre of wheat, millet or rice. And yet we are not making full use of it. 45% of the ground-nut crop is taken for the production of oil. "What happens to the remaining 55%? If we can eat whole nuts, why cannot we eat them minus the oil? The economist answers, 'because we need the oil cake for feeding our cattle and for manuring our sugarcane and rice fields.'" Dr. Simeons argues that to use an edible protein for this purpose is criminal waste when we have inedible substances like dung, night-soil or guano to enrich our fields. "If we fertilize a sugarcane field with ground-nut cake, every grain of protein we plough into the earth is lost; because sugar contains no protein at all—not to mention the loss of 10% of residual oil in the cake, the vitamins and salts. . . . We feed oil cake to our milking cattle. The milk output increases and milk is an excellent food, but if we feed a cow 10 lbs. of nut protein, it is doubtful if this will produce even  $\frac{1}{2}$  lb. of milk protein. Is it worth it when we can achieve about the same result with cotton-seed and other inedible products?"

Dr. Simeons quotes Prof. B. G. S. Acharya who, after controlled rat feeding experiments, has shown that ground-nut protein was found to have a high biological value. Experiments, he says, have also established the high digestibility coefficient of ground-nut protein. "It ranks with the microbial protein of yeast and closely approximates animal protein as found in milk, eggs and mutton."

"Clean ground-nut oilcake contains over 50% of high grade protein, 13% more than mutton, so that with every ton of oilcake that is ploughed into the field, we are using the nutritional value of a flock of 50 sheep or 50,000 eggs or 15,000 seers of milk in protein alone."

Besides protein the ground-nut contains fat, starch and minerals so that with the addition of a little extra starch and vitamin C, it is a complete food in itself. The most important vitamin deficiency in India is of the B complex which has a profound effect on the health and longevity of the people. The ground-nut is very rich in vitamin B complex, particularly in vitamin B<sub>1</sub>, Nicotinic acid and riboflavin, which are the most important factors. Mr. Kincaid, a missionary worker in a remote village of Kolhapur, testified that the children of his school have thrived on a cake made of clean hand-picked ground-nut. The villagers have overcome their



prejudices and use it as a daily addition of 1/2 - 1/5 portion to their usual cereals. Diabetics particularly have been thankful for the increased bread ration it enables them to enjoy. Children enjoy bread made from flour mixed with ground-nut flour, many adults prefer it with a little salt. Ground-nut flour can also be used for pastry and sweetmeats.

The controlled price of commercial ground-nut is Rs. 75 per ton. Edible ground-nut will be more costly. But Dr. Simeons opines that even if the price is higher than the commercial product, it will still be well below the cost of the common cereals.

From the manufacturer's point of view too, the switchover to edible cake will not dislocate either the oil or the ground-nut market.

"India is estimated to produce about 1½ million tons of ground-nut. Thus 7 lakhs of tons of the finest food can be made available from this crop." The protein value would be equivalent to 3500 crores of eggs or 1000 crores of seers of milk or 350 lakhs of sheep. The annual loss of starch, fat, minerals and vitamins is in addition and all due to the wrong use of this valuable nut."

New Delhi, 24-6-'46

A. K.

### DR. LOHIA'S CHALLENGE

(By M. K. Gandhi)

It would appear from newspaper reports that Dr. Lohia went to Goa at the invitation of Goans and was served with an order to refrain from making speeches. According to Dr. Lohia's statement, for 188 years now, the people of Goa have been robbed of the right to hold meetings and form organizations. Naturally he defied the order. He has thereby rendered a service to the cause of civil liberty and especially to the Goans. The little Portuguese Settlement which merely exists on the sufferance of the British Government can ill afford to ape its bad manners. In Free India Goa cannot be allowed to exist as a separate entity in opposition to the laws of the free State. Without a shot being fired, the people of Goa will be able to claim and receive the rights of citizenship of the free State. The present Portuguese Government will no longer be able to rely upon the protection of British arms to isolate and keep under subjection the inhabitants of Goa against their will. I would venture to advise the Portuguese Government of Goa to recognize the signs of the times and come to honourable terms with its inhabitants rather than function on any treaty that might exist between them and the British Government.

To the inhabitants of Goa I will say that they should shed fear of the Portuguese Government as the people of other parts of India have shed fear of the mighty British Government and assert their fundamental right of civil liberty and all it means. The differences of religion among the inhabitants of Goa should be no bar to common civil life. Religion is for each individual, himself or herself, to live. It should never become a bone of contention or quarrel between religious sects.

New Delhi, 26-6-'46

### MAN'S INHUMANITY TO MAN

A glaring instance of hide-bound prejudice and the use of law to uphold "man's inhumanity to man" has recently been reported in the Press. The following from the *Hindu* of the 10th June, will speak for itself.

"Citing a recent criminal case in which two Madura Harijans were sentenced to four months' rigorous imprisonment for an act which was likely 'to wound the feelings of others', Mr. A. Vaidyanatha Iyer, M. L. A. in a communication to the Press, draws the attention of the public to 'the cruel suffering which the Harijans have to bear by reason of untouchability'.

"Mr. Vaidyanatha Iyer says: 'A Madura Harijan who lost his eldest child cremated the body in the Madura Municipal burning ghat in a shed which is said to be set apart for caste Hindus instead of in the one reserved for Harijans. The Harijan's plea was that he did not know of any such reservation, that it was drizzling, and that he thought the former place was better. No caste Hindu raised any objection nor was there any proof that anyone's feelings were wounded. The incident came to the notice of the Madura Police who prosecuted the father of the child and another near relation on the ground that such an act was likely to wound the feelings of others because the Harijans were untouchables. The Second Class Magistrate convicted the accused and sentenced them to four months' rigorous imprisonment. On appeal the City Magistrate confirmed the conviction and sentence, though it was argued that the Madras Civil Disabilities Removal Act of 1938 had laid down that Harijans or Untouchables should not be prevented from having access to any regular institution maintained by a local authority and that Courts should not recognize any custom or usage which sought to impose civil disabilities on Harijans.

"Mr. Vaidyanath Iyer adds that he has brought this case to the notice of the Madras ministry."

The first thing for the Madras ministry, in this case of inhumanity, is to remit the sentences under its powers of clemency and then, if further legal proceedings are permissible, to have the convictions set aside by the High Court at the instance of the Crown.

New Delhi, 23-6-'46

PYARELAL

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# HARIJAN

Editor: PYARELAL

VOL. X, No. 23

AHMEDABAD — SUNDAY, JULY 14, 1946

TWO ANNAS

## 'ALL ABOUT BHANDARS'

(By M. K. Gandhi)

An article under the above caption appeared in the *Khadi Patrika* of 3rd June. As it is important I give it in full below:

"It is our intention to make rapid changes in the running of our 'bhandars'. In spite of the condition of yarn currency attaching to the sales of Khadi, Bombay people have not yet taken to spinning. Most of the yarn given in exchange for cloth is bought. From the 1st of July, we shall give only Rs. 2 worth of Khadi for one hank and, as a result, the sales of Khadi will go down. One of the main reasons for Khadi sales is that mill cloth is rationed. Many persons who ordinarily wear mill cloth are almost forced, as it were, to buy Khadi. We take a statement from every customer as to whether the yarn given in is self-spun or spun by a member of the family or staff. But we have regretfully to admit that many customers do not appreciate their responsibility in the matter of making accurate statements. This irresponsible attitude is not in the best interests of Khadi. Khadi-production aims at self-sufficiency of village India. Other provinces will, therefore, now provide less and less cloth to our bhandars. The use of the words 'sale of Khadi' is really inconsistent with the ideal. In the circumstances it is imperative for us to make timely changes in the running of bhandars. From July 1st we are closing two branches in Matunga and Dadar. For the last three months we have been giving training in Matunga in all the processes of Khadi. In Dadar, there was some sale of Khadi too, but these activities must now come to an end. In Girgaum, in the Khadi Printing Shop, the A. I. S. A. was running a training centre too. This shop will now be handed back to the trustees of the Khadi Printing Shop who will continue to give instruction in all the processes of Khadi as well as arrange for some sales.

"The reduction of work involves dispensing with the services of fifteen workers.

"Ever since the new policy came into vogue, Gandhiji has been saying that the make-up of the bhandars must be changed. In order to, fall into line we arranged facilities for teaching and weaving in some places but such outward changes have not connoted the real change. We felt that a change in our mental outlook is what was most needed. Therefore, examination of workers and such other reforms came into force.

"Nevertheless all the changes mentioned above have not enabled us to gain our object. At the time when customers looked upon Khadi as being in the fashion, bhandars were purely commercial depots. Today the bhandar desires to bring about a change in the mentality of the Khadi wearer. It no longer desires to remain a sales depot. It desires to become a centre for imparting knowledge in all the processes of Khadi manufacture. It desires to become a centre of attraction for weavers and other craftsmen. To this end we must continue undeterred to bring about the necessary changes and ~~for this~~ <sup>by this</sup> change the outlook of Bombay Khadi wearers. Then only will bhandars reflect the reality. We expect the customers of Bombay to remain loyal to us in our endeavour."

Readers will note that the success of the purpose, as expressed in the article, rests on the faith, intelligence and capability of the workers.

Bombay, 6-7-'46

(From *Harijanbandhu*)

## WEEKLY LETTER

### A NEW SUPERSTITION?

"Am I propagating a new variety of superstition?" asked Gandhiji in the course of one of his recent prayer discourses at Poona. "God is not a person. He is the all-pervading, all-powerful spirit. Anyone who bears Him in his heart has accession of a marvellous force of energy comparable in its results to physical forces like steam or electricity, but much more subtle." *Ramanama* was not like black magic. It had to be taken with all that it symbolized. He likened it to a mathematical formula which sums up in brief the results of endless research and experimentation. Mere mechanical repetition of *Ramanama* could not give strength. For that, one had to understand and live up to the conditions attaching to its recitation. To take God's name one must live a Godly life.

### A PORTENT

South African Satyagraha is a sign and a portent. As Pandit Jawaharlalji remarked the other day in the A. I. C. C. meeting, it may be that the future of India is even now being decided by the struggle of the Indians overseas, particularly in South Africa. Lynch law has already claimed its first victim. Commenting on the doings of the White hooligans who were said to have beaten to death an Indian, whom they mistook for a Satyagrahi, Gandhiji remarked, "It is a sad event. Nevertheless, I feel happy. A Satyagrahi must always be ready to die with a smile on his



face without retaliation and without rancour in his heart. Some people have come to have a wrong notion that Satyagraha means only jail going, perhaps facing lathi blows and nothing more. Such Satyagraha cannot bring Independence. To win Independence you have to learn the art of dying without killing."

Indians in South Africa are a mere handful in the midst of the overwhelming majority of the Whites and the Negroes. The Whites in the intoxication of power had not only enacted a barbarous measure but had taken the law in their own hands. The excuse trotted out for that infamous measure was that it was necessary for saving the White civilization from being swamped by the rising tide of colour. "I venture to submit," remarked Gandhiji commenting on this, "that a civilization which needs such barbarous legislation for its protection is a contradiction in terms. The Indians are fighting for their honour. The land in South Africa does not belong to the Whites. Land belongs to one who labours on it. I would not shed a single tear if all the Satyagrahis in South Africa are wiped out. Thereby they will not only bring deliverance to themselves but point the way to the Negroes and vindicate the honour of India. I am proud of them and so should be you." His object in speaking to them, he continued, was not to move them to tears or to incite them to anger and vituperation against the Whites. Rather they should pray to God to guide the Whites aright and grant strength and courage to their brethren to remain steadfast to the end.

#### SOME HIGHLIGHTS

The way in which the courage and renunciation of the Satyagrahis is rising to the occasion would make the heart of an Indian dilate with pride. Dr. Goonam, a woman passive resister, was sentenced to six months' imprisonment with hard labour. The trying magistrate reduced her sentence by four months. She objected to it saying that she wanted no favour on the score of her sex. Her offence, if it could be so called, was the same as that of men Satyagrahis. But the magistrate would not listen to her objection. Young Sorabjee who was recently here as the head of the South African Delegation has also gone to prison. A worthy son of a worthy father, the late Parsi Rustomji, he distinguished himself by his unusual courage even as a young lad of sixteen in the course of the Satyagraha movement which was conducted by Gandhiji in South Africa. A mounted White man threatened to overrun the passive resisters. Sorabjee held the reins of the horse and told the horseman that he could not frighten the Satyagrahis into submission by such tactics. His pluck averted an ugly situation.

It is gratifying too to find that there is at least one White man in South Africa, Rev. Scott of Johannesburg whose Christian conscience has revolted against the inequity of the colour bar and the ill-treatment to which the passive resisters are being subjected there. As a protest against it he has joined the ranks of the passive resisters and has gone

to the only fit place, in the words of Thoreau, for a just man under an unjust government, namely prison. "It is no small thing," remarked Gandhiji, in paying him a glowing tribute, "for a White man to identify himself with the coloured people in South Africa. If the Satyagrahis remain firm and non-violent till the end, all will be well with them."

"The South African struggle may appear to be insignificant today," remarked Gandhiji in the A.I.C.C. meeting at Bombay, "but it is charged with momentous consequences. Satyagraha is today being tried in the land of its birth. The success of a handful of Indians mostly descendants of indentured labourers had excited the jealousy of the Whites of South Africa. And they are now subjecting them to unspeakable indignities. They are sought to be segregated into ghettos and further humiliated by being offered an inferior franchise. That all this should happen under the imprimatur of Field Marshal Smuts fills me with shame and humiliation. Our sins have a strange way of coming home to roost. We turned a portion of ourselves into *pariahs* and today the Whites of South Africa are doing the same to our compatriots there. Let us purge ourselves of this curse and bless the heroic struggle of our brethren in South Africa. They do not need our monetary help. But they need all our sympathy and moral support."

#### THE MOTE AND THE BEAM

Even while he was uttering these words in the A. I. C. C., his mind was filled with what he had seen and observed on the day before in the Harijan chawl from which he had driven to the A. I. C. C. meeting. Owing to rainy weather the prayer gathering was held in the Labour Welfare Hall that was built by the Congress Ministry in 1941. At the end of the prayer on the 6th, he asked how many Harijans were present in the hall. Not a hand went up. It was a great disappointment for him. He had come to live in Harijan quarters because he had become a *bhangi*. But not to talk of *bhangis*, there was no Harijan there. "I blame you and not those who are absent," he said addressing the gathering. "The reason for their absence is that the so-called caste Hindus have kept down the so-called untouchables for ages and that too in the name of religion. This hall is meant for the use of the Harijans. Non-Harijans can come only by grace. Let those who come here make it a point of bringing with them at least one Harijan each." If they befriended the Harijans, he told them, untouchability would disappear in the twinkling of an eye. But he was grieved to find that they had not really done so. There were Harijan barristers and lawyers. Even today they could not live in the bungalows on Malabar Hill, for instance. There was a Harijan volunteer girl working in his camp. She was studying in B. A. There was nothing in her appearance to distinguish her from other girls. Why should the knowledge that she was a Harijan cause her to be treated differently from other girls?



He was embarrassed, he observed, by the care and attention that was being lavished on him by those who were in charge of the management of the camp. Yet he was finding his stay very taxing. There was so much dirt and filth about the place. Dr. Dinshah had told him that the lavatories were so dirty that he could not use them. There were so many flies about the place that he was afraid lest he (Gandhiji) might catch some infection and get ill. He himself, said Gandhiji, was not worried about that. Although the two doctors with him looked after him, he did not depend on anyone except God. The Almighty would take care of his health. But his companions did not have that faith in God. He was anxious for them. He himself had been given a good, clean lavatory but all the party could not use it. He had been thinking that if he came here again he should stay there all by himself. He was occupying the house of the overseer. He had been wondering why the overseer and those in charge of the sanitation, i. e. the Municipality and the P. W. D. put up with all that filth. What was the use of his coming and staying there if it could not induce them to make the place healthy and hygienic?

#### A CASE FOR SATYAGRAHA

He followed up his remarks by deputing Drs. Sushila Nayyar and Dinshah Mehta to inspect the chawls and report. The filth and dirt which they saw there was unbearable. In several places the drain pipes were choked with the result that they did not function properly. In other places the drains overhead were leaking to the discomfort of those living below. There was grave scarcity of water. Except for two or three hours during the day, the taps were not running. Flushes did not work. No wonder the latrines were indescribably filthy. It was a wonder to him, remarked Gandhiji, that under such conditions anyone could use them at all. The arrangements for collection and disposal of refuse were most unsatisfactory. The open refuse bins emitted a foul smell. The overcrowding in the chawls was appalling. "It is the duty of those in authority to improve the sanitary conditions of the chawls," remarked Gandhiji in the last prayer gathering which he addressed in Bombay. "And if the Municipality fails in its duty, it is the right of the people to demand redress even by offering Satyagraha. The owners of the chawls and the overseers and the managing staff should all do their utmost to rectify the wrong."

He felt ashamed and hurt to find too that his residence was being guarded by the police day and night. It should be a matter of shame for them also, he said. They should tell the police that he was their charge and that they would look after him. The Harijans had a cause to feel bitter against "Caste Hindus" and therefore against him too, though he had become a *bhangi*. If they were angry with him and visited their anger upon him, he would feel no rancour against them. He had been doing his utmost to explain to the "Caste Hindus" and to the Harijans their respective duties. The Harijans

however could well feel bitter against him because with all his efforts, untouchability had not disappeared root and branch. When he came again, he concluded, he would expect to find cleanliness all round and not merely in his rooms. And he would like to do without police protection. He had no desire to become a burden to them, the dwellers in the chawls.

#### FALLEN FROM GRACE

Ahmedabad, the pride of Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel, where he had rendered yeoman service to the Municipality has fallen from grace. Hindus and Muslims had lived always together in peace there. But madness seems to have seized its inhabitants of late. It has distressed Gandhiji beyond measure. "Hindus and Muslims of Ahmedabad seem to be dehumanized," he observed in one of his prayer addresses. All the deaths in Ahmedabad were not the result of stabbing and the like. It was a shame that they should have to take the help of the police and the military to prevent them from flying at each other's throats. If one side ceased to retaliate, the riots would not go on. What did it matter if even a few lakhs were killed in the right manner out of the 40 crores of India? If they could learn the lesson of dying without killing, India, which was celebrated in legend and history as *Karmabhoomi* — the land of duty — would become a virtual Eden — the image of the Kingdom of Heaven on earth.

He had told Shri Morarji Desai, the Home Minister, who had seen him before proceeding to Ahmedabad that he must go to meet the flames under the sole protection of God, not that of the police or the military. If need be, he must perish in the flames in the attempt to quell them as the late Shri Ganesh Shankar Vidyarthi had done. Shri Morarji had invited the representatives of Muslims, Hindus and others to a joint conference at Ahmedabad and had told them that he was prepared to withdraw the police and the military if they so desired. But the latter had unanimously replied that they were not prepared to take the risk. The result was that the police and the military remained there. "The disturbances have been arrested," remarked Gandhiji in agony "but the peace that is seen in Ahmedabad today is the peace of the grave. It is not something of which one can be proud. How I wish that both the Hindus and the Muslims would combine and dispense with the help of the police and the military for purposes of keeping them from mutual fight." He warned them that so long as they depended upon the help of the police and the military for maintaining law and order, real independence must remain mere idle talk.

Poona, 9-7-'46

PYARELAL

By M. K. Gandhi

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# HARIJAN

July 14

1946

## THE REAL DANGER

(By M. K. Gandhi)

As during the two days of the session of the A. I. C. C. in Bombay I listened to some of the spirited speeches against the Working Committee's resolution submitted to the A. I. C. C. for ratification, I could not subscribe to the dangers portrayed by the opposition. No confirmed Satyagrahi is dismayed by the dangers, seen or unseen, from his opponent's side. What he must fear, as every army must, is the danger from within.

Opposition, however eloquent it may be, will defeat its purpose if it is not well informed, balanced and well-based and does not promise action and result more attractive than what is opposed. Let the opposition at the late meeting answer.

My purpose here is merely to point out the danger from within. The first in importance is laziness of mind and body. This comes out of the smug satisfaction that Congressmen having suffered imprisonment have nothing more to do to win freedom and that a grateful organization should reward their service by giving them first preference in the matter of elections and offices. And so, there is an unseemly and vulgar competition for gaining what are described as prize posts. Here there is a double fallacy. Nothing should be considered a prize in the Congress dictionary and imprisonment is its own reward. It is the preliminary examination of a Satyagrahi. Its goal is the slaughter house even as that of the spotless lamb. Jail going is, instead, being used as a passport to every office accessible to the Congress. Hence there is every prospect of Satyagrahi imprisonment becoming a degrading occupation like that of professional thieves and robbers. No wonder my friends of the underground variety avoid imprisonment as being comparatively a bed of roses. This is a pointer to the pass the Congress is coming to.

The friends who opposed the resolution on the British Cabinet Delegation's proposal do not seem to know what they are aiming at. Is independence to be bought at the price of a bloody revolution as was, say, the French, the Soviet or even the English? Then frank and honest work has yet to begin. They have to tread a very dangerous path in openly making the Congress such an institution. My argument has no force if subterranean activity is a doctrine of universal application and is now being employed against the Congress. The very thought repels me. I should hope for the sake of my own sanity that the thought is devoid of any foundation. Then it is clearly their duty to say to the Congressmen that now that there is Congress Raj or Representative Raj, whether of the Congress variety or the Muslim League, they must set about reforming

it in detail and not condemn it *in toto*. Total non-violent non-cooperation has no place in popular Raj, whatever its level may be.

Who is responsible for the mad orgy in Madura and, coming nearer in Ahmedabad? It will be folly to attribute everything evil to British machinations. This senseless theory will perpetuate foreign domination, not necessarily British. The British will go in any case. They want to go in an orderly manner as is evident to me from the State Paper or they will go and leave India to her own fate assuming that India has forsaken the path of non-violence with the certain result of a combined intervention of an assortment of armed powers. Let the opposition say to Congressmen what kind of independence they want. Congressmen in general certainly do not know the kind of independence they want. They recite the formula almost parrot-like. Or, their notion of independence is fully expressed in saying that they mean by it Congress Raj. And they won't be wrong. They have left further thinking to the Working Committee—a most undemocratic way. In true democracy every man and woman is taught to think for himself or herself. How this real revolution can be brought about I do not know except that every reform like charity must begin at home.

If then the Constituent Assembly fizzles out, it will not be because the British are wicked every time. It will be because we are fools or, shall I say, even wicked? Whether we are fools or wicked or both, I am quite clear that we must look for danger from within, not fear the danger from without. The first corrodes the soul, the second polishes.

Bombay, 9-7-'46

## SUCCESS OF THE NEW TEAM

(By M. K. Gandhi)

The success of the new team depends as much upon the manner in which it carries out the work as upon the manners of the old. If new team breaks with the old, it is bound to fail even like a son who repudiates the inheritance left by his father. It is also bound to fail if those who have retired do not help their successors in every possible way. They were selected by Maulana Saheb not in order to give them importance but by reason of their services in their own provinces. A servant does not cease to be a servant when he gives place to another for the sake of accession of new blood or some other similar and cogent reason. It is to be hoped therefore that the old ones will give the new ones the full benefit of their experience.

The most striking change is the retirement of the General Secretary who had held the post for an unbroken period of ten years. His help will be required constantly by his successors who are new to the office and new members of the Working Committee. I know they will get all the help they need from Acharya Kripalani. It is a good thing a woman fills for the first time in the history of the Congress the post of General Secretary. Shrimati Mridula Sarabhai was one of the pupils of Acharya Kripalani in the initial stage of the career of the



Gujarat Vidyapith. Therefore, she will have full guidance from her *acharya* in the difficult task to which she is called.

To those to whom the change may give cause for misgivings, I would say that Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru himself makes a fine and stable bridge between the old and the new, assisted as he will be by some of the ablest members of the old team. No one need therefore entertain any fear of a break with the past. A healthy circulation is as necessary for the body politic as for the individual. Poona, 10-7-'46

### A. I. C. C. RESOLUTION

The All India Congress Committee has passed the following resolution about Satyagraha in South Africa at its meeting held at Bombay, on 6-7-'46.

This meeting of the All India Congress Committee, while it is grieved that it has become imperative for the Indian settlers in South Africa once more to offer Satyagraha in the land of its birth against a law imposing on them a colour bar more sinister than the one against which they had put up a brave fight between 1907 and 1914, congratulates the handful of Satyagrahis on their brave but unequal action against heavy odds.

This meeting is pleased to find that doctors and such other men and women are at the head of the gallant struggle and that among them are represented Parsis, Christians, Muslims and Hindus. This meeting is also pleased to find that a few White men like Rev. Scott have thrown in their lot with the Satyagrahis. This meeting condemns the action of some White men in resorting to the barbarous method known as Lynch Law to terrorize the Satyagrahis into submission to the humiliating legislation.

It is worthy of note that a large part of the Indians are born and bred up in South Africa and to whom India exists only in their imagination. These colonial-born Indians have adopted European manners and customs and English has become like their mother-tongue.

This meeting notes with great satisfaction that the Indian resisters are keeping their struggle free from violence in any shape or form and conducting it with dignity and without rancour and that they are suffering not only for their self-respect but for the honour of India and by their heroic resistance have set a noble example to all the exploited peoples of the earth. This meeting assures the Indian settlers in South Africa, India's full support in this unequal struggle and is firmly of opinion that persistence in it is bound to crown their effort with success.

This meeting appeals to his Excellency the Viceroy to use all his endeavour and to ensure the support of the British Government in aid of this struggle and invites the European residents of India to raise their voice in protest against White hooliganism and anti-Asiatic and anti-colour legislation in South Africa.

### DISTINCTION BETWEEN HINDI AND URDU

(By M. K. Gandhi)

I know Shri Ram Naresh Tripathi fairly well. He came to see me in Mussooree one day and I was quite prepared for him to reproach me for my propaganda in favour of Hindustani. Contrary to my expectation he did exactly the opposite. He was of opinion that if I cherished the hope that true Hindustani would be born of a proper mixture of Hindi and Urdu, I would derive greater help in this endeavour from Urdu, provided I realized that, just as in the case of present-day Hindi and Urdu, wrong attempts are being made to clothe the language in an unnatural garb, the former in Sanskritic and the latter in Arabic or Persian. Similarly, it will be wrong to mutilate original Urdu. With this proviso there was every hope of Hindustani becoming a live language. I asked him to give me some concrete examples so that I might clearly understand his meaning. There was a pause and apparently it seemed difficult for him to do so on the spur of the moment. I, therefore, requested him to send me something illustrative in writing. The result is the following:

"You asked me to show you in writing the difference in mould between Hindi and Urdu. But it seems to me that this can really best be defined by intimate experience. No number of stray examples would answer the purpose. I have, however, one suggestion to offer. If you were to ask two knowledgeable persons to translate a paragraph of any of your English articles in 'Harijan' in simple Hindi and simple Urdu, you would at once see the difference.

"The day I met you I gave it as my opinion that Urdu is better-finished than Hindi. I give an example to prove my point. Take the following sentence from a wellknown Hindi writer: समझने न जानेसे बकराहटसी लगने लगती है. In Urdu *लगती* cannot be used here. *बकराहट होती है* or *बकराहट पैदा होती है* would be correct. No good writer of Urdu is ever guilty of wrong phraseology. If he did, he would meet with strong criticism. There is no sustained movement to reform Hindi. As a matter of fact the best help that could be rendered today to Hindi would be to publish select Urdu books and writings in the Nagari script. In this way, the untiring efforts of Urdu poets and prose writers on behalf of the reform and finish of the Urdu language over the last several centuries could easily be taken advantage of by lovers of Hindi and I believe that Hindustani would be the natural outcome of such an experiment."

This letter deserves consideration. I love both the languages but I am not versed in either of them. My knowledge of Hindi is very average. I have not had the time to study it from books. My son Devadas who went years ago at my instance and with my blessings to spread Hindi in Madras knows it far better than I do. I can name many others who have similarly outpaced me. My knowledge of Urdu is much less even than my Hindi. I have known the Hindi script since childhood. I have had



to work to learn the Urdu and lack of knowledge of the language makes reading a difficult task. Nor can I write the script with ease. My knowledge being as limited as it is, I can claim nothing but a completely impartial love for both Hindi and Urdu. Therefore, it is my hope that if God wills, scholars in both the languages will contribute to make my venture a success. For this reason I have published Shri Tripathi's letter so that he and others may be inspired to help me in my endeavour.

Other lovers of Hindi have also told me that the same energy has not been expended on Hindi as on Urdu. If people will realize that there should be no ugly rivalry between the two, that both are, at root, one, that crores speak Hindustani and that it is the duty of scholars and poets to concentrate on it for the sake of the masses, I have no doubt that we shall progress by leaps and bounds.

Poona, 3-7-'46

(From *Harijansevak*)

### A MEDICAL WITNESS

Sometime back I mentioned a case reported by a patient of his successful effort to introduce spinning as occupational therapy among the fellow patients in the orthopaedic ward of a hospital in South India. Even more striking is the experience related by Dr. Narendranath Ghosh, a retired Civil Surgeon from Bengal. He writes :

"As a Civil Surgeon I had opportunity to work in Bengal Jails. In Comilla Jail I introduced spinning as a psycho-therapeutic measure for curing lunacy with the help of a lady visitor of the Jail who used to spin yarn herself regularly. She is a highly educated lady, American by birth and Indian by marriage. I can't mention her name, as I have not got her permission to do so. We were very fortunate in curing the first case of lunacy within a period of three months. I got more extensive opportunity in Midnapore Central Jail to try this measure amongst lunatics. In this jail there were 35 to 40 cases in different stages in 1942-43 of different kinds. Those who were in a quiescent stage took to spinning on the charkha straightaway and their mental condition improved appreciably and proportionately with the gradual improvement of the quality of their own handiwork. The finer the yarn produced or spun by a particular lunatic, the better the result. It was rather a difficult and slow process amongst the violent lunatics, although once initiated into the art, the final result was even better than amongst others. In the case of violent lunatics, some medication was required to bring them to a fairly quiescent stage before they could be made to begin with the teasing of cotton first, followed by spinning on the *takli* and finally on the charkha. Most of the charkhas were made inside the jail with the help and guidance of some D. I. convicts and security prisoners who had brought their own charkhas with them. In this connection I must also state that I was able to grow long staple cotton in the jail garden in Midnapore and Krishnagar with the help of the economic botanist and the local agricultural

officer who kindly selected the suitable plots, supplied good seeds and some bone manure. My idea was to make the prisoners learn all the stages and processes from cultivation of cotton to weaving of cloth. As a matter of fact the yarn produced by the lunatics was woven into cloth on handlooms and utilized for making for them *kurtas* and pants out of their own yarn, which again was a source of great pleasure to them and consequently of mental improvement also. But I did not succeed in making the lunatics themselves to cultivate or help in cultivation of cotton and in weaving cloth from their own yarn and tailoring it into *kurtas* and *dhoties* or pants for themselves. This would have been and was really my ideal. I shall be grateful if this important industry, from cultivation of cotton to weaving and tailoring etc., is taken up not only in the different mental hospitals but also in all the jails of India. It is quite possible to grow cotton in most of the jails of Bengal also. As most of the inmates of all jails are more or less mental cases, I don't see why this really useful art and industry should not be taken up by all jails for all kinds of persons as a major jail industry and all jail kit for prisoners themselves and also for *chowkidars* and police force of the local governments should not be manufactured out of the cotton and yarn produced in the jail by the prisoners. This will not merely be a measure for cure of mental cases but also a measure of moral improvement of all or a majority of the prisoners and a highly economic measure for any government."

The experiment can be safely recommended *mutatis mutandis* for trial in jails by the popular ministries in the provinces. Its success, however, will depend on suitable persons being available for conducting it. They must not only have mastered the science of Khadi but they must be inspired by humanitarian sentiment. In jails the tendency is to give to every kind of occupation penal, one may say even vindictive, flavour. That would be fatal to success. It may also be noted that the spinning has to be done solely by the hand and noiselessly. Its rhythm and soothing effect must never be lost sight of in this connection.

Bombay, 8-7-'46

PYARELAL

### Gurudev's Agony

The following from Gurudev, the original manuscript in English of which Shri Amiya Chakravarty is the proud possessor, is apt in our famine-stricken land today:

"The famished, the homeless  
raise their hands towards heaven,  
and utter the name of God.  
Their call will never be in vain  
in the land where God's response  
comes through the heart of man  
in heroic service and love."

Will the English knowing for whom this was written in the Poet's agony sufficiently understand the call for 'heroic service and love'?

Poona, 30-6-'46

A. K.



## USEFUL SUGGESTION

Dr. M. A. Chadray sends the following:

The method now in vogue of first grinding grain into flour and then making *chapatis* or bread out of the flour is wasteful. The defects of the method are as follows:

In the process of grinding in mills at a high speed, the properties of protein, starch, cellulose and mineral salts are altered while the fat content is lost, as in the process the flour gets hot. In the preparation of dough of workable consistency, the flour absorbs only half the quantity of water to its own weight, with the result that starch does not swell and in turn makes the food only partly nutritive due to insufficient proportion of water. In the East, the dough is rolled into shapes called *chapatis* and *puris* which can either be cooked or baked, but are fried with ghee or oils, and in so doing only a skin forms on both the sides. In the West, the dough is mixed with yeast for the preparation of spongy bread, but this too is neither fully nutritive nor hygienic as claimed, as the vitamins together with other constituents of food value are destroyed by the alcoholic fermentation due to the action of the yeast. Hence, the food prepared with this age-old process is neither tasteful nor hygienic, nor fully nutritive nor easily digestible and even for partial digestion needs a large quantity of digestive fluids, like bile, gastric juice and pancreatic juice. That a sick person cannot be fed with this food is a popular recognition of this fact. Even biscuits cannot be said to be better. Again, not being easily digestible, it causes constipation, the cause of all disease. Besides, before the preparation of dough, the flour is sieved to remove bran, which means a loss. The flour being liable to easy attack by microscopic germs, it cannot be stored for a long time and considerable loss occurs in transport and use, all of which make its use uneconomical.

All these defects can now be surmounted with the process developed after extensive experiments conducted with a view to increasing the nutritive value of cereals, particularly wheat, *bajri* and *jowar*, so that the food made out of these cereals can impart immense health.

According to this new process, a known quantity of wheat with about three and a half times water by volume, i. e. one pot of wheat and three and a half pots of water, or 1 lb. of wheat and 4 lb. of water, is hydrated by gradual boiling, with or without the addition of a teaspoonful of sugar or jaggery under low heat, keeping the lid on if an ordinary pot is used. Prior to heating, if wheat is steeped in water for about 12 to 18 hours, fuel will be saved. In case a pressure cooker is employed, the ratio of wheat and water should be one to one and three-quarter by weight. The proportion of water to be used varies according to the quality of wheat. In so cooking or boiling, about 2 lb. of water is removed by evaporation and starch, bran

and other constituents swell by absorbing water, and wheat become meaty. In this manner cooking or boiling should be continued till only a little water is left, which too will be absorbed by the wheat when it cools. Heating should neither be continued till water is completely evaporated, for then hydration will not be sufficient, nor should the water from the pot be thrown out, for if removed, it means a loss of soluble constituents of wheat. When wheat is cooked completely, which can be seen either from its swollen state or by pressing between the fingers to determine the softness, a little salt may be mixed with it to impart taste.

Wheat so cooked should then be masticated or ground to a paste, which can be accomplished with the aid of mincers, or by grinding on a *masala* stone, or pressing with two wooden pieces. With the use of pressure cooker, wheat inside will be digested to a pulpy dough of workable consistency. The paste so made can be made into shapes like *puris*, *chapatis* and biscuits by the known method, and fried with known fats or oils, for consumption.

In places like Bombay where at times grain cannot be had but only flour, one may first make a dough of the flour as usual when making *chapatis*, put the dough in a piece of cloth and hang it over a pot of boiling water till the dough gets completely cooked with the steam. *Chapatis* should then be made out of the cooked dough, following the usual process.

The advantage of this new food is that by it about fiftyfive per cent wheat is saved—forty per cent by the absorption of about one and three quarter times water, ten per cent by retaining bran, and five per cent by elimination of wastage. This means that a month's provision will last for two months. Actually, with this process, the volume of wheat increases to two and a half times, i. e. one pot on cooking becomes two and a half pots. This means that from a quantity of flour required to make four *chapatis* with the old process, ten *chapatis* can be made from the same weight of wheat with this process, without altering the thickness and size.

Besides, the food is more tasteful, hygienic, nutritive and easily digestible as the known and unknown constituents of food value are retained and evenly distributed. As such, its consumption will add a marked amount of weight. Moreover, being easily digestible, it can be fed even to sick persons. Also, the process will facilitate storage of wheat, *bajri*, *jowar* and like grains for a longer time without decay, and will save wastage in transport of flour. Moreover, it will dispense with flour mills.

Above all, this method will mean food for all. The adoption of this activated food in India will save every year about 8 to 12 million tons of wheat costing approximately Rs. 300 to 450 crores at the rate of Rs. 360 per ton and a similar quantity of valuable *bajri* and *jowar*. As such it will eliminate the present scarcity of cereals and will make the future bright for our famished people.



## LEFT-HANDED COMPLIMENT

(By M. K. Gandhi)

"I am writing this letter with a hope of getting proper and immediate response from you. Along with the whole of India I am well aware of your sweet will and affinity towards the *Mehetar* Community. Your "Harijan" has obliged us to a great extent by enabling us to see through your heart. Especially the recent "Harihans" have emphatically revealed your thoughts about the *Mehetar* Community.

"I now wish to reveal my interrogatory heart in order to be well nigh to your feelings towards us and to be definite about our position in the muddled and complicated Indian Political Field.

"By the time you will receive this letter it will be the last date of filling in nomination forms for the candidatures for the Constituent Assembly, which as it is learnt to be completed by the end of this month. Congress is proposing particular M. L. As and non-M. L. As for the same. It is believed that Scheduled Castes are also to be represented (adequately?). But is there any proposal from you or from Congress to elect adequate or at least some members from the *Mehetar* Community? Who, I am sure will discharge their duty of citizenship and pick up their legitimate share in the future constitution of Free India.

"2. Generous as you are towards us, May I assure myself and my community that *Mehetar* seats in the Constituent Assembly will not escape your notice.

"3. Who will be the components of the Advisory Board? Caste Hindus or Minorities including (?) the Scheduled Castes?

"4. Will the advice or proposals of the Advisory Board be binding to the Constituent Assembly? I think they will not. If so, what sense is there in appointing such a Board, which will be nonentity if the Constituent Assembly were not to pay heed to its advice. Is it not merely for the appeasement of the weak minorities?

"You might say you have been and will do every thing for us, but I wish to say 'let us be with you when everything for us is to be done. Let us be represented democratically."

"I strongly hope that my questions will be fully and satisfactorily answered by you with an obligation of immediate reply to me. I further humbly request you to be good enough to publish your answers in your weekly "Harijan".

"Hope to be excused for troubles."

I have reproduced the foregoing in order to show what havoc dangerous knowledge of English has produced in our society. This is a specimen not of English English nor yet of Indian English. It is bookish English which the writer probably half understands. I suggest to him that if he had written to me in the national language Hindustani or in his provincial language, it would not have evoked an unfavourable response from me.

The writer has paid me a left-handed compliment and that perhaps in order to teach me how

to express my love for the *bhangi*, otherwise known as *mehetar*. The writer is a discontented graduate, setting no example or a bad example to *bhangis*. He has isolated himself from them, though he professes to represent them.

He will certainly become my teacher if he will be a graduate in the art of being a good *bhangi*. I very much fear that he does no scavenging himself, he does not know what scientific scavenging is. If he became an expert in the art, his services would be wanted by all the cities of India. When *bhangis* really rise from the slumber of ages, they will successfully sweep the Augean stables everywhere and India will be a pattern of cleanliness and there will be in India no plague and other diseases which are the descendants of filth and dirt.

In the place where I am living in Bombay, my room and the adjoining lavatory are fairly clean, but I am in the midst of suffocating dirt. I have had no time to examine the tenements in front of me. They are as crowded and as dirty as the ones in the quarters where I was living in New Delhi. Had my graduate fellow *bhangi* been an expert in the art, I would, without doubt, have requisitioned his services as my guide and helper.

As it is, not only have I no use for him, I have to risk his displeasure by telling him that he should not think of the Constituent Assembly or other assemblies. Let those go to them who are wanted there. Instead of getting rid of the wretched caste mentality, he argues that any Harijan is not good enough for the purpose but preference should be given to the *mehetar* caste. I suggest to him that it is a harmful method, doing no good to anybody.

Anyway, he has expected the impossible from me. I am not made for these big institutions. I have never interested myself in the periodical assembly elections. I have not attended Working Committee meetings where they make these selections. What I know of the present selections is from the newspapers. I have become a *bhangi* because I think that that is the vocation of every Hindu; that the hoary institution of untouchability as we know it today in its ugly shape will die a decent death only when the Hindus will be casteless by becoming *bhangis* from the bottom of their hearts. That cannot be done by aspiring after the membership my correspondent has in view.

Bombay, 6-7-'46

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# HARIJAN

Editor: PYARELAL

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TWO ANNAS

## KASTURBA MEMORIAL TRUST

(By M. K. Gandhi)

It is alleged by some that the funds collected with much speed for this Trust are not being spent at the same pace and that the general public are unaware of how the money is being spent. Both allegations are baseless. While it is true that for the most part the donations to the Trust came from city-dwellers, it is equally true that the aim of the collectors was that the money should be spent in the villages for the benefit of village women and children. Those who do not see the Trust accounts cannot be aware of how the money is being spent. The critics are all city-dwellers. Villagers do not read newspapers nor do they care about how the money is spent. Those who live in the villages, where work, if any, is being done, see the same for themselves.

Any work done for city-dwellers is broadcast at once. A building or a statue is advertised in the papers. Its foundation stone is laid or its opening ceremony performed with due pomp and ceremony. Any such propaganda is impossible for village work among village women. The reader will today have to be content with knowing through whom Kasturba Trust work is being done. When work has been accomplished in even a few thousand out of the seven lakhs of our villages and the women and children of those areas have become ready to play their proper part in life, then will all become *ipso facto* aware of the work. Today it is enough for all to know that village midwives and nurses are being trained.

At the last meeting of the Executive Committee held recently in Poona, it was resolved to sanction money for the holding of training camps in several out of the twenty-one provinces. But since all the workers trained here will go to the villages, city-dwellers will know nothing about them unless they were to be paraded in the cities. And it is neither the intention of the Committee nor would it be proper to do so. Another point to be borne in mind is that the work undertaken is of a new kind and can only be tackled in new ways. Therefore, progress must perforce be slow just as was and is the case with Khadi and other village industries.

Scant attention has so far been and is even now being paid to the villages. Only when the town-dwellers become village-minded, will any real change take place. Until then neither newspapers nor city-folk will take much interest in village organizations.

Sometimes, quite rightly, the money collected for a specific purpose is expended on it straightaway. But in the case of the Kasturba Fund, it was necessary to proceed with caution. The donors may be numbered in thousands but the field in which the money is to be spent is 1900 miles long and the population to be served numbers 40 crores. How to work, where to commence, are matters that require thought and time. Workers could not be found at once and now time is required for their training too. Therefore, donors must have confidence that the Trustees will neither waste money nor will they lazily refuse to spend where it is necessary.

Ever since committees were formed in various centres, there have been complaints that these should have been composed solely of donors and that the latter have been taken in very small numbers. It does not follow that donors are always the best judges of how the money should be spent. Several persons may, for example, donate 10 crores for the construction of an artificial lake. What can they do without the help of engineers in whose hands the expenditure of money and work must naturally go? Many similar instances may be cited in support of the argument. In the first instance, provincial committees were formed in the manner described. Later, it was felt that it was woman's work and should be run, as far as possible, by women agents. By such a course of action it is sought to give the requisite confidence to women workers, so that the responsibility of running the organization eventually comes into their hands. All this must take time. There are difficulties to surmount. But it is hoped that ultimately the work will grow and women will be prepared to shoulder the burden. Results will show whether the experiment is worth-while.

Panchgani, 14-7-'46

(From Harijansevak)



## GANDHIJI'S SPEECH AT THE A. I. C. C.

The following is the text of Gandhiji's speech in the A. I. C. C. meeting held at Bombay on the 7th July.

"I have often said that man plans but the success of his plans depends not on him but on the will of the Providence which is the supreme arbiter of our destinies. Unlike you, I am not in my own right but on sufferance. I have been told that some of my previous remarks about the Cabinet Mission's proposals have caused a good deal of confusion in the public mind. As a Satyagrahi it is always my endeavour to speak the whole truth and nothing but the truth. I never have a wish to hide anything from you. I hate mental reservations. But language is at best an imperfect medium of expression. No man can fully express in words what he feels or thinks. Even seers and prophets of old have suffered under that disability.

### NO INCONSISTENCY

"I have not seen what has appeared in the papers about what I am supposed to have said regarding the Cabinet Mission's proposals. I cannot read all the newspapers myself. I content myself with perusing only what my co-workers and assistants may place before me. I hold that I have lost nothing thereby. Because of what has appeared in the press, an impression seems to have been created that I said one thing at Delhi and am saying something different now. I did say in one of my speeches at Delhi in regard to the Cabinet Mission's proposals that I saw darkness where I saw light before. That darkness has not yet lifted. If possible it has deepened. I could have asked the Working Committee to turn down the proposal about the Constituent Assembly if I could see my way clearly. You know my relations with the members of the Working Committee. Babu Rajendra Prasad might have been a High Court Judge, but he chose instead to act as my interpreter and clerk in Champaran. Then there is the Sardar. He has earned the nickname of being my yes-man. He does not mind it. He even flaunts it as a compliment. He is a stormy petrel. Once he used to dress and dine in the Western style. But ever since he decided to cast his lot with me my word has been law to him. But even he cannot see eye to eye with me in this matter. They both tell me that whereas on all previous occasions I was able to support my instinct with reason and satisfy their head as well as heart, this time I have failed to do so. I told them in reply that whilst my own heart was filled with misgivings, I could not adduce any reason for it or else I would have asked them to reject the proposals straightway. It was my duty to place my misgivings before them to put them on their guard. But they should examine what I had said in the cold light of reason and accept my viewpoint only if they were convinced of its correctness. Their decision, which they have arrived at after prolonged deliberations and which is almost unanimous, is before you. The members of the Working Committee are your faithful and tried servants. You should not lightly reject their resolution.

### DEFEATIST LOGIC

"I am willing to admit that the proposed Constituent Assembly is not the Parliament of the people. It has

many defects. But you are all seasoned and veteran fighters. A soldier is never afraid of danger. He revels in it. If there are shortcomings in the proposed Constituent Assembly, it is for you to get them removed. It should be a challenge to combat, not a ground for rejection. I am surprised that Shree Jaiprakash Narain said yesterday that it would be dangerous to participate in the proposed Constituent Assembly and therefore they should reject the Working Committee's resolution. I was not prepared to hear such defeatist language from the lips of a tried fighter like Jaiprakash. One line from a song composed by the late Choudhary Rambhaji Dutt has always made a very deep appeal to me. It means: 'We will never be defeated — nay, not even in death.' That is the spirit in which I expect you to approach this resolution. A Satyagrahi knows no defeat.

"Nor would I expect a Satyagrahi to say that whatever Englishmen do must be bad. The English are not necessarily bad. There are good men and bad men among the English people as among any other people. We ourselves are not free from defects. The English could not have risen to their present strength if they had not some good in them. They have come and exploited India, because we quarreled amongst ourselves and allowed ourselves to be exploited. In God's world unmixed evil never prospers. God rules even where Satan seems to hold sway, because the latter exists only on His sufferance. Some people say that Satyagraha is of no avail against a person who has no moral sense. I join issue with that. The stoniest heart must melt if we are true and have enough patience. A Satyagrahi lays down his life, but never gives up. That is the meaning of the 'Do or Die' slogan. That slogan does not mean 'Kill or be killed'. That would be wilful distortion and a travesty of its true meaning. The true meaning is that we must do our duty and die in the course of performing it if necessary. To die without killing is the badge of a Satyagrahi. If we had lived upto that ideal we would have won Swaraj by now. But our *ahimsa* was lame. It walked on crutches. Even so it has brought us to our present strength. I know what happened in 1942. You will perhaps say that it was sabotage and underground activity that had brought the country to its present strength. It cannot be denied that sabotage activity was carried on in the name of the Congress during the '42 struggle, but I deny *in toto* that the strength of the masses is due to that. Whatever strength the masses have is due entirely to *ahimsa* — however imperfect or defective its practice might have been. Our *ahimsa* was imperfect because we were imperfect, because it was presented to you by an imperfect being like myself. If then, even in the hands of imperfect instruments it could produce such brilliant results, what could it not achieve in the hands of a perfect Satyagrahi?

"In 1942 our people showed great valour. But greater valour will be required of us before our goal is reached. We have done much, but more remains to be done. For that we must have patience and humility and detachment. You should try to understand what



happened in 1942, the inner meaning of that struggle and the reason why it stopped short where it did.

#### NO BED OF ROSES

"This is no time for dalliance or ease. I told Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru that he must wear the crown of thorns for the sake of the nation and he has agreed. The Constituent Assembly is going to be no bed of roses for you but only a bed of thorns. You may not shirk it.

"That does not mean that everybody should want to go into it. Only those should go there who are especially fitted for the task by virtue of their legal training or special talent. It is not a prize to be sought as a reward for sacrifices, but a duty to be faced even like mounting the gallows or sacrifice of one's all at the altar of service.

"There is another reason why you should join the Constituent Assembly. If you asked me whether in the event of your rejecting the proposed Constituent Assembly or the Constituent Assembly failing to materialize, I would advise the people to launch civil disobedience, individual or mass, or undertake a fast myself, my reply is 'No'. I believe in walking alone. I came alone in this world, I have walked alone in the valley of the shadow of death and I shall quit alone when the time comes. I know I am quite capable of launching Satyagraha even if I am all alone. I have done so before. But this is no occasion for a fast or civil disobedience. I regard the Constituent Assembly as the substitute of Satyagraha. It is constructive Satyagraha.

#### DUTY OF A SATYAGRAHI

"The alternative is constructive work which you have never done justice to. If you had, you would have today got the Constituent Assembly of Jaiprakash's dream instead of the present one. But a Satyagrahi cannot wait or delay action till perfect conditions are forthcoming. He will act with whatever material is at hand, purge it of dross and convert it into pure gold. Whatever may be the defects in the State Document of May 16th, I have no doubt as to the honesty of those who have framed it. They know they have got to quit. They want to quit in an orderly manner. And to that end they have produced the Document they could under the circumstances. I refuse to believe that they came all the way from England to deceive us.

"A Polish lady has sent me a note just today saying that all Europeans had received secret instructions to leave India as the British army would no longer be able to give them adequate protection. If it is so, it is a sad reflection on us. We would be unworthy of the name of Satyagrahi if even an English child did not feel secure in our midst. Even if we succeed in driving out the Europeans by these tactics, something worse will take their place. Our Quit India resolution has no malice about it. It only means that we will no longer be exploited.

"Let us not be cowardly, but approach our task with confidence and courage. Let not the fear of being deceived dismay us. No one can deceive a Satyagrahi. Never mind the darkness that fills my mind. He will turn it into light."

## Notes

### When a Bullock Ghani is 'Furniture'

The Railway Priority Rules have been used to kill Village Industries. The interpretation of Priority Rules would be amusing, were not the results so tragic. For months on end we have not been able to send out equipment for village industries such as, paddy husking, floor grinding, oil pressing, beekeeping, paper-making etc., because of the ludicrous ideas railway servants have. As our implements are made of wood they refuse to classify them as "Machinery and its parts or tools". According to them machines etc. are always of steel or iron! So we cannot be placed under Class IV "Maintenance of Industrial Production". Hence the Ghani is classified as 'Civilian' furniture which is Class VI and even the Ghani models about 1 foot in height are so classified. Stone *chakkis* are classified as personal luggage!

It is interesting to note that cigarettes, liquors, empty bottles etc. get a priority over us as they are placed under Class V.

The clause provides for the transport of paper from "Mills" but the railways refused to book hand-made paper because we do not call ourselves a "Mill". The Chief Traffic Manager writes that "paper cuttings is considered as raw material, only when consigned to paper Mills" and that as we are not a "Mill", it cannot be booked for us as "raw materials". Can stupidity go further? Or is it a wanton attempt to destroy artisans? It would appear that these are not the whims of an ignorant "goods clerk" but the obduracy of highly placed officials at Headquarters.

### Controls and Controls

Government controls are the order of the day, but how many of these controllers understand the principles underlying controls? Controls are being used indiscriminately and their very purpose is being frustrated.

Where return on capital and profits are the objective of a business—as in centralized industries—price control checks accumulation of wealth and profiteering. On the other hand, in decentralized industries, where the return the artisan gets is a wage, such price controls will act as an obstacle on distribution of wealth. The latter is harmful in a poor country like ours.

Where certain articles are produced both by centralized methods and by decentralized processes, as in the case of cloth or oil, price controls may be applied to mill products but not to handmade goods, if we follow the fundamental principles of public finance and abstain from restricting the much desired distribution of wealth.

Many provincial governments are killing village industries by their indiscriminate use of price controls. Practically, they have brought the Ghani oil pressing to the brink of ruin by their control of prices of oil seeds, Ghani oil cakes and oils. Is it too much to expect that our representative governments will alter this state of affairs by an intelligent use of controls? J. C. K.



# HARIJAN

July 21

1946

## KHADI IN TOWNS

(By M. K. Gandhi)

"Your scheme for making village India self-sufficient in the matter of clothing has hit town lovers of Khadi pretty hard. You have gone so far as to say that sales bhandars may close as such and that townfolk may even revert to the use of mill cloth.

"While there is no quarrel with the new ideology and the consequent basic change in the running of bhandars nor with the introduction of a certain quota of yarn currency for purchasing Khadi, I would like you to solve the difficulty of town buyers who must use only Khadi."

Let the readers fully understand the so-called new plan for Khadi. I call it so-called, because what is being done is the logical step, if Khadi is to clothe the villagers, as from the very start it was intended to do. Khadi was never meant merely for the townspeople, it was never meant to bleed the villagers as they are being bled so that the townspeople can live. Khadi was from its inception conceived for the sake of reversing the order though never to bleed the townspeople. To reverse the order was to restore the natural relation. Towns there were before the British arrival. Things were bad enough then. Now they are much worse. Towns became cities. The latter, in spite of their Indian millionaires, lived mainly for the British masters. Khadi was to undo the grave mischief. Mill cloth is the symbol of the slavery of village India as Khadi is, or should be the symbol of its freedom, both economic and political. If it cannot be that, it is meaningless. Therefore, any healthy change undergone in the process of Khadi development is to be welcomed.

The defect in the existing development, good though it appeared, was not good enough for the villagers who spun yarn and wove Khadi but did not use it themselves. They neither understood nor appreciated the dignity and value that its use carried. The fault was not theirs. The workers themselves did not. The town dwellers had to wear Khadi and do the penance. They were willing to buy penance for a few extra rupees which they could easily spare and be called patriots in the bargain. But how could the Charkha Sangh (called in English All India Spinners' Association) belie its faith by ignoring the very foundation of Khadi? And so it is employing its resources to making the villagers Khadi-clad. It naturally begins with the spinners and weavers of hand-spun. If the move succeeds, as it is bound to, there will be after a time, ample Khadi in the city and town markets. Then the only cloth available in India will be Khadi. The A. I. S. A. is diligently

working at the consummation. If its researches show that Khadi has no such potentiality, it will have no hesitation in declaring its insolvency. Let the reader remember that it is a science which deals with the psychology of forty crores of people in the machine age. Thus considered, it is a tremendous problem, though at the same time fascinating and interesting. The very defeat, if defeat it is to be, will itself be no defeat. Let it be understood that it is not an attempt to go back to the dark ages when the Charkha was the symbol of the slavery of the masses. Surely it will be a triumph of human understanding, i. e. of the soul of India, when India makes an effort through the Charkha to break her bonds asunder. The free man eats the same bread as the slave. The one eats the bread of freedom, the other of slavery.

But if the city dwellers and the town dwellers would learn the glad tidings that the Charkha has to give, they will willingly employ their leisure time in carding, spinning, and weaving rather than in gambling on the race course or drinking and idling away their time in their clubs. And their children? Why—they could spin for their parents, for the liberty of India and have education of the type that India wants. I was in Rome and Mussolini's officials took pride in showing the graceful manoeuvres of the little children who were being taught all naval tricks. And do the English children do otherwise than learn in their mother tongue what England needs? It is only reserved for India to teach her children the foreigners' language and through it, such things as the latter need. Who but a foreigner has devised the education code?

The A. I. S. A. sales depots will be used for a better purpose than before. They will teach the people, who, I hope, will flock to them, all the tricks of spinning and weaving. If they do, they will have all the Khadi they need. Where there is a will, there is a way.

Lastly, let the reader know too that nowadays Khadi like mill cloth is scarce. Let me not go into the reason why.

Panchgani, 14-7-'46

## The Drink Evil

"The first glass makes a man animated, his vivacity great, his colour heightened. In this condition he is like the peacock. When the fumes of the liquor rise into his head, he is gay, leaps and gambols as an ape. Drunkenness takes possession of him, he is like a furious lion. When it is at its height he is like a swine; he falls and grovels on the ground, stretches himself out and goes to sleep."

The above is said to be an old Mohammedan account of the stages of intoxication. The drink habit is growing in the West. We copy much that is bad from them. Let us avoid this evil, which is alien to our soil.

Bombay, 7-7-'46

A. K.



## JEWES AND PALESTINE

(By M. K. Gandhi)

Hitherto I have refrained practically from saying anything public regarding the Jew-Arab controversy. I have done so for good reasons. That does not mean any want of interest in the question, but it does mean that I do not consider myself sufficiently equipped with knowledge for the purpose. For the same reason I have tried to evade many world events. Without airing my views on them, I have enough irons in the fire. But four lines of a newspaper column have done the trick and evoked a letter from a friend who has sent me a cutting which I would have missed but for the friend drawing my attention to it. It is true that I did say some such thing in the course of a long conversation with Mr. Louis Fischer on the subject. I do believe that the Jews have been cruelly wronged by the world. "Ghetto" is, so far as I am aware, the name given to Jewish locations in many parts of Europe. But for their heartless persecution, probably no question of return to Palestine would ever have arisen. The world should have been their home, if only for the sake of their distinguished contribution to it.

But, in my opinion, they have erred grievously in seeking to impose themselves on Palestine with the aid of America and Britain and now with the aid of naked terrorism. Their citizenship of the world should have and would have made them honoured guests of any country. Their thrift, their varied talent, their great industry should have made them welcome anywhere. It is a blot on the Christian world that they have been singled out, owing to a wrong reading of the New Testament, for prejudice against them. "If an individual Jew does a wrong, the whole Jewish world is to blame for it." If an individual Jew like Einstein makes a great discovery or another composes unsurpassable music, the merit goes to the authors and not to the community to which they belong.

No wonder that my sympathy goes out to the Jews in their unenviably sad plight. But one would have thought, adversity would teach them lessons of peace. Why should they depend upon American money or British arms for forcing themselves on an unwelcome land? Why should they resort to terrorism to make good their forcible landing in Palestine? If they were to adopt the matchless weapon of non-violence whose use their best prophets have taught and which Jesus the Jew who gladly wore the crown of thorns bequeathed to a groaning world, their case would be the world's, and I have no doubt that among the many things that the Jews have given to the world, this would be the best and the brightest. It is twice blessed. It will make them happy and rich in the true sense of the word and it will be a soothing balm to the aching world.

Panchgani, 14-7-'46

[Note: The following are the four lines referred to in the foregoing: "Gandhi also discussed the Palestine problem. 'The Jews have a good case', he affirmed. But he hoped the Arabs too would not be wronged."]

## QUESTION BOX

(By M. K. Gandhi)

### PRAYER

Q. Is it possible during prayers, for thousands who assemble at your prayer gatherings, to concentrate their minds on anything whatever?

A. I can only answer yes. For, if I did not believe in mass prayer, I should cease to hold public prayers. My experience confirms my belief. Success depends upon the purity of the leader and the faith of the audience. I know instances in which the audience had faith and the leader was an impostor. Such cases will continue to happen. But truth like the sun shines in the midst of the darkness of untruth. The result in my case will be known probably after my death.

A wag asks three questions in this matter. One requiring an answer, runs: "Is not political education infinitely superior to the religious?" In my opinion, political education is nothing worth, if it is not backed by a sound grounding in religion by which is not meant sectional or sectarian belief. Man without religion is man without roots. Therefore, religion is the basis on which all life structure has to be erected, if life is to be real.

### THIEVING

Q. What is the employer to do when an employee of his is addicted to stealing and is not amenable to correction whether it is by way of entreaty or the cane?

A. It may well be that the others too are addicts though they may not be found out. Observation would show that we are all thieves, the difference being that most of us are tolerant towards ourselves and intolerant towards those that are found out and are not of the ordinary run. What is a man, if he is not a thief, who openly charges as much as he can for the goods he sells? If the reply be that the buyer is a willing dupe, it begs the question. In reality the buyer is helpless rather than willing. The stealing referred to is one of the symptoms of a deep-seated disease of society. It is symptomatic of the eternal strife between the monied few and the many paupers. Therefore, my advice to the employer will be to remove all temptations in the way of the thief, to treat him as if he was his own brother and, when he refuses to yield to any treatment, however humanitarian it may be, to ask him to go his way. Let the employer always ask himself whether he would treat his own brother in the same way at the given stage.

Panchgani, 14-7-'46

By M. K. Gandhi

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## WEEKLY LETTER

Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru made a pregnant remark in the course of his A. I. C. C. speech. He was making an impassioned plea for regarding the questions facing the house not in a spirit of narrow isolationism but in the larger context of world events. The world had gone topsy turvy, ancient landmarks had disappeared, time-honoured ideals had crumbled or been given the go by. But India was still holding fast to her fundamentals. As an independent country, they would soon have to take their due share in shaping world affairs. What contribution would India make to the solution of the world's problems? What would be her guiding principles then? "That is what you should keep in mind" he said, "in shaping your present policy. Ours is a big country. On whatever side she throws in her weight, it will affect the current of world's history."

## THE SOUTH AFRICAN STRUGGLE

Gandhiji's first utterance at Poona on his return from the A. I. C. C. provided, as it were, an apt commentary on Pandit Jawaharlal's remarks. His theme was world significance of the South African Satyagraha. South African Satyagraha is fast becoming the question of the questions. It has become the focus of attention of the Negroes who, disarmed, helpless and groaning under the tyranny of the White usurpation, have begun to see in it a symbol and promise of their own deliverance. They have decided to join the ranks of Indian passive resisters. The South African struggle has thus opened a window on Independent India's future mission in respect of the oppressed people of the world. To realize its full significance it is necessary to know a little of its historical background. Indian emigrants first went to South Africa as '*girmilias*'—indentured labourers in or about 1840. The Whitemen could not get the Negroes to work for them. So they took labour from India under the indenture system. It was a form of semi-slavery, the difference being that whilst a slave was bound for life, the indentured labourer was bound for five years according to the terms of the indenture. In the wake of these labourers went the Indian traders, Haji Saheb Abubaker Ahmed Zaveri of Porbandar being the first. Then there were small traders from Kathiawad, Memons from Surat and Patidars from Bardoli, who went there and made a living, some as merchants and as hawkers and pedlars. This was in and after 1882. They helped to develop South Africa and made some money. Their children entered the professions, became doctors and lawyers. It was these people, remarked Gandhiji, who were fighting in South Africa today and their fight was not so much for themselves as for Indian honour. "I know what is taking place there because in a way I belong to South Africa, having passed 20 years of the best part of my life there. It was there that Satyagraha was born. The West is passing through a purgatory today. The vanquished lie prostrate at the feet of the victors. But those who have won the war have found that they are no more victors than those who have lost it. Yet it is not in the world war No. II that the Western civilization will have met its grave. It is being dug in South Africa. The White civilization in South Africa looks black in contrast with the coloured or the Asiatic

civilization which is comparatively white. If our people remain steadfast and non-violent till the end, I have not a shadow of a doubt that their heroic struggle will drive the last nail in the coffin of Western civilization which is being found out in its true colours in South Africa.

## FIELD MARSHAL SMUTS' APOLOGIA

"The Whites in South Africa are becoming like brutes. Eastern and Western cultures are pitted against each other. And what a contrast they present! The Whites have enacted savage laws to force the Indians to live in ghettos. Field Marshal Smuts is a great philosopher. He calls me his friend. He has nothing to say against Asiatic culture. But he has to take measures to safeguard the White civilization. He told me that he did not look down upon coloured people. The fact that Mrs. Subbarayan, when she went to England for studies stayed in Field Marshal Smuts' house supports that statement. But, said the Field Marshal, in spite of the absence of prejudice, he was bound to protect Western culture in South Africa and he hoped that an understanding man that I was, I would appreciate it."

Gandhiji failed to understand how a culture or civilization worth the name could require legal protection. The Indians were resisting the ghetto law in a civil, i. e. non-violent and therefore civilized way. They welcomed the penalty for the breach of a law which could not be morally defended. But the White hooligans too were breaking their own laws. Theirs was criminal disobedience. It was a matter of pride for India that the children of indentured labourers and traders—many of them descendants of Harijans—were proving themselves such brave Satyagrahis. As against this, the Whites were resorting to lynch law. "After all," remarked Gandhiji, "civil resistance had its birth in Asia. Jesus was an Asiatic. If he was reborn and went to South Africa today and lived there, he would have to live in a ghetto."

He hoped that as in 1914 Field Marshal Smuts would at long last realize that he could not persecute the Indians in South Africa for ever and come to an honourable settlement with them when he had tried them through and through. A committee of White men had been formed in South Africa to express sympathy with and identify themselves with the cause of the Indian passive resisters there. There was something of that kind in his time also. But this time it seemed to be on a bigger scale. "If this becomes extensive and the hooliganism stopped and anti-Asiatic laws are repealed, there is hope of a blending of Eastern and Western cultures. Otherwise South Africa may prove to be the grave of Western civilization."

## KHADI AT THE CROSSROADS

Gandhiji's four days' stay at Poona on return from the A. I. C. C. was taken up by the meeting of the A. I. S. A. and the Board of Trustees of the Kasturba Memorial Trust respectively.

Thanks to a quarter of a century's start, India need not feel helpless like some other war-battered countries to meet the problem of cloth shortage. She has an invaluable inheritance in her spinning tradition and widely diffused technical skill in textile processes which give her a position of special vantage. If she used her talents to the best advantage, not only could she help



herself but lend a helping hand to some of her neighbours too in meeting the cloth famine. In the course of an address before the prayer gathering on the 10th he outlined his plan which had been discussed by the Executive Committee of the A. I. S. A. in its meeting in the afternoon that day.

The A. I. S. A. had distributed 7 crores of rupees among the poor spinners and weavers. It had done a lot, but, compared to the task before it, its achievement appeared insignificant. It had to clothe the whole of India with Khadi as was the case once upon a time. Not only did India produce enough cloth for itself, she was also able to export it. There were no mills in India then. "I might say that every woman had her own mill in the charkha and the *takli*." Modern mills were evolved from the charkha. Man was a mixture of divine and devilish forces. The force behind the spinning wheel was divine, devoid of any trace of exploitation. The foreigners saw the hidden possibilities that were in it and by the application of steam and electricity created mills and used them as instruments of exploitation of the simple races of the earth. This represented the power of the devil. There were so many cloth mills in India and yet India was about almost naked. There was scarcity of cloth all over the world. The Prime Minister of the Indonesian Republic, Sultan Shariar, had informed Pandit Nehru that they had surplus rice which they would gladly send to India to help meet the threat of famine. In return they wanted no money but would be glad to have cloth as they were suffering from an acute cloth scarcity and could not manufacture it themselves. They had neither cloth mills nor had they taken to the wheel. Pandit Nehru had broached the matter with some mill owners who gladly gave quantities of cloth for despatch to Java. If, out of the 40 crores of India, even 20 crores in 7,00,000 villages took to spinning for 1 to 2 hours a day, they could not only clothe the population of the villages but even supply cloth for the cities. "The conviction dawned upon me even before I came to India that the revival of hand-spinning alone could restore India to its pristine glory. I have since compared the spinning wheel to the central sun round which the solar system of our village economy revolves. It provides the golden bridge between the rich and the poor. To meet the crisis that faces us, I have suggested that the popular ministries should make a declaration that the villagers must produce their own cloth. They would be supplied with cotton, which they must spin and make into cloth. This would enable them to have cloth almost free of cost as it were. The A. I. S. A. will have to work out a scheme and put it before the ministries. If the ministers realize that there is no other way to clothe the naked in India, the scheme would go ahead without any difficulty. Today the city-dwellers complain that they cannot get Khadi at the Khadi Bhandars, that they are required to make partial payment in yarn spun by themselves. If they understood the new spirit behind the Khadi drive, these complaints would disappear. There is nothing to prevent the city-dwellers from producing their own Khadi in the same way that the villagers are expected to do." e

#### KASTURBA TRUST

In the course of the same address he referred to the work of the Kasturba Trust which he characterized as being more difficult than that of the A. I. S. A. They had collected one and a quarter crores of rupees but the money had to be spent on the welfare of women and children in the villages. "Take for instance maternity work in the villages. The village midwives are ignorant and dirty. The village women are more hardy than city women. Still laws of nature cannot be defied. To teach clean methods to the village midwife is no easy job. It is a matter of adult education and everyone knows that adult education is a much harder task than the education of the children. I could spend away the one and a quarter crores today by raising one or two big hospitals of the city type. But that would not be rendering real service to women and children in the villages. I am not prepared to squander money. I know that the public feel that the work is progressing too slowly. But they must not lose patience. Work is going on slowly but surely. We are sailing on uncharted waters. We must proceed with caution."

#### CEYLON THE GOLDEN

Gandhiji's address at the farewell prayer gathering at Poona was devoted to describing the conditions of Indians in Ceylon. He had visited Ceylon years ago. If Kashmir with its snow-clad Himalayas was the diadem of Mother India, then Ceylon was the pendent of the necklace round her neck. It was rightly called as Ceylon—the Golden. Indians had played an important part in developing Ceylon. Now that the Ceylonese had got a sort of a constitution (there was nothing wonderful in it), they wanted to turn the Indians out of Ceylon. As in the case of South Africa, Indians went there as labourers. They worked under most difficult and unhealthy conditions. They had settled there. It was hard for them to be told to leave that country now. They wanted equal citizenship rights with the Ceylonese. The Ceylonese case was that the Indians could not ride two horses at one time. If they were Indians, they should return to India. If not, they should become Ceylonese nationals. There were others who were not prepared to have Indians in Ceylon under any circumstances. It was strange. Indians and Ceylonese were brothers. A narrow strip of water separated India from Ceylon. A strong man could swim across the channel. They were both coloured people. The Ceylonese followed Buddhism and the birth place of Buddhism was India. How could a quarrel between Indians and Ceylonese be tolerated? They all wished them to bridge the gulf and become one. The A. I. C. C. had passed a resolution appointing a committee of four to go into the matter. It consisted of the Congress President, Shri Rajagopalachari, Shri Ramachandran and Shri Aryanayakam. The Indian labourers in Ceylon had gone on a strike. The Congress had advised them to give it up. They did not wish to embarrass the Ceylonese. They wanted a brotherly settlement.

What was their duty in the matter? he asked them. They should all pray to God to show light to both. It was their duty to know how their brothers overseas were faring. That was why he had told them all about Indians in Ceylon.



## PANCHGANI AT LAST

Hope deferred has not made Gandhiji's heart sick so far as his annual visit to Panchgani is concerned. For, it is no pleasure trip to him but a duty which, he has realized, he owes to Brother Ass. He would have loved to be put up in the *dharmashala* or the *musafarkhana* for the poor which had been projected during his sojourn here last year. But although a suitable house has been purchased for the purpose, it needs reconditioning and would not be ready till the next season. After the ceaseless strain of activity for the last three months, he has come here once more to drink in the life-giving silence and the ozone-laden misty air blown from the green hills that engirdle this place. The public prayer is held as before in the Batha Girls' High School which is next-door to our residence. Gandhiji was touched too by the soulful and melodious songs sung at the prayer gatherings by the Parsi girls of the Batha School. Whether it was the theme of the song that moved him or whether it was due to the natural yearning of the soul for self-withdrawal and repose after an arduous spiritual Odyssey, his utterances at the prayer gatherings for the last two days have breathed a note of pensiveness, one might even say sadness.

"Or, is it that when human soul a journey long has had And returned unto itself it cannot but be sad?"

"In the song that has just been sung, the world has been aptly described as the valley of sorrow and suffering," he observed on the first day. "God alone enables us to brave it all. The poet, however, has proceeded to call the world an illusion and a dream. Joy or what men call happiness may be, as really is, a dream in a fleeting and transitory world, where everything is like a dissolving phantasmagoria. But we cannot dismiss the suffering of our fellow creatures as unreal and thereby provide a moral alibi for ourselves. Even dreams are true while they last and to the sufferer, his suffering is a grim reality. Anyway, whether the world be real or unreal, we have certain duties in life which must be faced, understood and duly performed while we are in this world."

The second day's discourse turned on the 'dignity of poverty'. In the song that had been sung it was said that God is the friend of the poor. Poverty, remarked Gandhiji, had a dignity in our country. The poor man was not ashamed of his poverty. He preferred his hut to the rich man's palace. He even took pride in it. Though poor in material goods, he was not poor in spirit. Contentment was his treasure. He might as well say to himself, "since we cannot all become rich and own palaces, let us at least pull down the palaces of the rich and bring them down to our level." That could bring no happiness or peace either to themselves or anyone else, and God would certainly be not the friend and helper of the poor of such description. Poverty, in the sense of inequality of material possessions was there in every part of the world. That was perhaps in a certain measure inevitable, for all men are not equal either in their talents or the measure of their needs. Even in America which was fabulously rich and where

Mammon has taken the place of God, there were many poor. Poet Malabari had come across some relatives of Shah Alam begging in the streets of Rangoon. He had written a beautiful poem about it which had sunk into his heart. The substance of it was that he alone is rich who has God for his friend and helper. In India there was a particular type of man who delighted in having as few needs as possible. He carried with him only a little flour and a pinch of salt and chillies tied in his napkin. He had a *lota* and a string to draw water from the well. He needed nothing else. He walked on foot covering 10-12 miles a day. He made the dough in his napkin, collected a few twigs to make a fire and baked his dough on the embers. It was called *bati*. He had tasted it and found it most delicious. The relish did not lie in the food but in the appetite, that honest toil and the contentment of the mind give. Such a man had God as his companion and friend and felt richer than any king or emperor. God was not the friend of those who inwardly coveted other's riches. Everyone could copy that example and enjoy ineffable peace and happiness himself and radiate it to others. On the other hand if one hankered after riches, one had to resort to exploitation, by whatever name it might be called. Even then the crores could not become millionaires. True happiness lay in contentment and companionship with God only.

Panchgani 15-7-'46

PYARELAL

## "A Dirty Habit"

A sister writes:

"For some years I have been trying to help people to understand the danger of spitting everywhere. The filth and the dirt is so bad on account of spitting and cleaning noses everywhere that one does not know where to begin. Even small boys, girls, educated men and women, apart from illiterate folk, spit on railway platforms, carriages, trams, outside shops, in corridors, outside their houses and everywhere. Our country is getting dirtier and dirtier and diseases are spreading all over. Will not volunteers come forward for spreading the message of cleanliness?"

Promiscuous spitting is a bad habit on which I have commented often enough. It is all part and parcel of the incredible ignorance that exists in our land among all classes of people in regard to the elementary laws of sanitation and hygiene. It is a habit which we must give up, if we would avoid certain diseases. My correspondent's suggestion is certainly commendable.

Panchgani, 14-7-'46

M. K. G.

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# HARIJAN

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TWO ANNAS

## CLOTH SHORTAGE

(By M. K. Gandhi)

Shri Manu Subedar who takes interest in Khadi and other village industries, sent me the following note some time ago. But I delayed publication in order that I might make some more effective use of it than giving it in 'Harijan'. I could not think of any. Hence this publication for the use, not only of all provincial governments but also of private individuals or organizations, in however limited the field may be.

Here is Shri Subedar's scheme :

"One bale of cotton should be given to every village collectively. The people of the village could spin this yarn. The yarn will be used either for doubling or as weft and cloth could be made.

"One bale would yield approximately 2,400 yards of cloth (or 1,800 according to count).

"If *charkhas* and *takkis* are wanted, they should be supplied by the State. (Manufacture should be organized in jails).

"The cloth, when ready, should be made available to the people of the village on a per head ration basis.

"If and when it is important to collect grain in those villages, where there is supposed to be a grain surplus in the hands of the farmers, the cloth should be substituted only for grain. In other cases, the people of the village should collect enough to pay for the value of the bale of cotton. In other words, for the price of cotton (which is in the first instance, advanced by Government), they would get cloth.

"While cloth shortage would be eased, cotton surplus would also be taken away and it will help the grower of cotton.

"As the village *Pancha* would have to take over the cotton bale and deal with the whole thing, the beginning would be made of :

- i) village industry,
- ii) joint and collective effort,
- iii) participation and labour contribution by the small and the big ones, and
- iv) elimination of the middleman.

"If the experiment were made in the first instance with twenty thousand villages of the Bombay Presidency, or even two thousand of them, the results would be seen in the course of the next six weeks.

"Government will have to lock up funds for the cotton at the rate of Rs. 225 per bale. Much of this money will return either in the form of grain or in the form of cash. But it will have incidentally marked the beginning of something which the villages can do for themselves.

"Assistance may have to be given where looms are not available, or where the yarn produced is not capable of being used both as warp and as weft. But these are details in organization, which could

be attended to by someone at the headquarters of every district.

"On return of price of bale by a village, a fresh bale should be sent to them by Government as an advance."

I may add that this is a variation upon the one suggested by me. In my opinion, the original is probably better. But I attach greater value to Shri Subedar's note because he has worked out the figures, suggested a beginning with a 'bale of cotton' and more specially because he as an economist has thought out his scheme independently of me. It will be easy enough to find flaws in every human scheme. Our business is to remove flaws if we know how or to make a beginning in spite of the flaws which we know but cannot mend. No reform is possible if we wait for perfection.

Panchgani, 27-7-'46

## AFTER FOUR YEARS

THE WANDERING JEW

Louis Fischer, whose quest for lost causes has turned him into a veritable Wandering Jew, sought out Gandhiji at Panchgani during the week. Espousing worthy causes is with him a biological necessity. He regards the Indian problem as being central to world peace. In 1942, in the course of a famous interview, he helped Gandhiji to discover and remedy a vital gap in the Quit India proposal. Now that India is once more at the cross-roads, he has again found his occupation here.

He had seen Gandhiji at Poona before the A. I. C. C. meeting. But it did not give him full satisfaction. "Somehow I could not come to grips with the main problem as I could in 1942," he remarked afterwards. He had his revenge this time during a series of three interviews that he had with Gandhiji on two successive days. The talks covered a variety of subjects from the proposed Constituent Assembly, the Hindu-Muslim problem and untouchability to socialism, non-violence and the ethics of retaliatory measures against South Africa, interspersed with lighter intervals in which quick thrust and parry served to relieve the strain of more serious discussions.

### A SOVEREIGN BODY?

Fischer opened with a broadside on the question of the Constituent Assembly. "I would go into the Constituent Assembly and use it for a different purpose — as a battle-field — and declare it to be a sovereign body. What do you say to this?"

"It is no use declaring somebody else's creation a sovereign body," said Gandhiji. "After all, it is a British creation. A body does not become a sovereign body by merely asserting it. To become sovereign, you have to behave in a sovereign way. Three tailors of Tooley Street in Johannesburg declared that they were a sovereign body. It ended in nothing. It was just a farce.

"I do not consider the proposed Constituent Assembly to be non-revolutionary. I have said, and I



mean it cent percent, that the proposed Constituent Assembly is an effective substitute for civil disobedience of the constructive type. Whilst I have the greatest admiration for the self-denial and spirit of sacrifice of our Socialist friends, I have never concealed the sharp difference between their method and mine. They frankly believe in violence and all that is in its bosom. I believe in non-violence through and through."

#### SOCIALIST WITH A DIFFERENCE

That turned the discussion on to socialism. "You are a socialist and so are they," interpolated Fischer.

Gandhiji: "I am, they are not. I was a socialist before many of them were born. I carried conviction to a rabid socialist in Johannesburg, but that is neither here nor there. My claim will live when their socialism is dead."

"What do you mean by *your* socialism?"

"My socialism means 'even unto this last'. I do not want to rise on the ashes of the blind, the deaf and the dumb. In their socialism, probably these have no place. Their one aim is material progress. For instance, America aims at having a car for every citizen. I do not. I want freedom for full expression of my personality. I must be free to build a staircase to Sirius if I want to. That does not mean that I want to do any such thing. Under the other socialism, there is no individual freedom. You own nothing, not even your body."

"Yes, but there are variations. My socialism in its modified form means that the State does not own everything. It does in Russia. There you certainly do not own your body even. You may be arrested at any time, though you may have committed no crime. They may send you wherever they like."

"Does not under your socialism, the State own your children and educate them in any way it likes?"

"All States do that. America does it."

"Then America is not very different from Russia."

"You really object to dictatorship."

"But socialism is dictatorship or else arm-chair philosophy. I call myself a communist also."

"O, don't. It is terrible for you to call yourself a communist. I want what you want, what Jaiprakash and the Socialists want: a free world. But the Communists don't. They want a system which enslaves the body and the mind."

"Would you say that of Marx?"

"The Communists have corrupted the Marxist teaching to suit their purpose."

"What about Lenin?"

"Lenin started it. Stalin has since completed it. When the Communists come to you, they want to get into the Congress and control the Congress and use it for their own ends."

"So do the Socialists. My communism is not very different from socialism. It is a harmonious blending of the two. Communism, as I have understood it, is a natural corollary of socialism."

"Yes, you are right. There was a time when the two could not be distinguished. But today Socialists are very different from Communists."

"You mean to say, you do not want communism of Stalin's type."

"But the Indian Communists want communism of the Stalin type in India and want to use your name for that purpose."

"They won't succeed."

#### PLAYING THE GAME

Fischer reverted to the Constituent Assembly. "So you will not yourself go into the Constituent Assembly, but will support it."

"Yes. But it is wrong to say we are going to the Constituent Assembly to seize power. Though it is not a sovereign body, it is as near it as possible."

"Pandit Jawaharlal said that if the British tried to impose a treaty in terms of the State Paper of May 16, he will tear it up."

"Yes, an imposed treaty from outside."

"And he said, Congress will not go into groupings."

"Yes. I have said the same thing — unless the Federal Court or some other court gives a different decision. As I see it, much can come out of the Constituent Assembly, if the British will play the game."

#### CIVIL DISOBEDIENCE

"You say and I believe they will," remarked Fischer. "But supposing they do not, won't you then offer your form of protest?"

"Not until the conditions are favourable. But it is wrong to speculate about the future, still more so to anticipate failure. If we take care of the present, the future will take care of itself."

#### UNTOUCHABILITY AND THE COMMUNAL QUESTION

They then passed on to the question of Hindu-Muslim unity. Gandhiji startled his visitor by proffering the remark that the Hindu-Muslim question, in the final analysis, was an offshoot of the untouchability question. "When Hinduism is perfectly reformed and purged of the last trace of untouchability, there will be no communal problem left."

"I have heard," remarked Fischer, "that though the Congress Harijans have won at the elections against non-Congress Harijans, they were able to do so only with the Hindu votes!"

"What was the joint election for, if not to enable the caste Hindus to make a selection from successful candidates at the primary elections?" replied Gandhiji. "No failed candidate at the primary elections can offer himself as a candidate at the joint elections. Moreover, it is not correct to say, as has been claimed, that in the majority of cases, the Congress Harijans won against the non-Congress candidates with the caste Hindu votes. In Madras the non-Congress Harijans were defeated almost to a man in the primary elections, wherever they contested them. In the majority of cases the Congress Harijans were returned unopposed."

"Some of them want separate electorates," remarked Fischer.

"Yes. But we have resisted it. By separate electorates they put themselves outside the pale of Hinduism and perpetuate the bar sinister."

"That is true. But, anyhow, they might say that Hindus have put them outside the pale."

"But today the Hindus are penitent."

"Are they adequately penitent?"

"I am sorry to say 'not yet'. If they were, there would be no untouchability and no communal problem as I have already said."

"Is there less social contact between the Hindus and Muslims," next asked Fischer.

"No, rather the contrary. But politically there is a bar, thanks to Lord Minto."



## ETHICS OF RECIPROCITY

After a little sword play Fischer changed over to another topic.

"Your young men are too Indo-centric," he said.

"That is only partly true. I won't say we have become international," replied Gandhiji, "but we have taken up forlorn causes, e. g. the cause of the exploited nations, because we are ourselves the chief exploited nation."

"The growing anti-White feeling here is bad," proceeded Gandhiji's interviewer. "In Taj Mahal Hotel they have put up a notice 'South Africans not admitted'. I do not like it. Your non-violence should make you more generous."

"That won't be non-violence. Today the White man rules in India. So, if Taj Mahal has the gumption to put up that notice, it is a feather in its cap."

Fischer's liberalism felt hurt. "That is what any nationalist will say. You must say something better," he remarked.

"Then I will be a nationalist for once," replied Gandhiji with firmness. "They have no right to be here if they do not deal with Indians on terms of equality."

"No right — yes," rejoined Fischer. "But you must give them more than their right. You must invite them."

"Yes, when I am the Viceroy."

"You mean the President of the Indian Republic."

"No. I will be quite content to be the Viceroy, a constitutional Viceroy, for the time being," said Gandhiji. "The first thing I will do, will be to vacate the Viceregal Lodge and give it to the Harijans. I will then invite the South African White visitors to my hut and say to them: 'You have ground my people to powder. But we won't copy you. We will give you more than you deserve. We won't lynch you as you do in South Africa,' and thus shame them into doing the right."

"There is so much anti-White feeling today," put in Fischer somewhat troubled in mind.

"Of course, I am opposed to that. It can do no good to anybody."

"The world is so divided. And there might be another war and that may be between the Coloured and the White races."

"Europe seems to be heading for another war. It is not sufficiently exhausted."

"Europe is terribly exhausted. But with the atom bomb human beings don't matter so much. A few scientists are enough. The next war will be carried on by pressing a few buttons. That is why colour war is so dangerous."

"Anything is better than cowardice. It is violence double distilled." And to illustrate his remark Gandhiji narrated the story of a Negro clergyman with a Herculean frame in South Africa saying "pardon me brother," when insulted by a White man, and sneaking into a coloured man's compartment. "That is not non-violence. It is a travesty of Jesus' teaching. It would have been more manly to retaliate."

"You are not afraid of what happens to you but what it may mean to others," replied Fischer, analysing the illustration adduced by Gandhiji. "It takes a great deal of irresponsibility to give vent to your feelings and slap the White man under the circumstances described by you. In India the situation is different. The White men are not so numerous here."

"You are mistaken," replied Gandhiji. "Why, one Englishman is killed and a whole village is razed to the ground as a reprisal. What vindictiveness!"

## A CONUNDRUM ANSWERED

That finished the first day's discussion. But some conundrums about Gandhiji's attitude in regard to the Constituent Assembly continued to trouble Fischer's mind and he reverted to them in the course of his discussion the next day.

"If the Working Committee had reacted to your 'groping in the dark' or as you have called it your instinct about the long-term proposals, they would have rejected them."

"Yes, but I did not let them," replied Gandhiji.

"You mean you did not insist."

"More than that. I prevented them from following my instinct unless they also felt likewise. It is no use conjecturing what would have happened. The fact however remains that Dr. Rajendra Prasad asked me: 'Does your instinct go so far that you would prevent us from accepting the long-term proposals, whether we understand you or not?' I said, 'No. Follow your reason since my own reason does not support my instinct. My instinct rebels against my reason. I have placed my misgivings before you as I want to be faithful to you. I myself have not followed my instinct unless my reason backed it.'"

"But you have said that you follow your instinct when it speaks to you on occasions as, for instance, you did before certain facts that you undertook."

"Yes, but even in these cases, before the fact began, my reason was able to back my instinct. My reason failed my instinct on the long-term proposals."

"Then, why did you inject your 'instinct' into the political situation?"

"Because I was loyal to my friends. I wanted to retain my faith in the *bona fides* of the Cabinet Mission. So I told the Cabinet Mission also about my misgivings. I said to myself, 'Supposing they meant ill, they would feel ashamed.'"

## A TESTAMENT OF FAITH

"You are strongly constitutionalist now. Is it for fear of the alternative — violence?" finally asked Fischer.

"No. If India is destined to go through a blood bath, it will do so. The thing I would fear is my own cowardice or dishonesty. I have neither. So I say, we must go in and work it out. If they are dishonest, they will be found out. The loss will not be ours but theirs."

"I think you are afraid of the spirit of violence. It is widespread. I wonder whether it has not captured the mood of the youth and you are aware of it, and you fear that mood."

"It has not captured the imagination of the country. I admit that it has captured the imagination of a section of the youth."

"It is a mood that has got to be combated."

"Yes. I am doing it in my own way. It is my implicit faith that it is a survival which will kill itself in time. It cannot live. It is so contrary to the spirit of India. But what is the use of talking? I believe in an inscrutable Providence which presides over our destinies — call it God or by any other name you like. All I contend is that it is not the fear of violence that makes me advise the country to go to the Constituent Assembly. It is repugnant in a non-violent attitude not to accept an honourable substitute for civil revolt."

Panchgani, 27-7-46

PYARELAL



# HARIJAN

August 4

1946

## 9TH AUGUST

(By M. K. Gandhi)

9th August like 6th April, 13th April and 26th January is a red letter day in the battle of India's freedom. They are days for universal hartal in terms of Satyagraha, i. e. truth and non-violence. But today, considered in terms of Satyagraha, hartals are generally taboo and more specially so, on the coming 9th of August. They would be fitting if hartals are designed to signalize violence.

Two powerful voices have spoken: one of the President of the Congress, Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru and the other of the President of the Socialist Group, Shri Jaiprakash Narain. It is delicate for me to give my opinion when these two ardent lovers of their country speak in opposition. But as a Satyagrahi I must overcome the delicacy.

Jaiprakash Narain is a Congressman. It is an open secret that he was offered a seat on the Working Committee by Panditji, naturally under the belief that whatever views he entertained, he was too honest to be disloyal to the Congress in action. If, now, in spite of knowing the Congress President's views to the contrary, he adheres to his own opinion given to the contrary, it would appear to be an act of disloyalty to the Congress. If, therefore, he has not withdrawn from the false position, I hope, recognizing the aptness of my remarks, he will see the wisdom of retracing his steps.

The Working Committee, rightly or wrongly, has taken a step. It has been endorsed by the A. I. C. C. It is up to every Congressman to support the Congress going to the Constituent Assembly, by creating the atmosphere suitable for work in that Assembly. This I say even to those who distrust good faith in everything the British do. They may warn the Congress of the dangers they sense. This they were allowed, by the President to have the fullest latitude to do at the recent A. I. C. C. meeting. Anything in excess of that opposition is surely harmful for the country. I would consider as such the hartal on the 9th August.

The Congress cannot have the cake and eat it too. It must be left free, it must be helped, to develop freedom through the 'Constituent Assembly'. It will not be a waste of effort to honestly work the 'Assembly' for the purpose. The Congress must not kill the hen before it has laid.

Then mark the atmosphere in the country. There is senseless disorder as in Ahmedabad and elsewhere. There is a parody of Satyagraha in the show staged by Dr. Ambedkar. In Satyagraha the cause has to be just and clear as well as the means. The cause is certainly vague, even if the means are non-violent. I doubt the wisdom of the sympathetic paralysis of all business in Bombay and elsewhere, assuming the postal strike to be good on merits. Many would seem to have left off all thinking.

They seem to take up any nostrum without caring to examine its merits. To call for hartal in this atmosphere is to invite disorder. No disorder is conducive to the growth of independence. Considered from every point of view, I hope that 9th August next will see no hartal in India, but a peaceful and dignified, orderly celebration of the day as advised by the President of the Congress.

Panchgani, 27-7-'46

[P. S.: Before the despatch of this to 'Harijan' I saw to my joy the withdrawal by Shri Jaiprakash of his proposal for hartal on 9th August. I am glad that the spirit of discipline has dictated this withdrawal. I might have cancelled the foregoing but for the important incidental observations in it.

M. K. G.]

## HEAL THYSELF

(By M. K. Gandhi)

A correspondent has written to me about the butchery that is going on in Ahmedabad. I give below the relevant portions from his letter.

"I wish to write to you about the means to be employed for putting down riots. About two months ago you wrote an article on Ahimsak Seva Dal—non-violent volunteer corps. But looking to the situation in the country, the suggestion will not do. Just as you have taught us how to fight against the British Government non-violently, you should go to some place of riot and show us the way of quelling riots in a non-violent manner by personal example. Supposing you were in Ahmedabad today and went out to quell the riots, any number of volunteers will join you. Two of our Congress workers Shri Vasantrao and Shri Rajabali went out in such a quest and fell a prey to the *goonda's* knife. They laid down their lives in the pursuit of an ideal and they deserve all praise. But no one else had the courage to follow in their footsteps. They have not the same self-confidence. If they had it, there would be no riots and, even if riots broke out, they would never assume the proportion and the form that the present day riots do. But the fact remains that such a state is merely an imaginary thing today.

"Your guidance and example can inspire many like me with courage and self-confidence. Once you have shown the way, the local workers will be able to follow it whenever occasion demands it. I feel that unless you set an example in action, your writings and utterances will not be of any use to the ordinary people, and even Congressmen, in organizing non-violent protection of society."

I like the suggestion mentioned above. People followed my advice and took to non-violent resistance against the British Government, because they wanted to offer some sort of resistance. But their non-violence, I must confess, was born of their helplessness. Therefore, it was the weapon of the weak. That is why, today we worship Netaji Subhas Chandra Bose and his Azad Hind Fauj. We forget that Netaji himself had told his soldiers that on going to India, they must follow the way of non-violence. This I have from the leaders of the I. N. A. But we have lost all sense of discrimination. To restore it, the I. N. A. men will have to live up to the ideal placed before them by Netaji. The work of those who believe in non-violence is very difficult in this atmosphere which is full of violence. But the



path of true non-violence requires much more courage than violence. We have not been able to give proof of such non-violence. We might look upon the action of Shri Ganesh Shankar Vidyarthi, Shri Vasant Rao and Shri Rajabali as examples of the non-violence of the brave. But when communal feelings run high, we are unable to demonstrate any effect of the sacrifices mentioned above. For that, many like Shri Ganesh Shankar Vidyarthi will have to lay down their lives. The fact that no one else in Ahmedabad has followed the example, set by Shri Vasant Rao and Shri Rajabali shows that we have not yet developed the spirit of sacrifice to the extent of laying down our lives in non-violent action. The correspondent has rightly said that under these circumstances, I should act myself whether others join me or not. It will be disgraceful on my part to sit at home and tell others to go and lay down their lives. Such a thing cannot be an indication of non-violence. I have never had the chance to test my non-violence in the face of communal riots. It might be argued that it was my cowardice which prevented me from seeking such a chance. Be that as it may, God willing, the chance will still come to me, and by throwing me in the fire, He will purify me and make the path of non-violence clear. No one should take it to mean that sacrifice of my life will arrest all violence. Several lives like mine, will have to be given if the terrible violence that has spread all over, is to stop and non-violence reign supreme in its place. The poet has sung :

"हरि नो मारग छे ब्रह्मनो, नहीं कायरदु काम जोने ।"

"The path of Truth is for the brave, never for the coward." The path of Truth is the path of non-violence.

Panchgani, 26-6-'46

(From *Harijansevak*)

### QUESTION BOX

(By M. K. Gandhi)

Q. I have been repeating *Ramanama* according to your advice and I am getting better. I must add that the medical treatment for tuberculosis is also being followed. You have said that eating little and eating the right food enables a man to be healthy and promotes longevity. I have observed the rule about eating sparingly for the last twentyfive years. Why should I have fallen a prey to tuberculosis? Would you say, I should attribute this ill luck to some evil deed in this life or in the previous one?

You say a man can live up to 125 years. Then why should God have carried away Mahadevbhai, who was so useful to you? He observed the rule of eating moderately and having a balanced diet and he served you as his God. Why did he fall a prey to high blood-pressure? Why did Ramakrishna Paramahansa, who is looked upon as an incarnation of God, fall a prey to cancer, as deadly a disease as tuberculosis? Why was he not able to fight it successfully?

A. I have been expounding the rules of maintaining health as I know them. Spare and balanced diet may not be the same for everybody. It can be best worked out by the individual for himself through proper reading and careful thought. But that does not mean that the individual cannot make mistakes or that his or her knowledge is

complete. That is why life has been called a laboratory. One should learn from the experience of others and go forward and if he is not successful, he should not blame others or even himself. One should not be too ready to find fault with the rule, but if after careful thought, one comes to the conclusion that a certain rule is wrong, he should be able to tell the right one and declare it.

So far as your own case is concerned, there may be several causes leading to your illness. Who can say whether you have made the right use of the five 'powers' in your own case? So long as I believe in the laws of nature as I know them, I have to say that you must have erred somewhere. As for Mahadev and Ramakrishna Paramahansa, to feel that even they must have erred somehow is fitter than to say that the laws are wrong. These rules are not my creation. They are the laws of nature according to experienced men. I believe them and try to live up to my belief. Man is after all an imperfect creature. How can he know the whole truth? That the allopathic doctors do not believe in them or, if they do, they do so in a different sense, does not impress me. What I have said, does not and should not in any way, detract from the greatness of the individuals mentioned.

Q. In 'Harijanbandhu' of 14-4-'46, you have said, "God is the Law and the Law-giver." I do not understand it. Laws are made by man and they keep on changing with time. For instance, Draupadi had five husbands and yet she was considered a *sati*. A woman who does that today will be considered immoral.

A. Law here means the law of God. Man interprets that law according to his understanding. For instance, the rotation of the earth is a law of nature. We are convinced of its correctness today. Yet before Galileo, astronomers believed differently. As for Draupadi, the Mahabharata in my opinion is an allegory and not history. Draupadi means the soul wedded to the five senses.

Q. God cannot be realized through reason. He has to be understood through faith. Do you believe in rebirth or is it that the Hindu seers propounded it, in order to enable people to appreciate the significance of good and evil deeds and derive some satisfaction from the belief?

A. God cannot be realized through the intellect. Intellect can lead one to a certain extent and no further. It is a matter of faith and experience derived from that faith. One might rely on the experience of one's betters or else be satisfied with nothing less than personal experience. Full faith does not feel the want of experience. The distinction between good and evil is not meant to act as a consolation. Nor is faith in God meant for that purpose. The seers have held that there is good and evil and there is rebirth. I think this theory of reincarnation is capable of being understood by the intellect.

Q. The Congress has been fighting the British Government non-violently. When Congressmen come into power, they shoot their own brothers



who have gone astray and are causing trouble. Is it right? If the Congressmen in power have not the courage to lay down their lives, while attempting to put down the riots non-violently, does it not show that with the exception of a few individuals like Ravishankar Maharaj and Sane Guruji, the non-violence of Congressmen in general is the non-violence of the weak?

A. The question of violence and non-violence raised by you is an old question. I have said a lot in this connection. If like many others, non-violence does not appeal to your heart, you should discard it. I shall not find fault with you for that, and, if others do, you should not care. The principle is this: "That which has been propounded by the *rishis*, practised by the sages and appeals to one's heart should be followed and put into practice." The question might arise as to what one is to do, when the thing that appeals to one's heart is contrary to what has been propounded by the *rishis* and practised by the sages. The answer is, that in such a case the individual can follow his bent at his own risk. Many reforms and new discoveries have been made in this way. Our Shankaracharyas have supported the institution of untouchability but both our head and heart consider it a blot on Hinduism. We do not care, if others consider our belief to be wrong.

Q. From 1920 you have described the British Government's officials as the arms of Ravana. Congress Governments use these arms. Again, the laws made by the British Government say that it is an offence to beat a prisoner arrested on suspicion or for an alleged offence, in order to extort a confession or to frighten him. During the 1942 revolution, many like me were severely beaten after arrest. Should not the Congress Governments hold an inquiry into the police excesses thus committed?

A. I have severely criticized the British Government and do so still. But that does not mean that all police officials under the British Government must necessarily be devil's disciples even when they come under Congress Governments. No one has questioned Congress Governments' right to inquire into the police excesses in 1942 or even before. But such rights are not always exercised. We all know that there are times when wisdom lies in not exercising certain rights. The Congress has in general followed the policy of not inquiring into the kind of excesses mentioned by you. You should know that often such offences are difficult to prove. I believe the right of inquiry has been exercised in cases, where the offence was beyond doubt. But my advice is, let us not sit in judgment on the Congress ministries. The belief that the Congress has acted wisely in accepting power should suffice.

Panchgani, 25-7-'46

(From *Harijanbandhu*)

Q. Whilst the food policy was in the hands of the Advisors to the Provincial Governors, there was no effective method of checking them. Things under the responsible Provincial Governments are different. Should it not be a matter of conscience

with Congress ministers to get their rations from common rationing depots and take not a grain more from any other source? This will immediately have a far-reaching effect. Today all controlling centres for food grains or cloth have become public dens for thieving and corruption. Equipped with the moral force that the ministers will gain by acting as suggested, they will be able to fight out the evil with success.

A. This question is a consolidation of many letters of complaints. I wholly agree with the suggestion made in the question. I fancy that the suggested practice is already being observed, not only by the ministers but all other Government servants. I do not know of any other source, save the black market for getting supplies of foodstuffs. Of course, no exhortation can take the place of persons in authority, setting a good example. If they took their rations from the same stock as is given to the public, the keepers of stores will soon find that it would not pay to dole out rotten stuff to the public. The practice of the ministers and other high-placed men in England, taking their things in common with the public is, I am told, the usual thing, as it should be.

Panchgani, 28-7-'46

### DECCAN CHIEFS IN CONFERENCE

The plan for the formation of a Deccan States' Union has been occupying the attention of the Chiefs of the Deccan States for sometime past. The Rajasaheb of Aundh with Appasaheb Pant, his Prime Minister, Shri Shankerrao Deo and some others saw Gandhiji in this connection recently during his stay at Panchgani. They invited Gandhiji to meet the Chiefs of the Deccan States later in an informal conference. Gandhiji consented. The meeting took place on Sunday, July 28, in the Servants of India Society's Library Hall. Among those present were the Rajas of Aundh, Phaltan, Bhore, Miraj (Senior), Jamkhandi and Kurundwad (Senior), Appasaheb Pant and Shri Satwalekar from Aundh, Shris Kore, Sathe and Thomre from Sangli, the Dewan of Bhore and representatives from Budhgaon and Ramdrug. Tatyasaheb N. C. Kelkar and Shankerrao Deo were also present on the occasion by special invitation.

### CORRECT ATTITUDE

Gandhiji being invited to address the distinguished gathering said that it was a great pleasure to him to be able to meet the Deccan Princes. He had read the papers and the note prepared for his edification by the Raja Saheb of Phaltan. He did not wish to speak on the papers. It was a good thing that the Princes were seriously thinking in terms of the whole of India, rather than of themselves and of the protection they had all these years thought they were getting from the Paramountcy of the British Power. Only a few years ago the Princes felt that they could not be safe except under the Paramountcy of the British Crown. It seemed to have dawned on most of them that that was not the correct attitude. This was but natural, for they were after all sons of the soil. He, the speaker, had



said openly on another occasion that the people of the States were slaves of slaves which the Princes were. They exercised their authority within their own principalities, so long as they were in the good books of the British Government. They were made or unmade at the pleasure of the British Crown. The Princes who had eyes opened to that vital fact were desirous of Indian Independence equally with the people of India. If then they felt that need, they did not want a union of the States but each State had first to form a union with its own people. Their people were the real power on whom they were to depend for their status. It became trusteeship if they became servants of their own people. If they took that attitude, they needed no terms with the Congress or with any other organization. The immediate need was an understanding with their own people.

He made bold to take up that attitude, though his might be a lonely voice. In his opinion, the Princes, as servants and trustees of their people, were worthy of their hire. It would then (but not before) be time to consider whether they and their people wanted a union among themselves. Such a union would be of a wholly different type from what they had conceived.

#### CREATION OF BRITISH RULERS

The speaker had a serious suspicion that the present proposal was a creation of the British Rulers, meaning the Political Agents. No blame need be imputed to them, if they advised such a union. They were brought up in no better tradition. They thought that when the British power was not in India, the Princes would fight amongst themselves. That fear was wholly unjustifiable. They honestly believed that before they retired, as they must within perhaps a few months, owing to force of circumstances, they should enable the Princes to consolidate their power by organizing them into a union.

It was his belief that if India was not merely to be independent of British control, but was to enjoy real freedom, which their country, by virtue of its ancient culture and tradition, was entitled to, it should grow from the bottom upwards, not be imposed from above. Otherwise, it would be a question of change of masters only. Instead of the English, there might be the Allied Powers or whosoever could impose himself on them. He did not look forward to that time. He looked forward to a time when India would come into her own because of her intrinsic merit. To that consummation the Princes could make a most handsome contribution.

If the Deccan Princes played their part and set a solid example, they would follow. For that purpose, the speaker repeated, they did not need the suggested union. If, on the other hand, at the back of their minds they had the idea that they would give the so-called responsible Government to the people to the ear and break it to the heart, then the proposed union would be a kind of military combination, after the manner of the European Powers. It would be used against the people despite their protestations. That Power

would be useless against a first-class military Power. They would be the first to lay down their arms before a venturesome aggressor. The British had taken good care not to give them training that might enable them to resist a Power like themselves by force of arms.

What applied to the States applied to the whole of India. She would have to serve a long period of tutelage at the feet of the Western nations before she could become a first-class military Power. A quarter of a century's effort that the Congress had spent in teaching the country non-violence would in that event have been utterly wasted. That was not a prospect to which he could look forward with equanimity.

He had suggested to the Raja Saheb of Aundh that the Princes should, with necessary changes, copy the constitution of Aundh, if they wanted to take their due share in building up of a free India. That constitution was designed for the people. He, the speaker, would have liked it to go much further in such matters as the amount and control of the privy purse, etc. But all that had to come naturally. It could not be imposed. The working of that constitution, he added, had made considerable progress — though not all the progress — which the Raja Saheb of Aundh, his Prime Minister or he, would have liked.

After Gandhiji had finished, a discussion followed and questions were asked. "Unless we unite, not a single State would have a survival value," remarked one of them and asked for Gandhiji's opinion on that point.

Gandhiji replied, "I am prepared to join issue on it though mine is perhaps a solitary voice. Every village has a survival value. Why should not your villages and hence you, the Princes, if you will be part of the people? Aundh, one of the smallest among you, has a greater survival value than many of you. It depends upon you. So far as the people are concerned, they are one with the rest of India already.

"In an article that I have written for the *Harijan*, you will see my picture of Independence. In that picture, the unit is the village community. The superstructure of Independence is not to be built on the village unit so that the top weighs down on and crushes the forty crores of people who constitute the base."

"But we shall ask our people to draw up their own constitution. The plan of union that we have drawn up, is only intended as a blue-print for their consideration," explained another.

"With the best intention in the world," replied Gandhiji, "you will not be able to do that. You are brought up in a different tradition. Therefore, I suggest you should see Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru about it, if you will really let the people judge. He is the proper person to deal with this question as the President of the States' People's Conference. You should not be afraid to go to the States' People's Conference with your suggestions. Let the Conference decide finally. Their present policy is



sound and not hostile to you, considered as servants and trustees of your people."

Q. "We are anxious to serve our mother country. But, we are so small that we cannot serve unless we merge into a union."

A. "Not in my picture of Independent India," replied Gandhiji. "A village unit as conceived by me is as strong as the strongest. My imaginary village consists of 1,000 souls. Such a unit can give a good account of itself, if it is well organized on a basis of self-sufficiency. Do not, therefore, think that, unless you have a big union, you will not be able to give a good account of yourself. If Princes are all of one mind and the interest of the people is first and themselves last, theirs will be a more solid union than the one now proposed."

#### VILLAGE REPUBLICS

Q. "What would you say if the States organized themselves on the basis of village republics first and then formed them into a union?"

A. "That would be excellent, but then you will speak a different language and proceed to work in an altogether different way."

Q. "But that may take a long time and, unless it is done by people outside first, our people will not take to it."

A. "I have said that the States can make the finest contribution to the building of India's future Independence, if they set the right example in their own territories. They as individual States being compact, homogenous units can well afford to make experiments in government. As it is, the Princes have taken the lead only in copying the bad points of the British system. They allow themselves to be led by the nose by their Ministers, whose administrative talent consists only in extorting money from their dumb, helpless subjects. By their tradition and training they are unfitted to do the job you have let them do. Therefore, my advice to you is: 'Make Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru your Chief Minister, if you are in earnest. Let him present you with an outline. He will naturally consult the people.'"

Q. "We want to organize ourselves into a union so that our people may have *swaraj* first without waiting for the labours of the Constituent Assembly to be finished, which may take time."

A. "That is the wrong way of going about the thing. If you are solicitous of the welfare of the people and want them to come into their own, give them the fullest liberty straightaway. By the time you have done that, the Constituent Assembly will have finished its work. The constitution which it will frame will not be for British India merely, but for the whole of India. That constitution will necessarily provide for a State union or unions, if it is desirable. You should assist them instead of anticipating them by forming your own union. Begin with the individual and you will not then go wrong."

"Are you," asked Tatyasaheb N. C. Kelkar, "opposed to the union, because it is suspect in your eyes?"

Gandhiji: "I began with that. But I do not oppose it on the ground of my suspicion. I suspect not you — A, B or C, but the circumstances. You do not know the danger and mischief you are running into. Hence my advice to you to hasten slowly."

Q. "If you stretch your argument, would it not apply equally to the district and taluq organization in the provinces? Why do not you ask for their dissolution?"

Gandhiji: "I am not asking you to dissolve anything that already exists — not that I am enamoured of the machinery of administration set up in British India. History tells us, it was devised mainly to facilitate revenue collection. You will follow it only at your cost. My point just now is: Do not do anything in the shape of unions. Leave that work to be done by the Constituent Assembly. As a Sanskrit poet says, जनारम्भो हि कार्याणां प्रथमं बुद्धिद्वयम् । (not to rush into new enterprises is the first mark of wisdom)."

Poona, 30-7-'46

PYARELAL

#### KHADI WORKERS

(By M. K. Gandhi)

I have two questions about Khadi workers before me. One of these is in connection with village workers. It is their duty to spend their time, mainly in spinning and making others spin. The new conception of Khadi work includes all the processes from the cultivation of cotton to the preparation of cloth. A worker who does all these intelligently and can mend the spinning wheel or the spindle, will never have any difficulty in earning his livelihood and teaching others to do so. Along with it, and without letting Khadi work suffer, the worker might treat simple ailments and attend to the sanitation of the village. Education has to be imparted through a craft. Therefore I do not consider it apart from Khadi work. Those who come for education must wear Khadi and get education through Khadi.

The second question is how long should a Khadi worker work as a paid worker. In my view he should be self-supporting from the beginning. If that is not possible, he should fix a time limit for himself. Five years is the utmost limit in my opinion. A worker who is to become self-supporting at the end of five years, should reduce his allowance progressively from year to year. He cannot expect to become self-supporting all of a sudden at the end of five years. It is an art which requires careful thought and management. He who really teaches others should certainly become self-supporting himself.

Panchgani, 28-7-'46

(From *Harijanbandhu*)

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# HARIJAN

Editor: PYARELAL

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TWO ANNAS

## WEEKLY LETTER

I

I. N. A. AGAIN

"Give us a chance. What would you have us do next?" said an I. N. A. Captain who came to see Gandhiji at Panchgani last week.

"You should give proof of the same courage and bravery here that you people displayed on the battle-field," replied Gandhiji. "There was perfect unity in the ranks of the I. N. A. Hindus, Muslims, Sikhs, Parsis, all communities were like blood brothers. There was no high or low, no Untouchable. Demonstrate that unity here. But I am afraid you will not be able to do so."

"Yes, we cannot, so long as the British power rules over us," replied the I. N. A. friend.

"Well, there is a lot that can be done in spite of the British. I have voluntarily become a *bhangi*. Who can prevent me from doing so? Shah Nawaz today is an Indian first and an Indian last. Nobody can prevent him from doing so. In fact, wherever he goes, he puts up with his Hindu friends. But even so, he realizes that he cannot achieve here what he could outside India. The I. N. A. men on returning to their homes take the complexion from their environment. They shed what they had learnt outside and it is difficult to prevent them from falling into the old ruts.

"Again, if you expect India to spend lakhs on you, that is not right. You should be like Garibaldi's soldiers who were promised by their leader only 'blood, toil and tears'. They tilled the land and supported themselves when not engaged on the battle-field. No one paid them a salary. You have been trained by the Britishers who spend lavishly. If you expect medals like Victoria Crosses and such prizes as the British can give, you will be disappointed. The starving millions of India cannot afford that. You have to become one with them and serve them. Today the man in the street is terrified of the military. The military man acts like a bully and there can be no appeal against his high-handedness. You have to prove that you are friends and servants of the people, so that they will not be awed by you."

"We befriend the people here as we did outside India," put in the I. N. A. Captain.

"That is good," replied Gandhiji. "But I tell you, your leaders are finding it difficult to control the I. N. A. men in India. There are petty jealousies and rivalries. 'If A can get something, why not I?'—that is the kind of feeling coming uppermost. It was different abroad. You had a very capable leader in Netaji. In spite of our sharp differences, I have always admired his burning patriotism, courage and resourcefulness."

"You have no idea of the deep love and admiration he had for you," interrupted the Captain. "What should

be our contribution in the next struggle for Independence?" he asked next.

"The struggle for Independence is going on today. It has never stopped," replied Gandhiji. "But, if my will prevails, it will be a non-violent struggle. The lesson of the last 25 years of training in non-violence, has gone home to the masses. They have realized that in non-violence they have a weapon which enables a child, a woman or even a decrepit old man to resist the mightiest government successfully. If your spirit is strong, mere lack of physical strength ceases to be a handicap. *Per contra* I have seen the Zulus in South Africa with Herculean bodies tremble before a White child. White soldiers could go into the Zulu kraals and shoot men, women and children sleeping in their beds. There was no resistance in the Zulu and the physical strength could not make up for it."

### A DEDICATION

On the 21st of July, Gandhiji had the satisfaction of witnessing the realization of one of his pet projects when Sheth Shantilal of Ahmedabad formally dedicated 'Satish Kunj' property for the use of the poor. Prime Minister Shri Balasaheb Kher and Ministers Shri Patil and Shri Tapase had specially come from Poona for the occasion. Speaking after the evening prayer, Gandhiji said that when he came to Panchgani under medical advice in 1944, after his release from detention, he found that there was no place where the poor and the destitute could put up, in order to take advantage of the beautiful climate. And what about the Harijans? He had received a long letter from one of them describing their woes. "It is all right so long as his identity is unknown. But the moment it is discovered, that he is a Harijan, he suddenly becomes a *pariah*. He is unwelcome everywhere. All doors are shut against him. The shopkeeper receives his money but sells him the rottenest stuff and cheats him into the bargain by giving him less than the full measure. Should the poor unfortunate object, he is insulted and told to be gone. The landlord won't have him and asks him to quit. Where is the poor man to go?" It was heart-rending. He felt he could not come and stay in Panchgani, unless there was a place where the Harijans would be welcome like all others. It had therefore given him great pleasure that Panchgani was at last going to have such a place. Sheth Shantilal of Ahmedabad had purchased the 'Satish Kunj' property for Rs. 45000 and had agreed to get it reconditioned and bear the running expenses of the institution for ten years. In the *dharmashala* which was going to be built, the poor of all communities including the Harijans, would be able to come and stay without any distinction of caste or religion. They would be provided free accommodation but would have



to make their own arrangements as regards food etc. A Trust had been formed to look after the *dharmashala*, consisting of Sheth Shantilal of Ahmedabad, Sheth Mohanlal, Shri Bachharaj, Dr. Dinshah Mehta and Gandhiji. He would have liked the *dharmashala*, said Gandhiji, to be built out of funds, provided by the inhabitants of Panchgani itself. But finance was not everything. Although they had not contributed the money, they should give their blessings and co-operation. The institution would fail unless the people took active and genuine interest in it. He suggested that sisters from well-to-do families should visit the sick or the convalescent who might come to the *dharmashala* for a change of climate, soothe them by singing beautiful hymns and render them whatever service they could or was necessary.

The sanitary conditions in Panchgani were awful. In a climate like theirs there should never be any epidemics. Yet they had the plague only the year before and had to vacate the bazar which was indescribably dirty. There was water shortage in spite of a plentiful rainfall. Why could not the rain water be captured and utilized for water supply? In South Africa, where rainfall was scarce and there was a dearth of under-ground water supply, they had a reservoir in every house for storing rain water. It was the duty of all of them, most of all the Municipality and the Public Health Department to remedy these defects. The Prime Minister Shri Balasaheb Kher was there and was prepared to render them whatever help was necessary. If he were the Health Officer or the Chairman of the Panchgani Municipality, said Gandhiji, he would make the place so clean and neat that anybody might be able to lie down and sleep on the hill side in the open without any compunction. Today that was not possible, because of the Municipal insanitation. People spat and made nuisance here, there and everywhere indiscriminately. He spoke from knowledge, he said. Before he came under the Mahatmic handicap and was free to go into *dharmashalas* and other places of public utility without attracting crowds, he had occasion to study the conditions prevailing in those places. The insanitation, the filth and the stench of the public latrines and urinals of the railway stations and in the *dharmashalas* were simply awful. They could make Panchgani into a jewel among the hill stations, if only they did their duty.

#### SCAVENGING AS A FINE ART

He then proceeded to make some concrete suggestions. The first and foremost of course was sanitation and night-soil disposal. Having become a *bhangi* himself, he thought of it first. He had done a *bhangi's* job right from South Africa. He knew how to do it without becoming filthy himself. The sight of a *bhangi* carrying the night-soil basket on his head made him sick. Scavenging is a fine art. Not only must the cleaning be perfect, but the manner of doing it and the instruments used, must be clean and not revolting to one's sanitary sense. "You have only to see the privy I use. It is spotlessly clean without a trace of smell. That is so because I clean it myself. The municipal *bhangi* pours out the contents of the night-soil waggons over a cliff converting a beauty spot into a plague spot. If you

become your own *bhangis*, not only will you insure perfect sanitation for yourself, but you will make your surroundings clean and relieve the *bhangis* of the weight of oppression which today crushes them. Do not imagine, that thereby you would deprive them of their living. Today we have reduced them to the level of the beast. They earn a few coppers but only at the expense of their human dignity. The same *bhangi* serves in the municipality as well as in your bungalow, with the result that he can do justice to neither. Look at him as he eats his food, cowering under the shadow of the latrine wall, surrounded by filth. It is enough to break one's heart. It should not be difficult for you to find a more decent avocation for him to follow."

#### HANDICAP OF FUNDS

The Nawab Saheb of Wai who had seen him earlier in the day had told him that they knew what to do, but that the municipality was too poor and the necessary finances were lacking. He had asked the Nawab Saheb, said Gandhiji, to send him a small note setting forth their handicap. He hoped to be able to show him that what they wanted to do and what needed to be done, need not be held up for lack of funds. After all, the various improvements which he has suggested would not require more than ten lakhs of rupees. He wanted to tell the rich folk who frequented Panchgani that it was up to them to provide that amount. In free and progressive countries, the gentry considered it their special privilege and duty to shoulder the burden of providing municipal amenities and improvements. It was only in India that people looked for every little thing to the Government. They must learn to shed that mendicant habit if, they aspired to become a free and self-respecting nation.

Then they should do something to improve the drainage. For that a suitable scheme would have to be prepared by an engineer. He hoped that the work would be taken up without delay.

Lastly, he hoped that something would be done immediately about the disposal of the night-soil. The present practice was a sin against man and God and its continuation even for a single day should be a matter of utter shame to them. He was sorry to tell them that Dr. Dinshah had reported that even after nearly a fortnight, things were as bad as they were on their arrival in Panchgani.

He hoped that when he came to Panchgani next year God willing, he would find things different. The gulf that separated the rich and the poor today was appalling. It had to be bridged. The rich must share all their amenities with the poor in the fullest measure. Their joining in the prayer-gathering would have gone in vain if it did not help them to realize and do their duty. Such prayer would be vain repetition which could do no good to them, to him or to anybody.

Poona, 30-7-'46

#### II

Gandhiji's stay at Panchgani this year did not extend to more than a fortnight. Even so, it provided welcome relief to his overworked system. The three days' stay at Poona, where he arrived on the 28th July was packed with three conferences—the Deccan Chiefs'



conference and two conferences of the Industries and Educational Ministers respectively, from the various Provinces. An account of the Educational Ministers' conference will be given in the 'Harijan'. This left Uruli only four days.

#### LOKAMANYA TILAK'S ANNIVERSARY

The 25th anniversary of the late Lokamanya's demise which fell on the day Gandhiji reached Uruli, evoked poignant memories. Speaking, after the evening prayer, he recalled how he had gone to attend the Lokamanya's funeral on receiving the sad news over the telephone. The mammoth funeral procession was composed of Mussalmans, and Parsis no less than Hindus. He himself had got caught in the crush and narrowly escaped injury. Those were the days when our atmosphere was not poisoned by communal bitterness. Much water has flown under the bridge since then, but the memory of Lokamanya remains enshrined in the hearts and affection of his countrymen as ever before. The lapse of time has only added to his popularity. He is still with us, though he is physically no more. He has given us the *mantra* that Swaraj is our birthright. That birthright belongs equally to all. Like the Infinite it is inexhaustible. To divide it, is not to take away.

"May be that some questionable things are today being done in the late Lokamanya's name. That is the way of the world. Even divinity is not proof against abuse. The evil, however, remains with the evil-doer. It does not detract from the lustre of divinity.

India was today on the eve of attaining her birthright, Gandhiji went on to say. In his opinion, nature cure was an essential ingredient in the building of Swaraj of his conception. The attaining of true Swaraj presupposed the triple purification of body, mind and soul.

#### NATURE-CURING THIEVES

He could have hardly imagined when he uttered those words, that within twentyfour hours an occasion would arise to put that precept into practice. On the very next day a villager was brought to him with injuries on his body, received at the hands of thieves who had taken away ornaments etc. from his house. There were three ways, Gandhiji told the villagers of Uruli, of dealing with the case. The first was the stereotyped orthodox way of reporting to the police. Very often it only provided the police a further opportunity for corruption and brought no relief to the victim. The second way, which was followed by the general run of the village people, was to passively acquiesce in it. This was reprehensible as it was rooted in cowardice. Crime would flourish, while cowardice remained. What was more, by such acquiescence we ourselves became party to the crime. The third way, which Gandhiji commended, was that of pure Satyagraha. It required that we should regard even thieves and criminals as our brothers and sisters, and crime as a disease of which the latter were the victims and needed to be cured. Instead of bearing ill will towards a thief or a criminal and trying to get him punished they should try to get under his skin, understand the cause that had let him into crime and try to remedy it. They should, for instance, teach him a vocation and provide him with the means to make an honest living and thereby transform his life. They should

realize that a thief or a criminal was not a different being from themselves. Indeed, if they turned the searchlight inward and closely looked into their own souls, they would find that the difference between them was only one of degree. The rich, moneyed man who made his riches by exploitation or other questionable means, was no less guilty of robbery than the thief who picked a pocket or broke into a house and committed theft. Only the former took refuge behind the facade of respectability and escaped the penalty of law. Strictly speaking, remarked Gandhiji, all amassing or hoarding of wealth, above and beyond one's legitimate requirements was theft. There would be no occasion for thefts and therefore, no thieves, if there was a wise regulation of riches and absolute social justice prevailed. In the Swaraj of his conception, there would be no thieves and no criminals, or else it would be Swaraj only in name. The criminal was only an indication of the social malady and since nature cure, as he envisaged it, included the triple cure for body, mind and soul, they must not be satisfied with merely banishing physical illness from Uruli, their work must include the healing of the mind and soul too, so that there would be perfect social peace in their midst.

#### THE WAY OF SATYAGRAHA

If they followed the nature cure way of dealing with the criminal, which, as he had already explained, was the way of Satyagraha, they could not sit still in the face of crime. Only a perfect being could afford to lose himself within himself and withdraw completely from the cares and responsibilities of the world. But who could claim that perfection? "On the high sea a sudden calm is always regarded by experienced pilots and mariners with concern. Absolute calm is not the law of the ocean. It is the same with the ocean of life. More often than not, it portends rough weather. A Satyagrahi would therefore neither retaliate nor would he submit to the criminal, but seek to cure him by curing himself. He will not try to ride two horses at a time, viz. to pretend to follow the law of Satyagraha, while at the same time, seeking police aid. He must forswear the latter, in order to follow the former. If the criminal himself chooses to hand himself over to the police, it would be a different matter. You cannot expect to touch his heart and win his confidence, if at the same time you are prepared to go to the police and inform against him. That would be gross betrayal of trust. A reformer cannot afford to be an informer." And by way of illustration, he mentioned several instances of how he had refused to give information to the police, about persons who had been guilty of violence and came and confessed to him. No police officer could compel a Satyagrahi to give evidence against a person who had confessed to him. A Satyagrahi would never be guilty of a betrayal of trust. He wanted the people of Uruli to adopt the method of Satyagraha, for dealing with crime and criminals. They should contact the criminals in their homes, win their confidence and trust by loving and selfless service, wean them from evil and unclean habits and help to rehabilitate them by teaching them honest ways of living.

Badlapur, 5-8-'46

PYARELAL



# HARIJAN

August 11

1946

## STRIKES

(By M. K. Gandhi)

The statement in the daily press that I had approved of the postal strike is not true. One day a postman asked to be allowed to just say 'Vande Mataram' to me. Kanu Gandhi brought him to me. The visitor, however, asked for my blessings for the postmen's strike which had just then commenced. I said to him that if the strike was justified and if they conducted themselves absolutely peacefully, they must succeed. This was no approval of the particular strike. Apart, however, from what I said and apart from the merits of the postmen's strike, I feel that as an expert in successful strikes of an absolutely peaceful nature, I owe it to the conductor of this strike as those of all others and the public to state the conditions of successful strikes.

Obviously there should be no strike which is not justifiable on merits. No unjust strike should succeed. All public sympathy must be withheld from such strikes.

The public has no means of judging the merits of a strike, unless it is backed by impartial persons enjoying public confidence. Interested men cannot judge the merits of their own case. Hence, there must be an arbitration accepted by the parties or a judicial adjudication. As a rule, the matter does not come before the public when there is accepted arbitration or adjudication. Cases have, however, happened when haughty employers have ignored awards or misguided employees, conscious of their power to assert themselves, have done likewise and have decided upon forcible extortion.

Strikes for economic betterment should never have a political end as an ulterior motive. Such a mixture never advances the political end and generally brings trouble upon strikers, even when they do not dislocate public life, as in the case of public utility services, such as the postal strike. The Government may suffer some inconvenience, but will not come to a standstill. Rich persons will put up expensive postal services but the vast mass of the poor people will be deprived during such a strike of a convenience of primary importance to which they have become used for generations. Such strikes can only take place when every other legitimate means has been adopted and failed.

In the present case we have National Provincial Governments. Postmen should consult these Governments before resorting to the extreme step. So far as I am aware, Shri Balasaheb Kher, Shri Mangaldas Pakwasa and Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel have intervened. If their advice has been rejected by the men, they have taken a serious and dangerous

step. If all these powerful unions disregard their own Governments and the Working Committee members, they disown the Congress. They have a right to do so, if the Congress sells their interest.

Sympathetic strikes must be taboo until it is conclusively proved that the affected men have exhausted all the legitimate means at their disposal and until the Congress has been proved to have betrayed or neglected their interest or until the Congress has called for sympathetic strikes, in order to secure justice from obdurate and unsympathetic authorities.

One hears of strikes all over the country to paralyse the Government. This paralysis is an extreme political step, open only to a body like the Congress, not even to unions, however powerful they may be. If the Congress is the people's arm *par excellence* for the purpose of winning Independence, paralysing action should be retained solely in the hands of the Congress.

At the present moment, the Congress is engaged in making a success of the proposed Constituent Assembly. There are interminable difficulties in the way. Paralysing strikes must seriously hamper Congress action.

It follows from the foregoing that political strikes must be treated on their own merits and must never be mixed with or related to economic strikes. Political strikes have a definite place in non-violent action. They are never taken up haphazard. They must be open, never led by goondaism. They are calculated never to lead to violence.

Therefore, my humble suggestion to all strikers is to make a frank declaration of submission to arbitration or adjudication, to seek the guidance of the Congress and abide by its advice and for all sympathetic strikers to stop, whilst the Congress is engaged in making the contemplated Constituent Assembly a success and while Provincial National Governments are functioning.

Uruli-Kanchan, 3-8-'46

### Proverbs on the Drink Evil

The following is culled from J. Gilchrist Lawson's *The World's Best Proverbs and Maxims* (Grosset and Dunlap):

Wine hath drowned more men than the sea—Publius Sirus.

The best cure for drunkenness is while sober to seek a drunken man (Chinese).

When wine is in, wit is out (Italian).

Bacchus kills more than Mars (German).

Drinking water neither makes a man sick nor in debt, nor his wife a widow—John Neale.

Drunkenness is an egg from which all vices are hatched.

Drunkenness is nothing but a voluntary madness.—Seneca.

Drunkenness makes some men fools, some beasts and some devils.

Intemperance is the doctor's wet nurse (German).  
V. G. D.



## THE MEANING OF NATURE CURE

(By M. K. Gandhi)

Many persons wish to come to Uruli-Kanchan in order to learn nature cure. I prevent them. The work in this village is being done on behalf of the Trust, of which the three Trustees are Dr. Dinshah Mehta, Shri Jehangir Patel and myself. Dr. Dinshah Mehta is an experienced nature cure physician but his experience has been gained in cities. He used to take in poor people in his clinic in Poona, but he gave them just the same treatment as he gave his rich patients. The nature cure of my conception for the villagers is limited to rendering such aid as can be given to them through what can be procured in the village. For example, I would not need either electricity or ice for them.

Such work can only be for those like me who have become village-minded, whose heart even while they live in a city is in the village. Therefore, the Trustees have given over the work entirely to me. I have begun it but I have no trained personnel. It is another thing that I take help from Dr. Mehta, whenever I need it. I have found a good helper in Dr. Bhagavat whose heart is in the villages and who has adopted the simple life. Even though he is an allopath, he believes whole-heartedly in nature cure. No labour is beneath his dignity or too much for him. He never tires. The others are all new to the work but they are filled with the spirit of service. The work is new to me too. Shri Datar has generously given his house for our use, free of rent, and thus enabled the work to go on. But the house is too small to admit students. So far I myself have not been able to take up my abode permanently in Uruli-Kanchan. I hope, *D. V.* to spend six months in future in the neighbourhood of Poona and six in Sevagram. Therefore, those who are anxious to learn nature cure will understand that in the circumstances, it is quite impossible for them to come to this village.

Now to my conception of nature cure: I have from time to time written a little about it, but as the idea is developing, it will be a good thing to tell something regarding its limitations in Uruli-Kanchan. Human ailments, whether of village or town, are of three kinds, viz. bodily, mental and spiritual. And what applies to one individual applies generally to the other and also to society as a whole.

The majority of the inhabitants of Uruli-Kanchan are business folk. Mangs live on one side of the village, Mahars on another and people of the Kanchan caste on yet another. The name of the village is derived from this last group. There are some gypsies living here too, who are termed criminal tribes under the law. The Mangs earn their living by making ropes etc. They were well off during the war but have now fallen on bad days and are living from hand to mouth. The problem that faces the nature cure doctor is how to deal with the malady of the Mangs, which is by no means an ailment to be ignored. It is really the duty of the businessman in Uruli-Kanchan to stamp out this social disease. No medicines from any dispensary are going to avail in this case and yet it is no less

poisonous a disease than cholera. Some of the tenements of the Mangs are fit only for a bonfire. But burning will not provide them with new dwellings. Where would they put their belongings, where would they seek shelter from rain and cold? These are the difficulties to be overcome and the nature cure physician cannot be blind to them. What can be done for the criminal tribes? They do not deliberately commit crime for the joy of it. They are victims of an age-long tradition and therefore labelled criminals. It becomes the duty of the residents of Uruli-Kanchan to free them from the evil habit. The nature cure man may not neglect this work. Such problems will continually face him. Thus on reflection we can see that the field of work for him is very wide and that it is work for true Swaraj. It can succeed through God's grace, only if all the workers and residents of Uruli-Kanchan are true and determined to reach the goal.

Uruli-Kanchan, 3-8-'46

(From *Harijansevak*)

## SOUTH AFRICA

(By M. K. Gandhi)

The following news from South Africa will be of interest to the readers.

Rev. Michael Scott who has thrown in his lot with Indians in their struggle there, has written a note under the caption "Not by Might". It is already published in the dailies. It should make a special appeal to all Europeans. He adds in a personal note:

"The spirit which enshrined you and your movement here, will not be extinguished by the powerful and cunning forces which are now arrayed against it."

An English sister writes from Durban:

"I went along to the camp almost the first day just to give the campers a word of encouragement and was quite impressed by their cheerfulness and general attitude—it was the "real thing" like some of the Indian movements I have seen. Then I went to the court one day too and it seemed as though those on trial (apparently) were really the judges and the officials and the Government were in the dock. If you have seen the statements by some of the leaders, you will see they give the same impression.

"Rev. Michael Scott is a very good man. He is only about 40 years old and wears "shirts" as do many high Anglicans and is addressed as "Father Scott". He reminds me somewhat of C. F. Andrews.

"I am glad to know that Manilal is coming back. He will be a help to the leaders here, though, as a matter of fact, the struggle on the Indian side has been on a very high level up to the present. It is that that has drawn a group of Europeans to support the struggle but the number is not very large yet."

As I have said before, the battle will certainly go to our countrymen if they remain truly non-violent. Non-violence knows no defeat.

Another friend writes:

"You have heard of Mrs. Naidoo's passing. She met with an accident about three months



before her death. During all that time the family could not get my phone number due to some error on the part of the exchange. Mrs. Naidoo wanted to see me but they could not contact me till the day after her death. I loved her. She was a sweet soul, a real friend and had a genius for home-making. There was always a beautiful atmosphere in the Naidoo home and one could drop in at any time, no matter how busy she was and always feel a welcome guest. And what a heroine she was! Think of the anxiety she must have gone through all the time the children were in India. I do hope that there will be a joint memorial to her and Thambe."

Incidentally I must mention that Mrs. Naidoo's husband was one of the first Satyagrahis during the days of our struggle there in my time.

Poona, 31-7-46

## Notes

### Decentralization

Appasaheb Pant of Aundh State writes :

"The British have forged an adequate instrument in the "Services" to help them maintain themselves in this country. To maintain a sort of peace and order, and, especially a "peace of the grave" that instrument may be adequate.

"But one feels that our growth into a true democracy will be more hampered than helped through the use of this instrument, we shall have to discard all this old machinery and through our own experience, create a new one that will aid us in the formation of an equitable and democratic way of life.

"For this purpose, one feels that the decentralization of administrative power is the first step. Human dignity and self-reliance arise only out of responsibilities shouldered by the people themselves. The habit to look to a central authority to protect us, to give us justice, to feed us, to clothe us, has to be eradicated if true democracy has ever to emerge. Through mistakes and suffering will we learn the value of moral principles in human relationship.

"Centralization of power and authority leads to totalitarianism and human bondage. The test of the Congress in office with this centralized power in hand, lies in devising ways and means to create decentralization which will enable ordinary human beings to manage their affairs themselves and in that process become more human, creative and therefore happy."

Appasaheb writes from experience, having had much to do with the administration of Aundh.

Poona, 30-7-46

M. K. G.

### True Non-Violence

"During these last few days, in order to rest the brain, I have been reading a Scott novel, 'The Talisman'. Here is a passage from it which will strongly appeal to you :

"The scene is where Richard Coeur-de-Lion is describing to de Vaux how he had been about to put to death with his own hand Sir Kenneth of Scotland for supposed treachery :

'And yet de Vaux! it is strange to see the bearing of the man. Coward or traitor he must

be, yet he abode the threatened blow of Richard Plantagenet, as our arm had been raised to lay knighthood on his shoulder. Had he shown the slightest sign of fear — had but a joint trembled or an eyelid quivered, I had shattered his head like a crystal goblet. But I cannot strike where there is neither fear nor resistance.'

"And it should be added here that neither was there hate. Sir Kenneth was a young and noble warrior second only to King Richard in physical built and strength. He stood penitent before Coeur-de-Lion for a misdeed into which he had been duped, but which honour bound him to accept. Scott describes him waiting for the blow to fall: 'Colourless, but firm as a marble statue, the Scot stood before him (the King), with his bare head' uncovered by any protection, his eyes cast down to the earth, his lips scarcely moving, yet muttering probably in prayer.'

"The three attributes, fearlessness, non-violence and freedom from hate which can overpower the strength and fury, even of a Coeur-de-Lion.

"You have always said, it is not the weapon which is at fault but the warrior who is wanting."

(From Mirabehn's letter)

### Kasturba Gandhi National Memorial Trust

[A Brief note on the working of the Trust is given below.]

The Trust has at present 26 Trustees with Gandhiji as the Chairman and Shri A. V. Thakkar as the Secretary.

The Trust has an Executive Committee consisting of 12 members.

The following are the Holding Trustees :

Sir Purshottamdas Thakurdas

Shri J. R. D. Tata

Shri G. D. Birla

Shri Ambalal Sarabhai

Shri Kasturbhai Lalbhai

and Shri Shantikumar N. Morarji.

The Organizing Secretary of the Trust is Shrimati Suchetadevi Kripalani.

The Trust has an Advisory Medical Board as also a Shiksha Samiti.

All work in provinces is carried on by provincial agents who are all women.

The total collection up till now is Rs. 1,28,17,392-10-0

Total expenditure 2,01,866-2-10

As the object of the Trust is the welfare and education of women and children in rural areas only, it has been the policy of the Trust to carry on work in provinces and field centres only through the agency of women workers, so far as possible. Realizing fully well the dearth of trained and qualified women workers who may be ready to go and settle in villages, the Trust has mainly concentrated its attention on the training of women workers on the following lines

Nayi Talim, Improvement of Health Services,

Village Industries, Gramaseva etc.

To impart training in the above subjects, Grama Sevika training centres have been opened in the provinces for a period of 6 months or one year. The first all India training camp for provincial instructors was conducted



for a month from the 5th of April to 4th of May, 1945 at Borivli, a suburb of Bombay. 90 trainees from all over the country attended this camp.

Training centres have also been started in the provinces of Bihar, Karnatak-Mysore (joint), Gujarat, Maharashtra, Bengal, U. P., Assam, Punjab, Rajputana, Mahakoshal, Kerala and Tamil Nad, where 15 to 35 trainees in each, are undergoing training in subjects such as domestic science, vegetable gardening, dairying, sanitation, games, Hindustani, Vastu-vijnan (charkha science), dietetics etc.

Besides, 9 women have completed three months' training in Balwadi education (Montessori course), 38 more are receiving Basic Education Teachers' training, a course of three months, and 35 have taken up a medical training course of 15 months.

Those who have already completed their course in gram-seva are expected to open centres for village work in their own districts or talukas. Eight such rural centres have been started in Maharashtra, 8 in Karnatak-Mysore and 26 in Bihar.

In the villages of Delhi, C. P., Tamil Nad and U. P. dispensaries for women and children have been opened and in certain places even maternity homes have been started. Similarly, in the villages of Punjab, Andhra, Orissa, Tamil Nad etc. basic schools have been opened.

## DOCTORS CRITICIZED

(By M. K. Gandhi)

1. Whether it is not a matter of common experience that the diagnosis by doctors is a very uncertain quantity and varies from time to time in the same case and often from doctor to doctor, and many cases remain undiagnosed, until they recover or die?

2. Assuming that the diagnosis is correct, what useful purpose does it serve, if it cannot be followed by remedial measures which lead to a cure, even on paper. Medical books do not speak with a certain voice on this point. If nature cure alone is to be followed, why is a diagnosis needed at all, considering that it recognizes the unity of disease and not hundreds of diseases which the doctors believe in?

3. Do the doctors make any use of their knowledge of the body in prescribing medical treatment as distinguished from surgical treatment? If not, why should the doctors get credit for having once upon a time, read physiology and anatomy which are soon forgotten for want of use in actual practice? Are not the *vaids* entitled to equal credit or discredit for studying the physiology and pathology of *tridosha* and not making but a nominal use of it in actual practice?

4. Are not the defects attributed to the *vaids*, really due to the omission of its duty by the State to provide institutions for research etc.? How can the system be blamed for the fault of the individual or the Government? Even the doctors in private practice, carry out no research and very few of them even read about researches carried on abroad.

5. Does not the constant examination of Mahatmaji's body by the doctors, give them an undue and undeserved prominence in the public

eye and so tend to put into the background the other systems of medicine which also have an equal, if not a greater, claim on Mahatmaji's attention?

These are Shri Brijlal Nehru's questions to which I reply as follows:

1. What the question implies is very true. Nevertheless doctors flourish. This phenomenon should make us all think.

2. My experience is that a correct diagnosis is followed by a remedial measure, answering the diagnosis. It will be wrong to blame medical books because they mention several alternative measures. The complicated human system does not lend itself to one certain remedy. It would be untrue to say that nature cure does not demand any diagnosis. As it believes in unity of disease and unity of care, diagnosis adopted in nature cure is much simpler. Unity of disease and unity of care is a good generalization. No nature cure man blindly applies earth poultices in all cases.

3. It is highly unfair to say that in their practice, doctors make no use of their knowledge of physiology and anatomy. No comparison can be set up between doctors and *vaids* for they employ wholly dissimilar methods of diagnosis. I am utterly ignorant of the value of the *tridosha* theory.

4. I am unable to subscribe to the condemnation of the State, for not providing institutions for research. I have always blamed the *vaids'* apathy in the matter of real research. The top ones are busy making money. The others are too ignorant to do so or are easily satisfied with what they find in the orthodox Ayurvedic books. I am sorry for this view. I come to it, in spite of my great regard for the Ayurvedic system and the Yunani which are suited to the soil.

5. I do not think that constant examination by medical friends of my body gives them undue or any prominence. They do not stand in need of any. They were all flourishing before I appeared on the scene. Nor does it tend to put into the background the other systems of medicine. I have friends among *vaids* and *hakims*. But they do not need elaborate or frequent diagnosis. I submit my body to the diagnosis which is unfortunately advertised but I do not submit it to the treatment by drugs. The treatment is principally confined to the use of the five agencies of nature, diet changes and massage.

My love of nature cure and of indigenous systems does not blind me to the advance that Western medicine has made in spite of the fact that I have stigmatized it as black magic. I have used the harsh term and I do not withdraw it, because of the fact, that it has countenanced vivisection and all the awfulness it means and because it will stop at no practice, however bad it may be, if it prolongs the life of the body and because it ignores the immortal soul which resides in the body. I cling to nature cure in spite of its great limitations and in spite of the lazy pretensions of nature curists. Above all, in nature cure, everybody can be his or her own doctor, not so in the various systems of medicine.

Uruli Kanchan, 4-8-'46



## LETTER TO THE GOVERNOR GENERAL OF PORTUGUESE INDIA

[The following is the text of Gandhiji's letter dated 2nd August, 1946, to H. E. Jose Bossa, Governor General of Portuguese India, in reply to his letter of the 18th July 1946, which has already appeared in the Press.]

Dear Friend,

It was kind of you to write to me in reply to what I had written in 'Harijan' about Goa's affairs. I suppose you know that I have visited Mossambique, Delagoa, and Inhambane. I did not notice there any Government for philanthropic purposes. Indeed, I was astonished to see the distinction that the Government made between Indians and the Portuguese and between the Africans and themselves. Nor does the history of the Portuguese Settlement in India prove the claim set forth by you. Indeed, what I see and know of the condition of things in Goa, is hardly edifying. That the Indians in Goa have been speechless is proof, not of the innocence or the philanthropic nature of the Portuguese Government but of the rule of terror. You will forgive me for not subscribing to your statement that there is full liberty in Goa and that the agitation is confined only to a few malcontents.

Every account, received by me personally and seen in the papers here in this part of India, confirms the contrary view. I suppose, the report of the sentence by your Court Martial of eight years on Dr. Braganza and his contemplated exile to a far off Portuguese Settlement, is by itself a striking corroboration of the fact, that civil liberty is a rare article in Goa. Why should a law-abiding citizen like Dr. Braganza be considered so dangerous as to be singled out for exile?

Though the politics of Dr. Lohia probably differ from mine, he has commanded my admiration for his having gone to Goa and put his finger on its black spot. Inhabitants of Goa can afford to wait for Independence, until much greater India has regained it. But no person or group can thus remain without civil liberty without losing self-respect. He has lighted a torch which the inhabitants of Goa cannot, except at their peril, allow to be extinguished. Both you and the inhabitants of Goa should feel thankful to the Doctor for lighting that torch. Therefore, your description of him as "stranger" would excite laughter, if it was not so tragic. Surely the truth is, that the Portuguese coming from Portugal are strangers, whether they come as philanthropists or as Governors exploiting the so-called weaker races of the earth.

You have talked of the abolition of caste distinctions. What I see has happened is that not only no caste distinction has been abolished but at least one more caste, far more terrible than the system "caste" has been added by the Portuguese rulers.

I, therefore, hope that you will revise your views on philanthropy, civil liberty and caste distinctions, withdraw all the African police, declare yourself whole-heartedly for civil liberty and if

possible, even let the inhabitants of Goa frame their own government, and invite from Greater India more experienced Indians to assist the inhabitants and even you in framing such Government.

Yours etc.

M. K. Gandhi

[P. S. Since your letter was sent to the Press, I am publishing this in 'Harijan'. M. K. G.]

## QUESTION BOX

(By M. K. Gandhi)

### NATURE CURE AND MODERN TREATMENT

Q. Is there any room in your nature cure

1. for instruments such as the microscope, x-rays and others for purposes of diagnosis?

2. for the use of medicines which have been proved to be 75 per cent successful in the treatment of specific diseases as, for example, Quinine in malaria, emetin in dysentery, penicillin in pneumonia?

3. for instruction to people in the science of personal cleanliness, hygiene and sanitation, and the prevention of disease?

A. My nature cure is designed solely for villagers and villages. Therefore, there is no place in it for the microscope, X-rays and similar things. Nor is there room in nature cure for medicines, such as quinine, emetin and penicillin. Personal hygiene and healthy living are of primary importance. And these should suffice. If everyone could achieve perfection in this art, there could be no disease. And, while obeying all the laws of nature in order to cure illness, if it does come, the sovereign remedy ever lies in *Ramanama*. But this cure through *Ramanama* cannot become universal in the twinkling of an eye. To carry conviction to the patient, the physician has to be a living embodiment of the power of *Ramanama*. Meantime, all that can possibly be had from the five agencies of nature must be taken and used. They are earth, water, ether, fire and wind. This, to my mind, is the limit of nature cure. Therefore, my experiment in Uruli Kanchan consists in teaching the villagers, how to live clean and healthy lives and in trying to cure the sick through the proper use of the five agencies. If necessary, curative herbs that grow locally, may be used. Wholesome and balanced diet is, of course, an indispensable part of nature cure.

Uruli Kanchan, 2-8-'46

(From *Harijanbandhu*)

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# HARIJAN

16 Pages

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TWO ANNAS

## HE LIVES

(By Sarojini Naidu)

On the eve of Mahadev Desai's fourth death-anniversary, my heart and mind are besieged by both pleasant and poignant recollections of the gifted and beloved being whose friendship was a privilege and whose comradeship a delight.

He was only twentyfive when Mahadev with the whole world before him, felt the magic call of the Mahatma's voice. I saw him when he first came bringing all the gold, frankincense and myrrh of his splendid youth and ideals, his rare literary talent and scholarship, his fervent patriotism, to lay at the feet of his great Master whom he served for twentyfive years with flawless devotion and fidelity.

How varied were his functions and duties in the course of his love discipleship to the Mahatma!

Innumerable pictures of Mahadev pass before my eyes in a swift pageant of memory: Mahadev as the leading inmate of Gandhiji's Ashram at Sabarmati, Wardha, Sevagram; Mahadev in laughing mood, the genial centre of an admiring circle, revelling in his lively wit and subtle humour; Mahadev with bent brows at his literary labours, translating beautiful thoughts, his own or his Guru's, into beautiful language; Mahadev in a gray shawl climbing the Viceregal steps in Delhi charged with a delicate political mission; Mahadev in London accompanying the Mahatma to the royal reception at the Buckingham Palace, a picturesque figure in his dazzling white Khadi; Mahadev with sweet and patient courtesy interpreting to groups of foreign pilgrims from Europe and America, the Near and the Far East, the lovely gospel of his Master whose inmost spirit he reflected as in a crystal mirror.

Most moving and enduring of all memories is the manner of his passing and the hours that followed his tragic end. Since the day of our arrests on the historic ninth of August and our removal to the Aga Khan Palace in Poona which was our prison, he seemed to be burdened and harassed by a prescient fear. The Mahatma's oft-repeated intention of a fast unto death might suddenly materialize in detention. On the night of the 14th August when all was still in our prison palace, Mahadev sat in my room till late talking with a strange sense of urgency as if time were limited. His conversation was a kind of brief and candid autobiographical review of his life, his experiences of his dearly cherished wife and son, but his main theme of course, was Mahatma Gandhi who to

him was the living symbol of the deity. He seemed to be haunted by a curious and pressing sense of fatality that night. On the next morning he seemed to be miraculously restored to a buoyant sense of hope. He walked in the garden with Gandhiji and when he returned to the house he said to me: "I don't know why I am so happy today." Shortly after he came to my room with a jest on his lips to meet the doctor who had asked for him. In a few minutes still smiling, he said, "My head is reeling", and almost before we were aware of it, suddenly he passed away, beyond response to the voices that cried to him to wake up and speak.

How can my pen find words of sufficient grace or tenderness to describe the last ceremony and rites which were performed by the stricken Master for his most beloved disciple. With trembling hands Gandhiji washed the marble-cold body unaided, anointed it with sandal paste and decorated it with flowers whispering, "Mahadev, I thought you would do this for me. Now I have to do it for you . . ." In the golden August afternoon of the 15th a mournful little procession followed Mahadev's bier to the improvised burning ground in a corner of the palace grounds . . . What at dawn had been a living flame became at sunset a pyramid of smouldering silver-gray ashes, soon to be scattered on the breast of a nearby sacred river.

Mahadev has vanished from our sight, but is Mahadev dead in reality? Does he not live in the love of his Master and the heart of the country which he served with such rich sacrifice and achievement?

12-8-'46

## IN MEMORIAM

(By C. R.)

It is now four years since the passing away of dear Mahadev Desai. Yet we have not been able to overcome the grief or the loss. Gandhiji is an essential figure in our life today, and we feel he has been maimed in an important limb. There is not a day that we pass through but something acutely reminds us of Mahadev's not being with us. He was one of those men whom no one could hope to replace. But in many cases, we are able to forget the dead through being absorbed in what others are doing. But in Mahadev's case, his service to the public through his devoted service to Gandhiji, was of that essential character, which does not admit of any kind of replacement.

12-8-'46



## WEEKLY LETTER

"You have called mine a negative attitude," remarked a friend to Gandhiji. "But I am quite clear in my own mind. I do not mind the Congress High Command carrying on negotiations with the Cabinet Mission. But suppose the negotiations fail. What then? The British Government is prepared with its plan of action in that case. But we are not. It is my belief that we shall have to go through another struggle before freedom can be won. I find that you have a revolutionary mentality. I do not like *himsa* anymore than you. It is bad. My goal is the same as yours. Show a sure non-violent way of achieving our goal of Independence within a definite period and I shall most willingly follow you. In a way I do believe in *ahimsa*. A repetition of the 1932-37 pattern of struggle won't do. The leaders are put behind the bars at the very commencement of the struggle and then all contact between them and the masses ceases. It is not fair that we should sit in jails in comparative comfort and safety and expect the people to face the fire. The leaders should bear the brunt. Let there be, say, a hundred people with your name on the top followed by those of other front-rank Congress leaders to start a chain fast unto death, after giving due notice to the Government and, I am sure, before the list is exhausted India will be free." The interviewer added that he himself would in that event, be prepared to abandon his own programme and join the fast. His complaint was that no top-ranking Congressman with the exception of Jairamdas Daulatram had yet received a bullet, although perhaps hundreds had died in recent years of bullets and lathi charges at the hands of the police and the military.

Taking the last point first, Gandhiji replied: "If and when the call comes to fast unto death, I will do so irrespective of others joining or not. Fasting unto death is the last and the most potent weapon in the armoury of Satyagraha. It is a sacred thing. But it must be accepted with all its implications. It is not the fast itself but what it implies that matters. Have not even hypocrites been known to make a pretence of fasting? Such fasts are a plague and a nuisance. They do not count. If I fast and you can send a hundred or even ten men who would undertake it with a pure heart, I shall be happy. But such a fast should not be undertaken inside the prison."

"What I mean is that mere jail-going is not enough. People should remain outside and face repression. Nine young boys faced the bullets and died before the Secretariat at Patna. Think how it would have electrified the masses, if it had been Rajendra Babu instead of these poor boys," resumed the interviewer.

"I agree with you there. I have said before that merely filling the prisons is not enough. It is only the jail-going of the pure in heart that can bring Swaraj. In fact in 1922, my instructions were that no one was to follow me in jail and that all should spin and carry out in full the constructive programme. The eighteen-fold constructive programme, if carried out in its entirety will, in my opinion, render civil disobedience unnecessary. The people of Bardoli in 1922 solemnly promised to carry out the constructive programme, to banish untouchability and liquor from their midst and to make

Khadi universal to the exclusion of mill cloth imported or Indian. They have failed to fulfil their pledge up till now."

"You say jail-going does not end the fight," proceeded the arguer. "We wanted to agitate for the abolition of the classification of political prisoners by the upper class prisoners voluntarily reducing themselves to 'C' class by refusing to accept privileged treatment. But some said that it was against your ideology. You wanted people to remain in the class in which they were placed."

"That is hardly correct," replied Gandhiji. "In fact I do not want even the distinction between the political and non-political prisoners. I stand for fair and humane treatment of all prisoners. But mine has been a lonely voice. Even when power was in our hands, we failed to abolish classification. I am the originator of jail-going as part of Satyagraha. My jail-going was born out of *ahimsa* and *ahimsa* and privilege go ill together. I have fought the Government from inside the jail. As it is, today all sorts of people go to jail. Inside the jail, they behave anyhow, even apologize and come out. Jail-going has become a farce."

## THE STRIKE FEVER

"What should be done about the strikes?" The Premier of one of the Congress Provinces was discussing the present strike fever with Gandhiji the other day. He lamented the unwarranted prolongation of a particular strike.

"Does it mean that the Congress has lost its hold on the people?" asked Gandhiji.

"No, but the Congress has not spoken with one voice and that has created confusion in the public mind."

"If the strike is unjustified on merits, it should be unequivocally denounced," suggested Gandhiji.

"By whom?"

"By the Congress, of course."

"What do you mean by the Congress?" asked the friend. "The Working Committee might have. It has not."

"By Congress, I mean the 400 millions of India speaking through the Working Committee," replied Gandhiji.

A militant suffragette who happened to be present here joined in: "But the Working Committee no longer speaks with one voice, thanks to your choice which you have imposed upon the country. You have stifled democracy," she remarked.

Gandhiji explained that the present Working Committee was not his choice but that of the Congress President who had been democratically elected. His part consisted mainly in persuading the Congress President to exercise his choice unfettered by consideration of personalities or the old tradition. The present Working Committee could not stay there for a day if it did not reflect the mind of democracy. The only condition was that democracy should be wide awake and functioning. As an illustration, he mentioned the case of Mr. Churchill who, in spite of his unique victories and achievements, had been set aside by the British people the moment, he ceased to reflect the nation's mind. "The return of labour to power in such overwhelming strength is a great event in the history



of political democracy. It has a lesson which we would do well to take to heart," he said.

Another in the company suggested that some sinister influence was at the back of the present strike fever. The motive was not economic but political. What was the remedy?

"You should reason with the strikers," replied Gandhiji, "warn them of the danger and resign if they or the people at large do not listen to you."

"But we owe a responsibility to the country. Shall we be justified in abandoning the country to sinister influences, who in fact want the Congress to go out of office and want to create chaos?" persisted the friend.

"That is the only way in which democracy can function," replied Gandhiji. "It will educate the people. Sinister influences will not flourish if popular support is not lacking. Once the people realize that the Congress won't carry on its rule by force, they will cease to act thoughtlessly or in an irresponsible manner and the sinister influence will be sterilized."

#### OH! FOR SOME RESPITE

"It is to be seen what Sevagram does for me," exclaimed Gandhiji, with a sigh when I saw him last at Uruli, groaning under the burden he was carrying. "It is, however, not the burden that matters," he added, "but absence of detachment. I have not yet learnt sufficiently to leave things to God. But that must not become an additional cause for worry, if one has a living faith in God." Thanks to the Working Committee meeting, there is an unusual influx of visitors in the Ashram at all hours of the day. They surround his hut and have forced him to put up curtains in front of his doors in order to escape their eager attention. He took advantage of their presence at the evening prayer on the day of his arrival, to drive home a lesson. The day's sacrificial spinning by the Ashram inmates is recorded after the evening prayer as part of the daily routine. "If I ask you how many of you spin, I am afraid, very few hands will go up," he remarked addressing the visitors. "You have just heard the Ashram inmates giving an account of the day's spinning at the end of the prayers. The reason is that spinning has become a part and parcel of the Ashram prayer. The conception of spinning as sacrifice has been linked with the idea of God, the reason being that we believe that in the charkha and what it stands for, lies the only hope of salvation of the poor." He had come to realize that it was difficult to earn one's livelihood through the charkha, but the villagers could easily spin for their own clothes. Because they had not realized the self-help principle in the matter of clothing, they showed a deplorable lack of it in other things too. It stultified even agriculture, so that they suffered destitution in the midst of plenty. "We have plenty of fertile land where we can grow fruits, vegetables and other foodstuffs. But we do not make full use of our opportunity. Instead of eating fresh, whole foods, we eat them denatured. We grow cereals and eat them after converting them practically into dust. God has given us everything we need and He has endowed us with intellect and the use of two hands. We could raise our food, grow cotton and prepare our own clothes, rear cattle and supply milk to our children. Yet we go hungry and naked. Our children

are ill-fed and undernourished. Could there be anything more tragic?"

He compared the cities with the villages. The villages could subsist by themselves in regard to all the necessities of life. Not so the cities. They could neither grow their own food; nor produce cotton for cloth, nor keep cattle without the help and co-operation of the villages. And yet he knew of no village in India which was today self-sufficient. Sevagram should have been such a village. But it was still far from it. Our villagers were lazy and lethargic and killed time by gambling etc. If they tried to leave the wheel and concentrate on land exclusively, he warned them, they would soon find that it was not practicable. On the contrary, resuscitation of the wheel would help to revitalize agriculture by making them shed their inertia and apathy.

Referring to the unthinking admiration of the visitors who had literally laid siege to his hut the whole day, he described how it had driven him to desperation almost. He was sick of it. It could do no good either to him or to them. True admiration consisted in carrying out the wishes of the person one admired, not merely staring at him and thus wasting his time and one's own.

#### A CRUCIAL DECISION

A big step in educational reform was taken the other day when Shri Sriman Narayan Agarwal, the Principal and the Management of the Seksaria College of Commerce, Wardha, decided to make Marathi the medium of instruction in their college. To formally inaugurate the change, a function was held on the 9th instant, when several distinguished visitors, including the Prime Minister of C. P. with several of his colleagues and the Vice-Chancellor of the Nagpur University attended. The occasion was marked by an influx into Wardha of nearly ten thousand visitors from outside who threatened to throw the entire rationing system of the place out of gear. Originally the function was to have been held in the College Hall in the afternoon, when Gandhiji was to have addressed them. But the crowd was so undisciplined and unmanageable that the attempt had to be given up and Gandhiji addressed the gathering later at 6 p. m. in the open air. The idea was to combine the function with the public evening prayer.

Shri Ravishankar Shukla describing the etiology of the reform revealed how the Congress Ministry before it resigned office in 1940, had appointed a committee to go into the question of imparting university education through the mother tongue. The Committee had reported favourably. But in the meantime the Congress having gone out of office, its report was pigeon-holed by the Sec. 93 administration. It was only on the return of the Congress Ministry to office that it was unearthed. The Vice-Chancellor of the Nagpur University, in the course of his remarks significantly remarked that by 1949 it might be possible to make the mother tongue the medium of the entire university education in C. P.

#### FOUNDATIONS OF FREEDOM

Giving a severe castigation to the unruly crowd that had indulged in window smashing and would have smashed in the roof too if they could, in the afternoon, Gandhiji remarked that it augured ill for the Independence to come. The Working Committee



which was holding its meeting in their city was considering how to win Independence for the people of India in the shortest time. It was not labouring for a change of masters. If the masses wanted to enjoy Independence, they had first to learn the secret of observing voluntary discipline. Otherwise discipline would have to be imposed upon them by the powers that be. That would not be Independence but its negation. Every people got the Government they deserved. If they indulged in hooliganism, so would the Government and its officials in the name of law and order. The result would not be freedom or Independence but a balancing of anarchies, each trying to keep the other in check. Voluntary discipline was the first requisite of corporate freedom. If the people were well-behaved, the Government officials would become their true servants. Otherwise they would ride on their necks, not without a semblance of justification. During the Boer War he had seen thousands of soldiers perform a noiseless march through a dense, topical jungle in the middle of the night, in pitch darkness for not even a match-stick was to be struck to light a cigarette, lest it should betray their movements to the enemy. The whole troop formation moved like one man in perfect silence and harmony. The need for discipline for a nation on its march towards Independence was infinitely greater. Without it, *Ramarajya* which meant the kingdom of God on earth would remain an empty dream.

The Principal and the Management of the Seksaria College had taken a big step in deciding to make the mother tongue the medium of instruction in their college. But the reform would be still-born if they were lazy or if the public did not co-operate.

A fear had been expressed, observed Gandhiji, that the propagation of *Rashtrabhasha* or the national tongue would prove inimical to the provincial languages. That fear was rooted in ignorance. The present step of the Seksaria College was a living refutation of that suspicion. Provincial tongues provided the sure foundation on which the edifice of the national tongue should rest. The two were intended to complement, not supplant each other.

He deprecated the suggestion that it would need a lot of research and preparation to enable them to impart technical education through the medium of the mother tongue. Those who argued like that, were unaware of the rich treasure of expressions and idioms that were buried in the dialects of our villages. In Gandhiji's opinion there was no need to go to Sanskrit or Persian in search for many expressions. He had been in Champaran and he had found that the village folk there, could fully express themselves with ease and without the help of a single foreign expression or idiom. As an illustration of their resourcefulness, he mentioned the word *hava gadi* which they had coined to denote a motor car. He challenged university scholars to coin a more poetic expression than that for a motor car.

One of the speakers had remarked that the reform would mean a saying of at least three years to the alumni of the college. But Gandhiji was of opinion that the saving in time and labour would be even greater. "Moreover," he added, "what they learnt

through the mother tongue, they would easily be able to communicate to their mothers and sisters at home and thereby bring the latter into line with themselves. Woman had been described as man's better half. Today there was a hiatus between the thought world of men and women respectively in India, thanks to the intrusion of the foreign medium. Our womenfolk were backward and ignorant with the result that India was today like a patient with paralysis of the better side. India could not realize her full stature unless that handicap was removed.

Sevagram,  
11-8-'46

PYARELAL

### HANDLING MILK IN ENGLAND

The average Britisher lives up to the age of 60 as against less than 30, which is the average expectation of life in India. Infant mortality in Britain is about 50 per thousand as against over 150 in India. The death rate in Britain is about 12 as against over 24 in India. There are several factors, which contribute to this difference, one of these being that Britain is better fed than India. And no wonder, for the pre-war income per head in Britain was £100 or say 1300 Rs. as against 65 Rs. in India, i. e. over 20 times as much. The daily consumption of milk per head in Britain was 39 oz. as against 7 oz. in India, and increased during the war by 28 p. c. Not only is the quantity of milk consumed in Britain greater than in India, but in Britain they handle it with care, while we in India are slovenly and negligent. The following passage from E. J. S. Lay's *Citizenship* (MacMillan) describes the elaborate precautions taken at a convalescent home in England:

"The cows on coming in to be milked pass from the field to a firm platform of concrete, where they cannot be splashed with dirt. They enter the 'milking byre' by a door other than that through which the pails of milk will later be carried, and this door is so placed that the cows never cross any place, over which milk has to be transported. The byre is scrupulously clean with hard floors and walls and large windows above and at the sides. Each cow is carefully washed before milking begins, and a flow of clean water runs in the gutters of the byre. The milkman wears special clean clothes and takes almost as much care to be clean-handed for his task, as a hospital nurse. He milks into a pail with a curved top, into which no dirt or dust can fall.

"This pail of milk is now carried across a yard which cows never enter. It is poured into a large receptacle which stands high up on the wall of the byre and is reached by a short ladder. Thence it flows through a number of layers of close filtering material and passes by a pipe (which is sterilized after each period of use) to the interior of the dairy where it drips over a refrigerator and is received by way of another strainer into a large 'can.' It is now ready to be taken across to the home."

V. G. D.



## QUESTION BOX

(By M. K. Gandhi)

### THE CENTRAL POINT MISSED

The following questions have been given by a British Military Officer who read with great interest the article in the 'Harijan' of July 28, 1946, on 'Independence'. The Officer is a military engineer, widely travelled in America and Europe, and has seen with his own eyes the horrors of the war in Germany.

Q. 1. In this ideal State (there is no doubt that it is ideal) how can one be sure that outside aggression can be avoided? If the State has no modern army with modern weapons which are the product of the machine age, an invading army with modern weapons could overrun the country and subject the inhabitants to slavery.

A. The questioner, who claims to have read and re-read my article carefully and says he has liked it and is a military man, has evidently missed the central point of my article, viz. that however small a nation or even a group may be, it is able, even as the individual, provided that it has one mind as also the will and the grit to defend its honour and self-respect against a whole world in arms. Therein consists the matchless strength and beauty of the unarmed. That is non-violent defence which neither knows nor accepts defeat at any stage. Therefore, a nation or a group which has made non-violence its final policy, cannot be subjected to slavery even by the atom bomb.

### WHY IN WANT OF FOOD?

Q. 2. India at the present time cannot grow enough food for its population. To buy food from abroad, India must sell other goods to pay for it, and in order to sell such goods, India must produce at competitive prices which, in my opinion, cannot be done without modern machines. How can this be done, unless the machine replaces manual labour?

A. The statement in the first sentence of the question is wholly wrong. I hold, in spite of opinions expressed to the contrary, that India is able at the present moment to grow enough food. I have previously stated the condition for growing enough food, viz. that the Government at the head should be National and a Government that knows its business and is capable of dealing sternly with all profiteering, black-marketing and, worst of all, laziness of mind and body.

The second part of the question really falls to the ground if my answer to the first is correct. But for the sake of dismissing the plea on behalf of modern machines as against human labour of which there is plenty in a land like India, I would say that if all the able-bodied millions work with one mind and with zeal, they could compete on their own terms with any nation, however well-equipped it may be with modern machines. The questioner should not forget that modern machines have up till now gone side by side with the exploitation of the machineless nations, dubbed weak. I use the participle 'dubbed' because they will refuse to be weak, immediately they realize the fact that they are even at the present moment

stronger than the nation equipped with the most modern weapons and machinery.

### SWARAJ THROUGH SPINNING

A Congressman writes:

Q. "You will perhaps agree that in spite of considerable publicity spinning and weaving have not yet found favour with the public to the extent to which they should have done. I think if every Congress Committee—at least those of the big cities—starts a sort of coaching class for the public for this purpose, it can do immense good. Many people—particularly the poor—do not take to spinning because they do not know spinning and weaving, what type of wheels are more convenient to use and give greater output, how these are properly operated upon, how best they should dispose of or utilize the yarn thus produced etc. If once or twice a week, some such classes are undertaken after proper publicity, and people are instructed in this technique by practical demonstrations, things should improve much. At least the experiment is worth a trial by the Congress. Even if regular classes are not held but a group or groups of experts of this technique undertake a tour and give demonstrations and instructions to the public for some days in each city, it can serve the purpose to a considerable extent."

Questions like the above often come to me from Congressmen. Since this is exhaustive, I reproduce it as it is. The signature is undecipherable. Therefore, I am unable to say to which province the questioner belongs. Surely it would have been appropriate if the writer had been good enough to frame his letter in Hindustani. The vast mass of Congressmen who are not on the Congress register but who are more Congressmen than the registered ones, do not know English and those who do, care less for spinning than for being on the Congress register, for reasons they know and which I need not specify. There is, however, a great deal in what the writer says. If all Congress offices became institutions for teaching the art of spinning from the anterior and posterior processes right up to the manufacture of khadi, I am quite clear that the face of the villages would be changed and Swaraj would be ushered in through the effort of the masses. I have shown in these columns, how it will be ushered in. These lines are written to emphasize the point made by the correspondent.

Sevagram, 8-8-'46

### How to Think of God

A correspondent writes:

"You say that the rule should be that during prayers, everyone should sit with closed eyes and think of nothing but God. The question arises as to how and in what form we have to think of God?"

True meditation consists in closing the eyes and ears of the mind to all else, except the object of one's devotion. Hence the closing of eyes during prayers is an aid to such concentration. Man's conception of God is naturally limited. Each one has, therefore, to think of Him as best appeals to him, provided that the conception is pure and uplifting.

Sevagram, 10-8-'46

M. K. G.



## A KHADI LOVER'S COMPLAINT

(By M. K. Gandhi)

A Gujarati Khadi lover living in South India writes as follows:

"In the Khadi Bhandar here, it is hard to get cotton, spindles, charkhas and their accessories. I have up till now been carrying on with my own cotton. The slivers from cotton bought here were not at all good. I discovered it was of poor quality after I had bought it. I found hand-carding (*hulai*) of it difficult and could not get anyone here to teach me either.

"I have just given my full quota of self-spun and self-carded yarn for 1946 to be woven into cloth. At first one could procure coupons for self-spun yarn and buy a certain amount of Khadi with it. The yarn given in is to be woven into *saris* and *dhotis*. How are we to buy cloth for our other requirements of underwear, sheets, towels etc.? I went to the Bhandar recently and they demanded the same number of hanks as the amount of rupees the cloth was worth. In addition I was told I had to be a member of the Bhandar. I spend 2 to 2½ hours daily in carding and spinning. If I can spare any more time, I devote it also to this work. But, in spite of all my labour, I shall never be able to produce enough yarn for my requirements. What am I to do? The fact that I am un-acquainted with the language is another difficulty. It would be easier if all the rules regarding Khadi were written up in Hindustani. Moreover, it seems impossible to get anything done without outside influence. Is one to call it one's misfortune or part of our nature? One needs some backing even to buy a spindle, to say nothing about a charkha. If the Charkha Sangh people themselves do not realize what difficulties one has to face in the matter of buying even small requirements, to whom can one turn for help?

"I spoke about this to a well-known Gujarati friend here. He got enraged. 'Gandhiji has constituted himself Viceroy. Why then should he listen to anyone? He does whatever comes into his head. Let him do so. We shall get Khadi from wherever we can and, what is more, we shall encourage un-certified Khadi. As for Pyarelalji, he only puts up to Gandhiji what he chooses and throws the rest into the waste paper basket.'"

The above angry criticism about my post does not need any comment, beyond saying that every worth-while letter is put up before me and that, if I were to be acquainted with or read every letter that comes, the whole of my time would be spent on the post and I would be rendered useless for my real work. But what has been said about Khadi demands consideration. That Sales Bhandars may disappear under the new scheme, only means that they should be converted into schools for teaching all the processes of Khadi. Therefore, cotton, charkhas, spindles and all other accessories of spinning, carding and ginning should certainly be available there. Above all the Khadi worker should be polite and obliging at all times. If he is not, it will mean the end of Khadi and it will be

a tragedy if Khadi workers themselves were to be the cause of its death.

The criticism in the letter under reference can only be applicable to one or two Bhandars. This note is, therefore, only meant for those to whom it does apply. All such should early set their house in order.

Khadi wearers who spin regularly and give in their self-spun yarn for being woven into cloth should be, as they are, entitled to purchase against cash the amount of Khadi which, according to the A. I. S. A. rules, their above-mentioned yarn permits them to buy.

Sevagram, 6-8-'46

(From *Harijanbandhu*)

## RAMANAMA AGAIN

(By M. K. Gandhi)

A friend sends me a letter received by him for an answer. The letter is long. I have only copied here the relevant part:

"India is in his blood, but why should he cause resentment among his countrymen who are not of his religious faith, by holding daily prayer meetings and chanting *Ramanama* (meaning the name of Rama, the Hindu God)? He should realize that India is full of manifold faiths and most of the conservatives are apt to mistake him (and this is one of the pleas of the Muslim League), if he openly goes on talking in the name of the Hindu Gods. One of his pet terms is the establishment of *Rama-Rajya* (the rule of Rama). What would a devout Muslim feel about this?"

I must repeat for the thousandth time that *Ramanama* is one of the many names for God. The same prayer meetings have recitations from the Quran and the Zend Avesta. Devout Muslims, for the very reason that they are devout, have never objected to the chant of *Ramanama*. *Ramanama* is not an idle chant. It is conceived as a mode of addressing the all pervasive God known to me, as to millions of Hindus, by the familiar name of *Ramanama*. 'Nama' at the end of Rama is the most significant part. It means the 'nama' without the Rama of history. Be that as it may, why should an open profession by me of my faith offend anybody, much less the Muslim League? No one is obliged to join these meetings and having joined is not obliged to take part in the chant. All that the visitors are expected to do is not to mar the harmony of the meeting and to tolerate the proceedings even when they are not in sympathy with any part.

As to the use of the phrase '*Rama-Rajya*,' why should it offend after my having defined its meaning many times? It is a convenient and expressive phrase, the meaning of which no alternative can so fully express to millions. When I visit the Frontier Province or address predominantly Muslim audiences I would express my meaning to them by calling it Khudai Raj, while to a Christian audience I would describe it as the Kingdom of God on earth. Any other mode would, for me, be self-suppression and hypocrisy.

Sevagram, 8-8-'46



## WHAT A CHILD CAN TEACH US

(By M. K. Gandhi)

There is a little girl of five years of age in Madras named Aruna who, when I was there in January last, saw me spin and thereafter was seized with the desire to practise it. She is born in a home which has the khadi atmosphere. Her parents are not such as to force their child to do things. They are content to let her imbibe what she can, from the atmosphere surrounding her. When the child herself expressed a desire to practise spinning, they gladly gave her every encouragement. The result was that Aruna was able to produce one sliver after one day's labour and when she saw me spinning that sliver of her creation, her joy knew no bounds. I explained to her the defects in her first sliver and in order to remove these, her parents gave her every help. Since then the child has been making good slivers and spinning regularly. Thus this little one learnt two lessons at the same time, viz. to clean and card the cotton and make slivers and also to give to others the produce of her labour. Children often take money from their parents to give presents to others. Then the merit really accrues to the parents. It is a very different thing when the child gives out of the labour of its own hands in whatever form that be. And is that not the truest form of gift?

Sevagram, 9-8-'46

(From *Harijanbandhu*)

## IS GOD A PERSON OR FORCE?

(By M. K. Gandhi)

A friend from Baroda writes in English:

"You ask us to pray to God to give light to the Whites in South Africa and strength and courage to the Indians there to remain steadfast to the end. A prayer of this nature can only be addressed to a person. If God is an all-pervading and all-powerful force, what is the point of praying to Him? He goes on with his work whatever happens."

I have written on this topic before. But as it is a question that crops up again and again in different languages, further elucidation is likely to help someone or the other. In my opinion, Rama, Rahaman, Ahurmazda, God or Krishna are all attempts on the part of man to name that invincible force which is the greatest of all forces. It is inherent in man, imperfect though he be, ceaselessly to strive after perfection. In the attempt he falls into reverie. And, just as a child tries to stand, falls down again and again and ultimately learns how to walk, even so man, with all his intelligence, is a mere infant as compared to the infinite and ageless God. This may appear to be an exaggeration but is not. Man can only describe God in his own poor language. The power we call God defies description. Nor does that power stand in need of any human effort to describe Him. It is man who requires the means whereby he can describe that Power which is vaster than the ocean. If this premise is accepted, there is no need to ask why we pray. Man can only conceive God within the limitations of his

own mind. If God is vast and boundless as the ocean, how can a tiny drop like man imagine what He is? He can only experience what the ocean is like, if he falls into and is merged in it. This realization is beyond description. In Madame Blavatsky's language man, in praying, worships his own glorified self. He can truly pray, who has the conviction that God is within him. He who has not, need not pray. God will not be offended, but I can say from experience that he who does not pray is certainly a loser. What matters then whether one man worships God as Person and another as Force? Both do right according to their lights. None knows and perhaps never will know what is the absolutely proper way to pray. The ideal must always remain the ideal. One need only remember that God is the Force among all the forces. All other forces are material. But God is the vital force or spirit which is all-pervading, all-embracing and therefore beyond human ken.

Sevagram, 9-8-'46

(From *Harijanbandhu*)

## WHAT A FAST CAN SAVE

Indonesia has promised us 50,000 tons of rice  
 = 2,240 ×  $\frac{1}{4}$  lakh lbs.  
 = 1,120 lakh lbs.  
 = 112 million lbs.

This is enough to feed 112 million adults for one day at the rate of 1 lb. per head.

Therefore, if 112 million adults fast one day, the result is the same as though we got 50,000 tons of rice from Indonesia.

Suggestion:

All adults, except the very aged, invalids and manual labourers should miss the evening meal on Saturdays.

There are 240 million adults in India, of whom 80 million are manual workers.

Therefore, if the average saving by an adult missing a Saturday evening meal is 8 oz., the total possible saving by all adults (except manual workers) missing 26 meals on 26 Saturdays during the remainder of the year would be 2080 million lbs. of cereals = .92 million tons of cereals.

This would remove the anticipated food deficiency. All parties, all Governments and all individuals, papers, etc. should make a drive for the observance of the Saturday evening fast. The sharing by the Indian population of the starvation which is descending on parts of the country will mean in fact sharing of food.

Thus that starvation can be staved off. Besides, those who observe the fast, will in most cases gain in health.

Even if the drive achieves only a 10% success, the grain saved would be 92,000 tons—substantially more than the quantity promised from Indonesia. These 92,000 tons would have been obtained at no cost to the nation, and would represent (on the other hand) saving not only in food but in expenditure by individual families.

(From the *Daily Mail Bag*)



# HARIJAN

August 18

1946

## MAHADEV DESAI

(By Jawaharlal Nehru)

It is difficult to write about one who was a dear friend and comrade and with whom are associated so many intimate memories. As I think of him, those memories revive and the past rises up bringing a procession of pictures of days gone by.

There are so many things we take for granted, even friends. Mahadev had become some kind of an institution for many of us. Quiet, able, efficient, hard-working, forgetful of self, utterly devoted, the more one knew him, the more he grew in one's estimation and liking. For nearly a quarter of a century, we knew each other and often we worked together at common tasks. What he did, he did well and thoroughly. He had the scholar's outlook and at the same time the human touch which endears. So our affection and admiration for him grew, and when suddenly he was no more, there was a gulf and a vacuum and a feeling of desolation seized us. For one who formed so much a part of our lives and our work was no more, a dear comrade had gone and there was no one to take his place.

Yet his memory endures and cheers and strengthens us for the days of trial are not over and the future is full of difficulty. How one wishes that Mahadev was with us now with his wise and friendly counsel.

Wardha, 10-8-'46

## HIS LAST ARTICLE

[This is the last article written by Mahadevbhai in the Aga Khan Palace referred to in "Mahadev Desai—The Last Phase." P.]

### THE HOUSE OF TRUTHFUL LEARNING

I wonder if the above is the right name for the institution, opened by Gandhiji on the eve of his departure for Bombay, for the training of Basic Education teachers. Literally translated the name would be *The House of New Education*. But I am tempted to give it the name at the top because of the spirit in which it has been conceived. For, Shrimati Ashadevi in requesting Gandhiji to declare it open not only recited verses from the Upanishads glorifying Truth, but said that the institution would have for its foundation nothing but that Truth. The verse specially containing the pledge so to say means: "I will utter (do?) the right, I will utter the truth. May it protect me."

That was enough to provide Gandhiji with a text for his speech that day, which became of a solemn religious character. This put me in mind of a speech Gandhiji gave in Switzerland in December 1931 before an audience of devout pacifists. It was in reply to the question, 'why do you regard God as Truth?' He said:

"In my early youth I was taught to repeat what in Hindu scriptures are known as the one thousand names of God. But these one thousand names of God were by no means exhaustive. We believe—and I think it is the truth—that God has as many

names as there are creatures and, therefore, we also say that God is nameless, and since God has many forms, we also consider Him formless, and since He speaks through many tongues, we consider Him to be speechless and so on. And so, when I came to study Islam, I found that Islam too had many names of God.

"I would say with those who say 'God is Love'. But deep down in me I used to say that though God may be Love, God is Truth, above all. If it is possible for the human tongue to give the fullest description of God, I have come to the conclusion that for myself God is Truth. But two years ago I went a step further and said that Truth is God. You will see the fine distinction between the two statements, viz. that, 'God is Truth' and 'Truth is God'. I came to that conclusion after a continuous and relentless search after Truth which began nearly fifty years ago. I then found that the nearest approach to Truth was through love. But I also found that love has many meanings in the English language (at least?) and that human love in the sense of passion could become a degrading thing (also?). I found too that love in the sense of *ahimsa* had only a limited number of votaries in the world. But I never found a double meaning in connection with Truth and (not?) even atheists had not demurred to the necessity or power of Truth. But in their passion for discovering Truth, the atheists have not hesitated to deny the very existence of God—from their own point of view rightly. And it was because of this reasoning that I saw that rather than say that God is Truth, I should say that Truth is God... Add to this the great difficulty, that millions have taken the name of God X and in His name committed nameless atrocities. Not that scientists very often do not commit atrocities in the name of Truth... Then there is another thing in Hindu philosophy, viz. God alone is and nothing else exists, and the same truth you find emphasized and exemplified in the *kalema* of Islam. There you find it clearly stated that God alone is and nothing else exists. In fact the Sanskrit word for Truth is a word which literally means that which exists—*Sat*. For these and several other reasons that I can give you, I have come to the conclusion that the definition—Truth is God—gives me the greatest satisfaction. And when you want to find Truth as God, the only inevitable means is Love, i. e. non-violence, and since I believe that ultimately means and end are convertible terms, I should not hesitate to say that God is Love.

"Truth is what the voice within tells you. Those who would make individual search after truth as God, must go through several vows... If you would swim on the bosom of the ocean of Truth, you must reduce yourself to a zero." M. D.

## HIS GREATEST CHARACTER

(By M. K. Gandhi)

The greatest characteristic I can think of about Mahadev Desai was his ability to reduce himself to zero, whenever occasion demanded it.

Sevagram, 12-8-'46



## THE DISCIPLE AND HIS MASTER

### A UNIQUE DISCIPLE

At the time of Mahadevbhai's cruel and untimely death in detention, Gandhiji was allowed to receive two condolence messages out of the hundreds that poured in from all over the country. One of these was from Shri Mathuradas Tricumji, an ex-Mayor of Bombay and a nephew of Gandhiji. There was one sentence in his letter which beautifully summed up the relationship between Bapu and Mahadevbhai. He said: "Lord Buddha had only one disciple and that was Ananda; so is the case of Mahadev with regard to you." Lord Buddha had thousands upon thousands of disciples. But Ananda towered head over shoulders above the rest. Similarly Mahadevbhai's gifts had given him a unique position among all those who have endeavoured to serve Bapu from close quarters. It is not an easy job. Mahadevbhai often used to tell me: "Living with Bapu is like living on the edge of a volcano. When the volcano will burst and blow you off, you never can tell." The reason is that Bapu towers so far above the level of all the rest, that those who surround him, often fall short of his expectations in spite of their best efforts to prove worthy disciples of the great master. Moreover, in spite of his great spiritual height, Bapu is very human. He does not expect to find perfection in those who come to him. But he does expect them to have a burning desire to attain perfection. The rate of progress that he expects from his associates varies in different cases and although he can overlook and forgive faults as big as a mountain, there are times when mere trifles assume mountainous proportions, especially in the case of those who are nearest to him.

### HIS LIFE-LONG PRAYER

Mahadevbhai told me once: "My one prayer in life has been that I may die in Bapu's service, but I am aware of the fact that at any time, I might prove unworthy of it and have to quit at a moment's notice." I did not believe him: it seemed so inconceivable to picture Bapu without him. Yet during the few years of my association with Mahadevbhai and Bapu, I saw occasions when even Mahadevbhai was at the point of quitting, as for instance at the time of the Delang incident.

From Delang, Durgaben (Mrs. Desai) and Shrimati Kasturba had gone to Jagannath Puri and there as a result of their orthodox upbringing, they felt that they ought to visit the temples. So they went inside the temples, forgetting Bapu's teaching that caste Hindus should not visit temples if they were not open to Harijans. Mahadevbhai's young son of about twelve refused to go in. He stood outside and talked to the Pujaris, trying to show them the wrong of keeping the Harijans out. On their return from Puri, the story was told by somebody. None of us thought much of it, beyond patting young Narayan (Mahadevbhai's son) on the back for his courage and wisdom beyond his years. But Bapu took a very serious view of the whole thing. He gave a talk to Ba who humbly confessed her error

and apologized for it. Bapu did not blame her. "I neglected her education and I must be held responsible for her mistakes, not she." Then he took Mahadevbhai to task for neglecting Durgaben's education. "You have taken interest in Narayan, so that he knows much more than an average boy at his age. Should you not have taken the same interest in Durga's education? What is the use of your writing articles in the *Harijan* on the subject of untouchability and opening of temples to Harijans, when you do not carry the message to your own home? Ba is too old to learn, but not Durga." Mahadevbhai tried to put up some sort of defence. It made matters worse. What had seemed a trifle to us all assumed such magnitude that Mahadevbhai actually packed up his things and got ready to quit. But he had become part and parcel of Bapu himself. His utility was so great, his dedication so complete that the catastrophe (Mahadevbhai's separation from Bapu whether by death or in life could not be termed anything else except a catastrophe) was averted. God granted his prayer and Mahadevbhai served Bapu till the very end. He died in harness on the 15th of August, 1942, serving his Master and serving his country with his last breath.

Soon after Mahadevbhai's death I asked Bapu one day, "Out of all the deaths that you have been faced with so far, has not Mahadevbhai's death affected you the most?" "Jamnalal, Maganlal and Mahadev, each one of them was unique in his own line," he replied. "I consider each one of them to be irreplaceable. But I will say this, that out of the three, Mahadev had chosen to lose himself completely in me. I might say that he had ceased to have an individuality apart from mine."

### A CHARMING PERSONALITY

Although Mahadevbhai was old enough to be my father, his mind was so young and fresh that one could never look upon him as anything except as a friend or a brother. I saw him as a small child in 1919 for the first time. My brother Pyarelal had joined Gandhiji a short time before that. I have a clear recollection of Mahadevbhai at that meeting. He had struck me as being more loving and affectionate than anybody else in Gandhiji's camp. It was this characteristic of Mahadevbhai, this ability to win over people young and old, as soon as he came in contact with them, that made him so precious in Bapu's camp. It enabled him to lighten much of Bapu's burden by settling many domestic problems around Bapu. It also enabled him to introduce some valuable workers and friends to Bapu. I remember Bapu once telling me that it was Mahadevbhai who had brought Rajaji to him.

### EARLY REMINISCENCES

Practically every one of Mahadevbhai's friends felt that he cared for him or her the most. To my mother, he was dearer than a son and to me he had become more than a blood brother. Soon after I joined Gandhiji in 1938, Mahadevbhai took to going out for early morning walks along with my brother and myself. My brother later dropped out. But I kept it on. During these walks Mahadevbhai



told me many reminiscences of his early days. Little did I know that he would be going away so soon and so suddenly and I kept no record of those talks. I feel sorry for it now. He told me about his childhood and the loss of his mother at a tender age. He told me of his student days which he had spent in poverty and then as to how he had become a practising lawyer and later took to co-operative banking. Life was just becoming easy for him and his father was beginning to look forward to his own son soon becoming rich and influential, when Mahadevbhai came in contact with Gandhiji. He told me : "Bapu was just then drawing up the rules of conduct for the Ashramites. I felt deeply interested. I and Narhari used to go to the Ashram almost every evening. I had many interesting discussions on the subject with Gandhiji. I felt more and more drawn to him and his mode of life. But for some time, Bapu tried to keep me off out of regard for my wife and my father. But I persisted and at last Bapu yielded. I still remember the day when I received a brief post card from him. There was one sentence in it which made my heart leap with joy. He had said : 'I would love to have you by my side.'" Immediately he resigned from his job, broke up his household at Ahmedabad and became an inmate of the Satyagraha Ashram at Sabarmati. Whatever money he had saved was soon given over to the Ashram funds, and to the great distress of his father, Mahadevbhai took the vow of poverty.

#### TWENTYFIVE YEARS OF SELFLESS SERVICE

Right from the day of his joining Bapu to the day of his death, Mahadevbhai was constantly serving Bapu. Before he came, Bapu generally had no companion when he travelled about. He did all his work himself and needed 'no looking after' as he put it. "But Mahadev soon took charge of me. He looked after my luggage, he looked after my food, he washed my clothes and he did my secretarial work."

After Mahadevbhai's death at the Aga Khan Palace, I was rather hard worked for about a month till the Government sent my brother Pyarelal from Arthur Road Prison, Bombay, to stay with us. Before he came I attended to Bapu's and Ba's massage etc., cooked their food, washed the clothes, attended to my duties as the medical officer of the camp and did whatever secretarial work there was to be done. Somebody reported to Bapu that I was being overworked. I tried to reassure him. "Please do not worry about me, Bapu. It is good for me to keep busy." "I am really not worried," said he. "If you are confident that you can manage it all, I will not think anymore about it. After all Mahadev has done more than you in his time. He did not have to attend to massage etc. and the medical duties, but he washed my clothes when I put on a huge turban, of coarse Khadi, a thick Khadi dhoti, and a *peran* and an *angarkha*. The clothes washing that you do is child's play, compared to what Mahadev used to do. On top of that he had to cook for me, see people on my behalf, attend to the correspondence and write articles for *Young India*."

At another time Bapu told me : "One great quality of Mahadev was that he was always willing to do whatever work was entrusted to him and do it enthusiastically. Thus he became a good writer, a good cook and a good coolie. That is generally the fate of all those who come to work with me."

On that fateful morning of August the 15th, 1942, Mahadevbhai got up earlier than usual. He extracted moosambi juice for Bapu's breakfast and prepared tea and toasts for the rest of the family before we had got ready. The toasts were so nicely made that everybody complimented him on his skill. In his usual good humour he joked, "So now I will be able to get a Khansama's job anywhere." Mrs. Naidu retorted, "What is it that you are not in Bapu's household already, Khansama, bearer, secretary and what not?"

At another time Bapu said to me, "I am a good teacher. The proof is that my pupils have often outdone me in the things that I taught them." (This he was telling me in order to stimulate my interest in the study of Sanskrit which I had started learning from him in jail). I was reluctant to believe the statment. So Bapu started giving examples. "In South Africa I learned shoe-making first and taught it to others. But afterwards both Kallenbach and Maganlal made better shoes than myself. Similarly, I introduced spinning in the Ashram by learning it first myself and then teaching it to others. But now I am a back number among the spinners. Mahadev learnt it from me and he span so much better than I."

"But, Bapu, these are your side activities," I persisted. "Your chief work has been giving out original ideas and writing for *Young India* and *Harijan*." "As for giving ideas," replied Bapu, "I have some originality. But writing is a by-product. I write to propagate my ideas. Journalism is not my profession and even there, though Mahadev learned journalism from me, he came to have a more facile pen than myself."

#### DISCIPLE OR SON ?

Bapu is different from the other great sages of the past, in so far that he has renounced the world and yet he has not renounced it. He has not ceased to love his own children, but he has extended his paternal love to all those who come in contact with him. By becoming a universal Bapu (father), he has not ceased to be Bapu to his own children, but his children cannot and do not expect from him anything more than anyone of his associates and co-workers. Thus Mahadevbhai also found in Bapu a father in every sense of the term. He told me once that shortly after his joining Bapu in 1916, they were travelling together on a very hot and sultry night. Bapu lay down to sleep and Mahadevbhai started fanning him. He was tired and soon he himself fell asleep. When he woke up, he found Bapu fanning him. The weather had been so sultry that when Mahadevbhai fell asleep and the fanning stopped, Bapu woke up. So he sat up with a fan and fanned Mahadevbhai as a mother would do for her child.

Mrs. Naidu told me once that when Mahadevbhai joined Bapu, he was so handsome and so fresh that



Bapu used to say "Mahadev is a rose". At that time Mrs. Naidu, nicknamed him Ghul-e-Gujarat (The rose of Gujarat).

#### BAPU'S BOSWELL

In spite of his deep learning, there was a child-like simplicity about Mahadevbhai. He was versatile and he was original. His one passion in life was to lighten Bapu's burden and interpret his ideas. If Bapu took up the subject of spinning, Mahadevbhai read up all the literature available on the subject and presented the substance of his study to Bapu in the form of articles for *Young India* or *Harijan*. If Bapu took up the subject of village industries or basic education or anything else, Mahadevbhai tried to study it and get to the very bottom of it, so that he could expand the ideas put forth by Bapu and enable the public to understand him better. He recorded his utterances and kept writing a sort of biography of Bapu in the form of his weekly letters in *Young India* and *Harijan*.

Soon after his death in detention, one day Bapu expressed his grief at the separation by saying: "He aspired to be my Boswell and yet he always wished to die before me. How could he do better? So he has gone and left me to write his biography instead." What an irony of fate! "It is cruel of children to wish for death before their parents. It is selfish," he remarked on another occasion. But his philosophy came to his aid. "I may not be able to convince others, but I do feel that death is never untimely in the real sense of the term," he said. "No one dies before he or she has finished his work in this world. Mahadev had put forth the work of a century in fifty years. So he has gone to his well-earned rest."

#### SHADOW OF THE FAST

The shadow of Bapu's fast in detention had begun to loom large some time before the August arrests. There were discussions on the ethics of fasting in Satyagraha. They deeply distressed Mahadevbhai. He was strongly opposed to the idea of Bapu going on a fast under any circumstance. He tried to argue it with Bapu. But when Bapu told him that if he has to fast, it will be in answer to a higher call, Mahadevbhai was left without an answer. But the idea continued to oppress him. During the four days that I was with him at the Aga Khan Palace, I often heard him give expression to his anxiety on that score. He simply could not bear the idea of Bapu going on a fast. Was it the emotional strain or the consequent changes in the higher centres which resulted in a standstill of the pump on that fateful morning of the 15th of August 1942?

#### THE LAST ACT

Whenever Mahadevbhai got ill, he used to send for me. I sometimes joked. "You are a great man, you should have big doctors attending on you. I feel so nervous to treat you." One day he became serious. "Sushila, you are my sister. I have confidence in you and would much rather die in your hands than in the hands of anybody else." Prophetic words! Little did either of us realize at that time that such a day was fast approaching.

It was a strange coincidence which resulted in my reaching Bombay just in time to be arrested with Shri Kasturba on the 9th of August, 1942. Bapu called it a work of Providence, even a miracle. We were kept in the Arthur Road Prison at Bombay for two days and taken to the Aga Khan Palace on the 11th. Bapu was drafting his letter to the Viceroy. It was drafted more than once. Mahadevbhai had to copy it each time. Seeing me there he remarked, "You will help me with this copying, won't you?" So I made one copy. After some further alterations, the final copy was made in Mahadevbhai's beautiful handwriting, signed by Bapu and handed over to the Superintendent of the Camp on the 14th of August for posting. That night Mahadevbhai gave massage to Bapu's head. I had a cold and had retired early.

#### 15TH AUGUST, 1942—THE PREPARATION

As I have said already, Mahadevbhai got up earlier than usual. He had intended joining the morning prayers on that day, but was just too late for it. So he spent the time in shaving himself, clipping his moustache and his nails. Mrs. Naidu passed by as he sat in front of a full size mirror (of which there were any number in the Aga Khan Palace) performing these operations. She joked: "What is wrong with Mahadev today? He has suddenly become very particular about his appearance." No one could guess that it was for the last time.

Gandhiji used to go out for a stroll in the garden at about 7-30 every morning. On that day Mahadevbhai also joined us. "For the first time after coming here, I slept well last night and am feeling very energetic," he said. He talked of bringing out a collection of instances of non-violence in literature. Then he started talking of cases of sudden death. Years ago he had told me how his father had died suddenly. He had just become reconciled to his son having taken to a life of renunciation and was thinking of coming to stay with him for a few days. Mahadevbhai had sent him a copy of a book that he had written. He sat in an arm-chair reading the book, happy in the thought that it had been written by his son. Suddenly he put his head back and breathed his last. As I heard the story, a cold shiver ran through my spine. "I hope it won't happen with Mahadevbhai," I said to myself. I had clean forgotten the story but Mahadevbhai's talk that morning reminded me of it.

#### THE DRAMA ENDS

After the walk I started Bapu's massage. The I. G. P. had come and Mahadevbhai, Ba and Miraben had gone to Mrs. Naidu's room to meet him. From the distance we heard their laughter. Suddenly there was a lull and then somebody called me. I thought they wanted me to come and meet the I. G. P. As I was getting ready to go, Ba came in rushing, "Sushila, come quick, Mahadev is having a fit." I ran. There I found him lying in a bed looking white as marble having generalized convulsions. I learnt that as he stood talking, he had suddenly complained of feeling giddy. He was told to lie down and they had called me. I was by his side within a minute. I felt his pulse, it was not there.



I listened to his heart. There were no heart sounds. "Call Bapu," I said, and asked for some heart stimulant. The I. G. P. got for me whatever he could. I pushed in two injections, but to no effect. In the meantime Bapu had arrived. He stood by the bed-side calling out, "Mahadev, Mahadev." But for the first time Mahadev failed to answer him. "If he only opens his eyes and looks at me once, he won't go," said Bapu in anguish. But he had decided to go. He never opened his eyes. In spite of my medical knowledge, I vainly hoped that Bapu's presence might achieve what medicine had failed to do. But the age of miracles, if it ever existed, is over. The convulsions and the groans subsided. It was all over. The Civil Surgeon arrived, shook his head and went away. Ba looked at my face. "How is he? Sushila", she asked in a choked voice. What was I to say? "No more?" she asked and burst into sobs. Bapu came and consoled her. He was stricken with grief, but he had to be brave. "Let us have the prayers and then bathe the body," he said. So we sat down and recited the 18th chapter of the Gita, sang "*Vaishnava Jana To*" and then had '*Ramadhun*'. The room where Mahadevbhai had sat in the morning shaving himself was vacated of furniture etc. The body was carried to Bapu's bath room and he bathed it with my help. It was painful to see him doing it with shaking hands. Then he looked round for a moment and said: "Mahadev has died as a prisoner, he must be cremated as one." So we wrapped the body in jail sheets and brought it out. The Superintendent had got a lot of flowers. Miraben arranged them around the body most artistically. She had prepared some sandalwood paste. Bapu put it on Mahadevbhai's forehead and sat down by his side. He and I recited the Gita by turns while preparations were being made for the cremation. I noticed that Mahadevbhai's eye on the side on which Bapu was sitting was half open. It was symbolical of Mahadevbhai's deep love and devotion to Bapu. Even in death he seemed to be gazing at his Master.

#### THE LAST RITES

The authorities had brought a lorry with police and Brahmins. They wanted to take away the body and cremate it by themselves. But Bapu would not have it. "No father can hand over the body of his son to strangers," he told them. "Mahadev was more than a son to me. I would like to perform his last rites myself. But if the Government cannot take me outside, I am prepared to hand it over to friends, but I won't hand it over to the jail officials." Although the Government hands over the bodies of murderers to their relatives and friends after hanging and lets them have a public funeral, it was not prepared to allow such a thing for a rebel however non-violent. They would not hand over the body to friends and relatives. There was a tenseness in the atmosphere. We all held our breaths. What will Bapu's reply be? Bapu sat thinking for a moment. Then he said: "I do not want to make the death of my son into a political issue. If the Government will not allow me to go out and cremate the body nor hand it over to friends, I will have the cremation here." It was a

novel suggestion. Nobody had ever heard of a cremation taking place in the house. The I. G. P. sat upstairs telephoning the Government of Bombay. The Government of Bombay in their turn had to consult the Government of India. At last he came down. The Government had agreed to the cremation taking place in the compound. We heaved a sigh of relief. Mrs. Naidu went downstairs to select the spot.

The I. G. P. had asked if Bapu would like to send a message to Mahadevbhai's people. "Yes, I would like to send a telegram provided it is sent without mutilation," he replied. Then he dictated the telegram to me. He began, "Sorry." Then he stopped. "Why should I be sorry to announce such a noble death? No, scratch out 'Sorry' and write, 'Mahadev died suddenly . . .'" The message was delivered to the I. G. P. with a request to despatch it as an express telegram. As we learnt later on, it was delivered to the addressee by post after several weeks' delay.

At last things were ready for the cremation. Bapu followed the body with a staff in one hand and the pot of fire in the other. The Brahmin chanted some *shlokas* and performed some ceremonies. The body was placed on the pier and Bapu lighted the fire. Soon there was a big blaze. Ba sat at a short distance oblivious of everything else. With folded hands she kept on repeating, "Mahadev, my child, may you be happy wherever you are. Oh! why should Mahadev have gone and not I?" The Superintendent of the Camp, the Superintendent of Yeravda prison and the I. G. P. also sat there watching the earthly remains of that beloved personality being consumed by the flames.

At last we returned to the house. It was past 5 O'clock in the evening. Death had occurred between eight and nine in the morning. "Mahadev has lived up to the 'Do or Die' *mantra*," said Bapu. "This sacrifice cannot but hasten the day of India's deliverance."

Mrs. Naidu was convinced that it was the worry about Bapu's fast that had killed Mahadevbhai. "If ever a man laid down his life for another it was Mahadev," she said. "Like Jesus Christ he died that Bapu might live. Now Bapu must give up the idea of ever going on a fast." There was no talk of a fast at that time. Things developed in such a way that a fast became inevitable, but when it did come at last, it came in a modified form, so that though Bapu went almost to death's door, he was able to survive it.

The bones and ashes were collected on the third day. A platform about seven feet by three and a half feet and about three feet high was erected on the site. A small enclosure of stones was also made. Bapu visited the *samadhi* morning and evening. Fresh flowers were placed and in the morning the twelfth chapter of Gita was recited every day. "Mahadev's whole life was an uninterrupted song of *bhakti* (devotion)", said Bapu, "and it is only befitting that we should recite *bhakti* yoga at his *samadhi*. From being a disciple, Mahadev has become my teacher. I visit his *samadhi* every day in order to keep the example of his lifelong dedication to service fresh in my mind. Let us all pray to God that we may be able to follow in his footsteps."

S. N.



## MAHADEV DESAI—THE LAST PHASE

In the case of two persons, the late Shrimati Kasturba Gandhi and the late Shri Mahadev Desai, the coming events of the fateful year 1942, cast very long shadows before. From the day she entered the gates of the Aga Khan Palace, Ba had a premonition that she was not going to come out of that place alive, and she never did. In the case of Shri Desai, the shadow was not that of his own approaching end but that of the danger to his Master for whom and in whom he lived and had his being. Ever since Gandhiji had hinted at the possibility of having to undertake a fast in the event of his imprisonment, the thought of it had haunted him (M. D.) like a nightmare. He struggled like a Titan to avert it. He one day asked me to go out for an evening stroll. "There is something that has been oppressing me. I want to discuss it with you," he said. "Ditto," I replied. This was not the first occasion when we had simultaneously felt the need of unburdening our minds to each other on the same subject. We discussed the pros and cons of the subject threadbare and found ourselves in complete agreement. "Now we must place our viewpoint before Bapu. I am going to do it tonight. You too must," he said to me. Accordingly two notes were prepared later and handed to Gandhiji 'according to plan'.

### A WARNING SIGNAL

On our way back I chaffed him, "With all your diplomatic skill which has never failed you, can't you find a way out of the present emergency?" "We seem to be up against fate this time," he replied with a sigh. I continued the chaff. We talked about old times. But for once the smile had left his face. All of a sudden, he had an attack of giddiness and sat down by the roadside. "I don't know why, but my mind suddenly went blank," he said to me. The giddiness, however, passed away as quickly as it had come. But when we reached his house, the pulse was very rapid and feeble and the blood pressure extremely low. We did not know then that it was a mild onset of ventricular failure — what in medical books is described as Stokes Adam's syndrome, accentuated by excessive mental strain which was finally to claim him a couple of months later.

In the meantime the prospect of the 'Quit India' struggle continued to fill the air. It was going to be a "Do or Die" struggle, in which no quarter could be expected or asked for. Mahadev Desai was aware of it. He decided to get himself overhauled medically. Had not Gandhiji taught that for a Satyagrahi, to fall ill in jail was a shame? He was anxious to give a good account of himself in prison in the coming struggle for Independence, the biggest and the most momentous in the country's history. He dragged me too along with him to Bombay, although I was most unwilling. "A sacred duty cannot be evaded. Bapu will need us all this time. We must keep ourselves fit," he remonstrated. Without even telling me, he made an appointment for me with a leading pathologist. Himself he went through a series of tests, minus alas! the heart. Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel was going the next day to

Wardha for the Working Committee meeting and wanted to discuss certain things with him on the way. The heart examination had to be given the go-bye.

### THE LAST JOURNEY

Gandhiji's date of departure for Bombay had been fixed for the 5th of August. Mahadev Desai made thorough preparation for a hazardous Odyssey, cleared his desk and sent away to safe places important documents, diaries, note books etc., the honey distilled during a life time with a diligence exceeding that of the bee in the fable. He took his son with him to Bombay. The latter had resisted all proposals for a university education made by his father's numerous friends, including the late Shri Bhulabhai Desai. The father felt that he had nothing more precious to give to the boy than to initiate him into the historic August struggle. There had been a function in the Talimi Sangh at Sevagram, on the 4th, in which Gandhiji had spoken. Mahadev Desai made the young Narayan write out the Hindustani report of Gandhiji's address on the train and had the great satisfaction to find that the boy had not done it unworthily. He carefully whetted it and afterwards told me that he had awarded 75 per cent marks to Narayan for the performance.

The next three days were full of hectic excitement and ceaseless strain for everybody. A chance encounter with M. A. Mecklai who was an old friend of his, provided an opportunity for a last, eleventh hour, though abortive, peace effort. The correspondence relating to that effort has since been published and is now public property.

### 8TH OF AUGUST AT LAST

We were attending the A. I. C. C. meeting. Suddenly he turned to me. "No one knows what may happen tonight," he said. "All sorts of rumours are in the air. Bapu made a very important speech yesterday and will make another today. Much may depend on accurate reporting of the two speeches. Let us take no chance. You do yesterday's speech just now. I shall see to today's speech when we go home."

But when I saw him later after the A. I. C. C. meeting at about 11-O'clock at night, he was still occupied by visitors. He had been unable to steal even a moment's respite.

"Well, the die is cast. What shall we do now?" I asked.

"Bapu is sure to be arrested. Well, we shall issue forth tomorrow hand-in-hand and do something worthy."

Young Narayan and Kanu Gandhi had encountered him about half an hour ago. "We are no longer going to listen to you now, Kaka," the former said laughing. "Bapu said in the A. I. C. C. today that everybody was hereafter to be his own leader. We are now *azad*."

"But you have already anticipated Bapu and I you," replied Mahadevbhai. "My dear boy, I have no wish to take away your *azadi*."

Little did the boy realize that he was going to be independent of his father in a way nobody suspected — he least of all.



## THEY COME

What followed is best told in his own words as recorded in the pages of his journal found among his posthumous papers:

"9-8-42. After the morning prayer I said to Bapu: 'There has been a spate of rumours and telephone messages, all to the effect that the arrests will take place tonight. Shri Arvind Pakwasa has further brought the news that barbed wire fence has been put up round the Aga Khan Palace where the detenus will be taken.' Mecklai even told me, 'You will be going to a lovely place. I myself would love to be there. I will go there to visit you.' Bapu said, 'After my last night's speech they will never arrest me.' But I feel ill at ease. I tried to get news about the Sardar on the telephone. The line was dead. Fear gripped me. I sent Swami Anand to try the telephone from the next bungalow. He quickly returned with the news that the Police Commissioner was coming to make arrests. The Police Superintendent came and made the arrests. There were warrants for Miraben and myself with offer to take Pyarelal and Ba into voluntary detention with Bapu. A special was waiting at the station. The whole of the Working Committee group and the members of the Bombay Provincial Congress Committee had already been taken into it.

"We were taken down at Chinchwad. The members of the Working Committee were made to get down first. In the course of a conversation with the Maulana and Jawahar a reference came up as to fast. They recognized it as a final step. Jawahar raised the point as to why secrecy was incompatible with *ahimsa*. 'You are free to interpret *ahimsa* in your own way,' replied Bapu.

"At Chinchwad Station we were taken into a motor car. Others were made to go into a lorry. Sorrow and grief were written large on Bapu's face. It was accentuated by the way in which Mehta was treated. They caught hold of him by his hands and feet and carried him to the lorry where a sergeant pushed him in.

"On reaching the palace I began to give Bapu a massage: 'After how many long years are you doing it?' Bapu asked. He slept for one and a half hours during *malish* and again at noon. He then began writing the letter to the Viceroy which he showed to me at night. But my eyes were heavy with sleep. At 9.25 he took silence.

## SIX DAYS IN THE AGA KHAN PALACE

"10-8-42. Several further corrections were made in that draft. A second letter to Lumley was written about the sergeant and for newspapers. The letter was drafted once, twice, thrice. All of us suggested that the Mehta incident should not be over-emphasized.

"The Civil Surgeon came. Bapu's blood pressure stood at 142/88, weight 104 lbs.

"I suggested that Lumley's letter should be posted next day. It was decided that the other letter should be held over for further consideration.

"The goat did Satyagraha. Bapu said it would not be right to take her milk under the circumstances. Miraben had some difficulty in persuading him.

"11-8-42. While the letter was being revised, Ba and Sushila arrived. They brought a lot of news. The whole day we talked of the happenings outside. Lumley's letter was posted in the evening. At night Bapu described his experiences with Jones, Dalziel, etc. I had a talk with Col. Shah.

"12-8-42. After making several further alterations in the Viceroy's letter, I gave it to Sushila to make a fair copy of it. 'If Government gives me 7 years, I shall be able to do a lot,' said Bapu. I reminded him of what Satyamurti had said: 'Bapu, your real work will begin after India has got her Independence.'

"13-8-42. I jotted down several more suggestions in the copy of the letter to the Viceroy made by Sushila. Bapu read through it again. Two or three sentences were altered for clarification at Miraben's suggestion. Bapu asked the meaning of 'teleology' in 'teleological connection between bourgeois democracy, revolution and industrialism'. This led to a lot of discussion on teleology. Finally Bapu said: 'In other words, it amounts to arguing in a circle.' Then there was a discussion as to whether the preposition 'with' or 'of' should follow 'reek'. He asked Sushila the meaning of 'varicose veins' and the derivation of the word 'varicose'. The two letters were addressed to L. and L. (Lord Lumely and Lord Linlithgow). 'It only needs H. E. before the two Ls (HELL);' remarked Mrs. Naidu.

"Sushila wrote a prescription for Ba. The Superintendent was about to send it to the chemist. I said to Bapu: 'He is sending the prescription with Ba's name on top. It is like sending out the news that Ba is here and is ill. Bapu said: 'You should warn the Superintendent and ask him to strike off the names if he wants to.' The Superintendent was very grateful for the suggestion. He struck off the names and sent the prescription to the chemist.

"I made a toaster out of stray pieces of wire. Bapu asked: 'What is the Gujarati equivalent of 'Necessity is the mother of invention'?' I suggested: ગરજ એ શોધની બાજી છે.

"14-8-42. The letter to the Viceroy was posted.

"Today we asked for news about Sardar and Pyarelal. The reply was: 'There is no report about Sardar.' So he must be presumed to be well. He did not know whether Pyarelal was in Poona or not."

## THE JOURNEY'S END

Here the Journal abruptly ends bringing to a close thirty years' sustained and unremitting labour. The life's candle was snuffed out on the morning of the 15th. The only other person whom I have known to be as punctual in keeping a day-to-day and hour-to-hour ledger of his life was the late Sheth Jamnalal Bajaj. The last entry in his diary was made just before he left for his daughter-in-law's house in Wardha never to return.

I was taken to the Aga Khan Palace exactly one month after Mahadev's death. Among his papers, along with the leaves of his journal reproduced above, there was the report of Gandhiji's last public utterance before the Talimi Sangh Teachers' Camp at Sevagram on the 5th. He could



not take it up at Bombay while the A. I. C. C. session was on. So he did it at the first opportunity on reaching the Aga Khan Palace.

Remained Bapu's A.I.C.C. speeches. "Have you done Bapu's A. I. C. C. speech of the 7th?" he had asked me on the morning of the 9th August just before his arrest. "I am only half way through," I had replied. "And you?" I asked referring to the other speech he was to do. "Could not even touch it owing to telephone calls which kept me awake till 2 a. m.," he replied and thrust his notebook containing notes of his speech into my hands as he passed out of Gandhiji's room to meet the police commissioner who had come with warrants of arrest. But he was not the one to leave behind him even the unpaid debt of a "cock I owe to Asclepius." During his six days' detention he had done from memory the skeleton of Gandhiji's two A. I. C. C. speeches of the 7th and 8th August and a better skeleton of a speech I have yet to see.

His association with Gandhiji was to him a probation and discipline in life. As Gandhiji with great penetration observed, what his soul thirsted for was a devotional spirit. "It was in furtherance of that quest he came to me and not finding full satisfaction even with me (shall I say) he turned his back on me in the fulness of youth . . . to seek the realization of his quest in the bosom of his Maker."

"I say that man was made to grow, not stop; That help, he needed once, and needs no more; Having grown but an inch by, is withdrawn, For he hath new needs, and new helps to these. This imports solely, man should mount on each New height in view.

And in this striving, this converting air  
Into a solid he may grasp and use,  
Finds progress, man's distinctive mark alone,  
Not God's and not the beasts': God is, they are,  
Man partly is and wholly hopes to be."

(*Death in the Desert*)

Sevagram, 12-8-'46

PYARELAL

### Horse Racing

I have written before regarding the ruination of men and money through horse racing but a very strongly-worded letter from a friend who says that gambling on the race course is not a lesser evil than the drink habit, constrains me to write again on this subject. The writer further says:

"Special trains are run for the races and are full of people who wear Gandhi caps, call themselves Congressmen and go there only to waste their money. Where does this money come from? We now have popular Ministries, but they too are silent and put up with the evil."

Although, in my opinion, gambling at races is not as great an evil as drinking of alcohol, one ought not really to draw comparisons. Less bad does not make gambling a good thing. I do not know all the intricacies of horse racing. All I can say is that if it is within the competence of a popular Government to put an end to the evil, it should certainly do so.

Sevagram, 9-8-'46

(From *Harijanbandhu*)

M. K. G.

## THE LIMIT OF INSANITATION

(By M. K. Gandhi)

Panchgani is a fine hill resort. The air itself is like medicine. Rajas and Maharajas do not frequent it like they do Mussooree and yet there has been no place where the poor could stay. Now at last if there is going to be a small haven for them, it would only be a tardy reparation. But if the present insanitary conditions continue, Panchgani will cease to exist as a health resort. I believe, the same is true of Mahabaleshwar too. I am of opinion that such conditions are due to our own fault, rather than to that of Government. I have heard doctors say that everyone knows how to observe personal cleanliness up to a point, but our people do not seem to know the A B C of hygiene and sanitation. The truth of this has to be admitted with sorrow. The following is a vivid account of Dr. Dinshah Mehta's observations regarding the lack of proper sanitary arrangements in Panchgani. I give it in the fervent hope that this disgraceful state of affairs will be remedied without undue delay:

"Dr. Savant accompanied me on the 19th July to the place, where the refuse of Panchgani is deposited. It is behind Sydney Point, about half a mile off the main road and one and a half miles from Panchgani Bazar. The main road passes in front of the Parsi Boys' School and because the wind happened to be blowing strongly in that direction, the smell was wafted right up to that spot. Sydney Point itself is a beautiful situation and if there were no nasty odours, the air would be health-giving. But no one goes there nowadays, even though a small motor road has been built. Only the grass blows in the wind. There are two houses just below the Point, but I was told that they remain vacant because of the stench, mosquitoes and flies.

"The garbage of Panchgani is all thrown by the side of the road and was lying there in large open heaps. It would be strange, if it were not full of germs and covered with flies.

"A little further on, I saw nightsoil in trenches. Four of these, each 10'x5'x3" were full. Some were empty. It appears that sweepers are too lazy and careless even to see that the nightsoil is actually thrown into the trenches. Much was lying outside. And I was told that if anyone remonstrates with them about this or any other matter, they go on strike. The Municipality and residents of Panchgani have, therefore, meekly to submit. Local sweepers refuse to allow outside scavengers to enter Panchgani.

"I have not yet been able to rid my nose and eyes of the smell and the nauseating sight. Anyone who goes there to inspect, must train these organs to stand the trial. On return he should take a bath and then go to sleep, in order to rest both mind and stomach or else he will have to send for a doctor!

"In order to improve the dreadful conditions, I submit the following suggestions:



1) All garbage and nightsoil should be properly thrown into trenches and covered over with at least double the quantity of clean earth,

2) or all should be burnt in an incinerator,

3) or septic tanks should be constructed and the overflow of water from these, should be used for the cultivation of a public vegetable garden,

4) or it should be made compulsory for every house-owner to build a septic tank in this domain. Used bath water can be employed for flushing these tanks. Standard plans for the construction of such tanks can be had from military contractors,

5) or a scheme for drainage and a pumping station should be undertaken. But for this, sufficient water is an essential. The water works scheme which the Panchgani Municipality has under consideration, would have first to come into being.

"The last is the most important and best suggestion but it requires both money and time. Meanwhile the least that can be done is to act forthwith on my first and second proposals."

Poona, 1-8-'46

(From *Harijanbandhu*)

## Notes

### South Africa

The heroic struggle of the Indian settlers in South Africa continues with unabated zeal. It promises to be prolonged. The longer the resisters are made to suffer, the greater will be their glory and reward. It is true of all long suffering. What the Government of the Union of South Africa has done so deliberately is not going to be changed suddenly, even for the sufferings of the brave men and women. This is said not to damp the zeal of the fighters but to steel them for greater and longer suffering. Their spokesmen when they were in India were told in plain language that they must not expect the struggle to close quickly. Time runs always in favour of the sufferer, for the simple reason that tyranny becomes more and more exposed as it is continued. In reality it is never long. Sufferers need never lose hope whether their struggle appears to have a longer lease of life or shorter, when the result is a certainty.

### Goa

The Goan authorities are going on merrily with their 'humanizing' activities by gagging the people of Goa. The latest instance is that of their 'court martial' sentencing Shri Braganza Cunha to eight years and deporting him to a far off Portuguese settlement in Africa for the crime of daring to assert his elementary right of civil liberty. Well has the Working Committee passed a resolution in condemnation of the policy of the Goan authorities which stands in striking contrast to the action of the French Governor who has encouraged the people to throw in their lot with the people in British India.

Sevagram, 12-8-'46

M. K. G.

## COMPENSATION FOR MURDER

(By M. K. Gandhi)

I have been asked whether the brother or other near relatives of the late Bhai Rajabali should demand compensation in money from Government for his murder. The deceased himself would not have counted such a death as loss. As a matter of fact, it is murders such as this which, if wholly unavenged, will ultimately put an end to murder. The moment any compensation or revenge is sought, the good of the willing sacrifice is wiped out. And how then could the spirit of the deceased rest in peace?

Murder can never be avenged by either murder or taking compensation. The only way to avenge murder is to offer oneself as a willing sacrifice, with no desire for retaliation. Those who believe in this premise will never dream of demanding or taking any compensation for the loss of their dear ones. The principle of taking of life for life will, on the contrary, only lead to an increase of murders. This is apparent to all today. Revenge or compensation may furnish some satisfaction to the individual, but I am quite definite that it can never restore peace to or uplift society.

The question arises as to what the individual should do in a society where revenge is the rule. The answer lies not in precept but in example. And those alone can set the example who have been wronged. Therefore, the final decision must rest with Bhai Rajabali's relatives. My duty lay in pointing them the way of *ahimsa* as I know it.

Sevagram, 9-8-'46

(From *Harijanbandhu*)

### THE GOSPEL OF SELFLESS ACTION OR

### THE GITA ACCORDING TO GANDHI

(Translation of the original in Gujarati, with an additional Introduction and Commentary)

By Mahadev Desai

With Gandhiji's Foreword

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# HARIJAN

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TWO ANNAS

## KHADI ON TRIAL

Khadi has passed through several phases during its variegated history in the last twentyfive years. From being an antique rarity, it has become the symbol of India's non-violent struggle for independence or, as Pandit Jawaharlal put it, the 'livery of our freedom'. It became the basis of the biggest producers' and consumers' co-operative. But that was not enough. If it was fully to play the role envisaged for it, viz. serve as a foundation for a non-violent social order, capable of withstanding all shocks of time and chance, its basis has to be re-examined and transformed. This was done by a series of resolutions adopted by the A. I. S. A. under Gandhiji's direction on his release from detention. The principal change was transference of the emphasis from the commercial to the self-help aspect of Khadi. The essential function of the A. I. S. A. was defined to be educative. Khadi Bhandars, under the new orientation, were to be centres for imparting instruction in the various processes of Khadi production rather than depots for the sale of Khadi for money. The rule of realizing a part of the price of Khadi in yarn was introduced and the proportion was gradually stepped up. By a curious coincidence, simultaneously with these changes, the production of Khadi in the country showed a sharp decline, owing to the operation of a series of causes independently of these changes. Those who had taken to Khadi merely as a livery but never accepted the obligations inherent in it, began to experience an increasing difficulty in obtaining Khadi from the depleted Khadi Bhandars who rightly refused to supply it to those who did not co-operate in its production. To this must be added maladjustment, resulting from the change over during the transitional period and the post-war abnormal conditions. A friend was discussing these difficulties with Gandhiji the other day. He could not see the justification of enforcing rules that would restrict the supply of Khadi at a time, when the demand for it was widespread and daily growing. A vacuum had been created and it was up to the A. I. S. A. with its long experience and widespread organization to step in and fill it. Instead, it has chosen to stultify itself, so that even sincere and life-long wearers of Khadi were finding it difficult to provide themselves with Khadi, unless they span for themselves which in very many cases, their public duties did not allow them to do. Did it not, connote the failure of the A. I. S. A.'s new policy?—he asked.

### IS NEW ORIENTATION A FAILURE?

"To appreciate fully the present policy of the A. I. S. A.," explained Gandhiji, "you have to take

in its etiology. In the initial stages the emphasis was on bringing relief to the poor. Incidentally it provided a living link between the classes and the masses, and assumed a political significance. . . We cannot make further headway on those lines. We cannot, for instance, further increase the wages. Khadi won't bear it. So far, it was spun and woven by the masses. Now it must still be by the masses, but for their own use. The new policy of the A. I. S. A. has not failed. The latest figures show that it is steadily though slowly, making headway.

"There are difficulties. Weaving constitutes the bottleneck. We have not established a sufficient hold on the weavers. The fault, again, is mine. If I had from the very beginning, insisted on all, learning weaving along with spinning, things would have been different today. The working capital of the A. I. S. A. now stands at twenty-five lakhs. It has taken twenty-five years to reach that figure. During that period it had distributed over seven crores of rupees as wages among four and a half lakhs of the poor spinners and weavers, principally spread over twenty thousand villages of India. I do not know of another instance of such a huge turn-over on so little capital in such a wide area."

"That is good but by no means unique. The Chinese Indusco did better," remarked the friend.

"That is not a fair comparison," replied Gandhiji. "I studied in detention Nym Wales' book which was recommended to me. Indusco's activities were carried on under abnormal circumstances with the backing of the Chinese National Government. Besides, all its production was war-time production. You need not have gone as far as China for your illustration. The work of the Calicut Mission in South India would have provided a more apt instance. In each case the field was restricted. In the case of Khadi it is trying to serve the whole of India."

"We cannot today attract more artisans by offering better wages. The general level of wages in the country is already so high."

"We do not want to."

"You mean to say you want them to produce for self."

"Yes."

### WHAT HE TOLD MR. CASEY

"How can that be made practicable," asked the friend.

"I explained that to Mr. Casey last year," replied Gandhiji. "I told him that by adopting my scheme, not only could we solve the cloth problem for Bengal, but for the whole of India. The essence of that scheme was that, instead of supplying textiles to the people, they should be taught how to make cloth for themselves and provided the necessary means



—instruments, raw materials etc.—for the same. A reasonable time limit should be fixed after which no textiles would be rationed in the area covered by the scheme. In German East Africa, I am told, cloth shortage during World War No. 1 was actually met by the Negroes being induced to manufacture their own cloth. Whether that is so or not, if India made full use of her spinning and weaving tradition which is universal and the matchless hereditary skill of her artisans, she could not only solve her own difficulty but even help the world to meet the present crisis by releasing her mill production, for countries less favourably placed in the matter of cloth manufacture."

"The fact, however, remains that in spite of there being such an acute cloth scarcity, Khadi has failed to step into the breach," persisted the friend. "It has missed the bus."

"Thanks to Government interference," replied Gandhiji. "They arrested Khadi workers, burnt stocks of Khadi and put Khadi production under every conceivable handicap."

"The vacuum is growing. Production charges have already touched the ceiling and yet the wages that we can offer, are not adequate to attract even the unemployed."

"Where are these unemployed?"

"Well, there are one lakh of I. N. A. men."

"I made an offer to them. It has yet evoked no response. You can take the horse to the trough but you cannot make it drink."

#### NO COMPULSION

"Cannot Government formulate a scheme?"

"It has been done in Madras. It is under examination. Nothing can be imposed from above. Everything has to be worked from below. And those who work them should have faith and conviction and spirit of service. A Government ukase won't do the trick. Governments can assist. As I told Mr. Casey, I am prepared to work out my scheme if it is left to me and the Government accord necessary facilities. That offer still stands."

"The danger," interpolated the friend, "is that, if we stop the supply of textiles to any area, as envisaged in your scheme, it may accentuate the present discontent and even cause an upheaval. There are elements ready to pounce upon and exploit any excuse to foment discontent. Restriction on cloth supply might even be enumerated as an 'atrocities' as prohibition was by a certain section in Bombay. How can we contemplate or invite a disturbance like that? This is not a constructive approach to the question. It smacks of compulsion."

"Where is the question of compulsion?" asked Gandhiji. "As it is, there is not enough cloth to go the round. The stocks of cloth available for distribution being short of the demand, rationing becomes a necessity. The question is only of wise distribution. No stocks may be expected from outside for some time. America and England are making strenuous efforts to increase their cloth production. But it is all needed there. If we nationalize our textile industry and work it on a double shift basis, it would probably solve the problem of cloth shortage, but not of mass poverty. I won't then be able to press the case for Khadi, not because there would be no case but because I won't be able to carry conviction."

#### KHADI AND THE NEW ERA

"That is not my point," rejoined the friend. An element of compulsion there is in all governmental measures. Tariff, protection, excise duties—all these are disguised forms of compulsion. It becomes an evil when it is wrongly or unduly used. If a fundamentally unsound and unstable economic situation is sought to be propped up by governmental compulsion, there is danger that it will crash one day and spread ruin all around. I am wondering, if the organization of Khadi production on the present lines, is not an instance of that type, whether pure theory does not need to be tempered with a measure of practical realism to suit the changed conditions. For instance, the woollen manufactures in Kashmir, are not for self-use. They cater for the market for fancy goods outside Kashmir. They are extremely popular. Now, if we introduce machine carding, they can hold their own against all competition. But that would be against the fundamental Khadi principles. I have been thinking whether a compromise cannot be effected. To run cottage industries with man-power exclusively, has not much prospect of survival in this age of machinery. We may try to canalize economic trends, we may not run against them in a head-on collision. If we could run cottage industries with the help of cheap electricity, for instance, they would be able to hold their own without losing their essential character. After all, decentralized production is what we want. We might have projects for the development of cheap hydraulic power as an aid to irrigation schemes. They can be in operation in from six to ten years. It will then be possible to take electricity to every village. Shall we under those circumstances be able to work Khadi on the present lines? Normally speaking, supply should balance demand. But instead of establishing Khadi on a permanent basis, we are crippling it by artificial restrictions with the result that a lot of corruption and dishonesty has crept in. The same yarn is presented again and again at the Khadi Bhandars as a counterfeit token. Apart from its economic aspect, Khadi has come to acquire a cultural and political significance. People are anxious to adopt it as a uniform. Hospitals would like to have their linen preferably in Khadi. I. N. A. people would want to adopt Khadi uniform. But today, thanks to the new policy, Khadi is nowhere to be had. Only hypocrisy and dishonesty seem to flourish."

#### I AM NOT AFRAID

"It is open to all those who cannot or do not want to spin," replied Gandhiji, "to go in for mill cloth, whether Indian or foreign. I am walking with my eyes open. This is not the first time in the history of Khadi that demand has outstripped supply and *vice versa*. Each time heroic measures were adopted and the crisis was overcome. I do not expect a different result this time. Only, we must have faith and patience and the courage to apply the right remedy which is what I am doing at present. If in the process Khadi dies, I must be prepared to take even that risk."

"That is begging the question," rejoined the friend. "It won't go down with the people. We have got to adjust our policy to the popular need."



"I cannot do that. Having discovered the error, I must correct it. That may take time. Therefore, I have suggested the removal of the Khadi clause from the Congress Constitution. When it was sought to be removed unsuccessfully at the Assam Congress, it gave me satisfaction. Now I will encourage and welcome abolition. If it has intrinsic merit, Khadi will survive the Congress abolition. If it has not, it will deserve to go under."

"That, however, would not solve our fundamental problem."

"I am afraid I won't be able to convince you by argument. Time alone will show who was right."

#### DIAGNOSIS AND THE REMEDY

"You said weaving was the bottleneck," resumed the friend. A weaver weaving mill yarn, can today earn as much as Rs.3 a day. The spinner and the weaver of the handspun won't work for lower wages."

"I don't want him to," replied Gandhiji. "That is why I have recommended doubling of handspun yarn. If he depends on the supply of mill yarn, he is doomed. Millowners are not philanthropists to go on providing yarn to the hand-loom weaver when he enters into effective competition with them. But a weaver working on doubling handspun yarn will, in the end, be better off than the mill yarn weaver, for, the former will find steady employment all the year round."

"The very basis of textile industry has been revolutionized," continued the friend. "Now they are preparing synthetic textile fibres from coal, air and water. Felting of cotton fibres with the help of resins is taking the place of weaving. Unless we make sure that our Khadi policy rests on a sound practicable basis and fits into the over-all picture, Khadi is bound to fail."

"It may, but the labour expended on it won't have been wasted," replied Gandhiji.

#### CURE FOR PERPLEXITY

"No good effort is ever wasted", proceeded the friend. "But the latest orientation of your Khadi policy continues to perplex many a sincere Khadi lover and worker. Their perplexity ought to be removed. Some of them even talk of going in for uncertified Khadi."

"The perplexity won't be removed if they have no faith in Khadi," replied Gandhiji.

"So long as there is demand for Khadi, it ought to be fulfilled even if prices of Khadi have to be raised."

"That means that Khadi will become fancy goods. It won't be right to use a vast organization for such a purpose. Our duty is to find out and remedy if there is any fundamental defect in our Khadi policy and if in the process, it is found that Khadi is not basically a sound proposition, it should be given a decent burial. Today Khadi is on its trial. It will successfully emerge from it only by virtue of its inherent strength and if it lacks that strength, all bother about it will be love's labour lost."

"All I know," finally persisted the friend, "is that where there is widespread and genuine demand for a commodity and the supply falls short, it

should be possible to devise ways and means to adjust the economic balance and satisfy the demand in question."

#### A TESTAMENT OF FAITH

Gandhiji replied: "I can only warn you of the danger. There was a time when we used machine-carded slivers for spinning. We might as well have used mill yarn. For, what is a roving but unspun yarn? If we had not broken away from it and had not introduced hand-carding, Khadi would have been defunct by now. The late Sir Gangaram said to me: 'Only give up the spinning wheel, concentrate on the handloom and I am with you.' He did not realize, what we know today, that the use of mill yarn is the principal stranglehold on the handloom industry. In handspun yarn lies its only salvation. If the spinning wheel goes, the handloom is bound to follow suit. Khadi will cease to have any value in my eyes, if it does not usefully employ the millions. Many of the "compromises" that have been suggested are such as to take away from it its essential character. The late Sir Fazalbai prophesied to me when I saw him thirty years ago, that Khadi was ultimately bound to fail. He is gone but Khadi has remained. May be a new era has now opened and Khadi is an anachronism in it. Only, I do not feel so."

Sevagram, 17-8-'46

PYARELAL

## Notes

### "Remember the Harijan"

A correspondent writes:

"Shri *Ganesh-utsava* started by the late Lokamanya is coming near; most of our ministers and leaders will be invited by various associations to speak on this occasion. I desire to suggest to the speakers that they should accept such invitations, provided that the management would allow, 'Harijans' to take part in the function; they should also make it a point to take at least one Harijan with them, when they go to address the congregation."

The above suggestion is apt. If caste Hindus really wish to stamp out untouchability, they should publicly associate Harijans with them, especially on such occasions as the celebration of Hindu festivals.

Sevagram, 16-8-'46

### Goa

The following telegrams have been received regarding Shri Kakodkar's arrest and imprisonment:

"Purshottam Kakodkar arrested in connection recent Satyagraha movement Goa. In spite being political prisoner imprisoned dingy ill-ventilated cell in company criminals awaiting trials for murder robberies. Food supplied most ordinary insufficient being half normal meal. Expressed willingness to work for his meal. Also pleaded on behalf his other unfortunate companions in cell for better treatment. In respect food authorities turned deaf ear. He is on hunger strike since last three days. Authorities' attitude arrogant/offensive."

"Purshottam Kakodkar fifth day hunger strike. Condition precarious. Allowed see persons under guard. Attitude authorities unconcerned."

If the charges attributed to the Goan authorities are true, they reflect great discredit on them. It is to be hoped that the civil resisters of Goa will not be cowed down by any ill-treatment, however grave it may be.



I am not sure about the wisdom of the resorted hunger strike. Let me hope that it will produce the desired effect. In any case, having been undertaken, it must be prosecuted to the end.

Sevagram, 18-8-'46

M. K. G.

## HARIJAN

August 25

1946

### WHAT CAN VIOLENCE DO ?

(By M. K. Gandhi)

If newspaper reports are to be believed, responsible ministers in Sindh and other equally responsible Leaguers almost all over, are preaching violence in naked language. Nakedness is itself a virtue as distinguished from hypocrisy. But when it is a hymn of obscenity, it is a vice to be shunned, whether it resides in a Leaguer or any other person. Any Muslim who is not in the League is a traitor, says one. The Hindu is a *kafar* deserving the fate of such, says another.

Calcutta has given an ocular demonstration of what direct action is and how it is to be done.

Who is the gainer? Certainly not the Muslim masses nor the sober follower of Islam which itself means sobriety and peace. The very salute '*salam alaikum*' means 'piece be unto you'.

Violence may have its place in life but not that which we have witnessed in Calcutta, assuming of course, that newspaper accounts are to be trusted. Pakistan of whatever hue does not lie through senseless violence. When I write of senseless violence, I naturally assume the possibility of sensible violence, whatever the latter may be. The Calcutta demonstration was not an illustration of sensible violence.

What senseless violence does is to prolong the lease of the life of British or foreign rule. I believe that the authors of the State Paper issued by the Cabinet Mission desire peaceful transfer of power to representative Indian hands. But if we need the use of the British gun and bayonet, the British will not go or, if they do, some other foreign power will take their place. We will make a serious mistake, if, everytime the British bayonet is used, we trot out the agent provocateur. No doubt he has been at work. Let us not ride that horse to death.

Calcutta has earned a bad repute of late. It has seen too many wild demonstrations during the past few months. If the evil reputation is sustained for some time longer, it will cease to be the City of Palaces, it will become the city of the dead.

Would that the violence of Calcutta were sterilized and did not become a signal for its spread all over. It depends upon the leaders of the Muslim League of course, but the rest will not be free from responsibility. They can retaliate or refrain. Refraining is easy and simple, if there is the will. Retaliation is complicated. Will it be tooth against tooth or many against one ?

Sevagram, 19-8-'46

### MASS MURDER

(By M. K. Gandhi)

A friend writes :

"The food famine situation in Mysore and Rayalaseema is daily growing more serious. Unless imports pour in sufficient quantities, the local co-operative stores will fail to supply rations—starvation rations as they are, since only 8 oz. of rice is being given to peasants who need 24 oz. to keep them fit—to the peasant masses and I am afraid that we may have to be prepared to face deaths, due to starvation in November and December."

If even half of what he says is true, it is a sad reflection on our capacity to cope with food famine in a vast country like India where there is land lying waste or ill-used and water running rapidly into the sea for want of human ingenuity to dam and store it. The writer says that unless imports "pour in sufficient quantities", meaning undoubtedly that they come from outside India, "mass deaths due to starvation in November and December" are a certainty. I suggest to everyone concerned that if this happens, the Government of the country will be guilty of mass murder.

To look to outside sources for food supply is to invite starvation. Has it ever been made clear that India has no capacity for growing sufficient food between now and November? Need a vast country like India with its teeming millions starve, even if the whole world were to declare a blockade against it?

Sevagram, 16-8-'46

### DISLOYALTY TO KHADI

(By M. K. Gandhi)

A correspondent writes :

"On 31st July 1946, at 6 p. m., 13 college students (Khadi wearers) headed by a prominent Congressman, who is also a councillor, came in the Khadi Bhandar. The sale was closed due to shortage of Khadi. Only a few pieces of Khadi were kept in the cupboard upstairs, as it was not possible to satisfy about 1500 Khadi wearers from these few pieces. They at once went up, took thirteen full pieces forcibly, asked the Manager to take money, and also without yarn, and on refusal of accepting money in protest by the Manager, they went away with the cloth.

"Was it not the duty of the Manager to lodge a complaint against them in the police, or what action should he have taken in preventing them from taking away the cloth?"

The Manager should really have resisted the looting, non-violently, even at the risk of losing his life. He is entitled to lodge a complaint against the miscreants, provided that all other avenues of voluntary return of the loot have been explored and have failed.

Rowdyism by students has become a byword. If "a prominent Congressman" encouraged them, it was a matter of shame. The use of looted Khadi betrays woeful ignorance of the elements of Swaraj and makes Khadi such a mockery.

Sevagram, 18-8-'46



## CONGRESS MINISTRIES AND RURAL UPLIFT

Resumption of office by Congress Ministers in the Provinces is by no means an experiment in constitutionalism. The task before them is to realize the content of Independence for the masses which the Congress has envisaged. What should be the end of our economic policy and the nature of social organization that should be built up and what are the obstacles in the present economic and administrative organization in achieving the goal of rural prosperity — these were the questions that the Ministers for Industries from the various Provinces, who met in conference in the Council Hall at Poona on the 31st of July, set themselves to examine.

Gandhiji explained his approach to Village Industries in the course of a thirty minutes address. The conception underlying both the Nai Talim and the Village Industries programme, including Khaddar, was rooted in the same thing viz. concern for the dignity and status of the Village unit as against the big cities and of the individual against the machine. The concern was further augmented by the fact that India lives not in a handful of her big cities but in her 700,000 villages. The problem was of re-establishment of justice between the town and the village. As it was, the balance was heavily tipped in favour of the former to the disadvantage of the latter.

### THE MACHINE AGE

"Ours has been described as the machine age," observed Gandhiji, "because the machine dominates our economy. 'Now, what is a machine?'—one may ask. In a sense, man is the most wonderful machine in creation. It can neither be duplicated nor copied." He had, however, used the word not in its wider sense but in the sense of an appliance that tended to displace human or animal labour instead of supplementing it or merely increasing its efficiency. That was the first differential characteristic of the machine. The second characteristic was that there was no limit to its growth or evolution. That could not be said of human labour. There was a limit beyond which its capacity or mechanical efficiency could not go. Out of this circumstance arose the third characteristic of the machine. It seemed to be possessed of a will or genius of its own. It was antagonistic to man's labour. Thus it tended more to displace man, one machine doing the work of hundred, if not a thousand, who went to swell the army of the unemployed and the under-employed, not because it was desirable but because that was its law. In America it had perhaps reached the extreme limit. He had been opposed to it, said Gandhiji, not from today, but even before 1908 when he was in South Africa surrounded by machines. Their onward march had not only not impressed him but had repelled him. "It then dawned on me that to suppress and exploit the millions, the machine was the device *par excellence*, it had no place in man's economy if, as social units, all men were to be equal. It is my belief that the machine has not added to man's stature and it won't serve the world but disrupt it, unless it is

put in its proper place. Then, I read Ruskin's 'Unto This Last' during a train journey to Durban and it gripped me immediately. I saw clearly that if mankind was to progress and to realize the ideal of equality and brotherhood, it must adopt and act on the principle of 'Unto This Last'; it must take along with it even the dumb, the halt and the lame. Did not Yudhishtira — the Prince of Righteousness, refuse to enter heaven without his faithful dog?"

### MINISTRIES AND THE A.I.V.I.A.

In the machine age these had no place. Under it the fittest alone survived to the exclusion and at the cost of the weak. "That is not my picture, of Independence in which there is room even for the weakest," observed Gandhiji. "That requires that we must utilize all available human labour before we entertain the idea of employing mechanical power."

It was with that background, that he was instrumental in founding the Talimi Sangh and the A.I.V.I.A. The object was to strengthen the Congress which claimed to be essentially the people's organization. The Congress had created these autonomous institutions. The Congress Ministries could requisition the services of these organizations always and without any compunction. They existed and laboured for the villagers who were the backbone of the Congress. But the Ministries were under no obligation. If they had no faith in what these organizations stood for, they should plainly say so through the Working Committee. To play with a thing when they had no heart in it, would be worse than useless. They should take it up, only if they believed with him that it alone held the key to the economic and political salvation of the country. They should not deceive themselves or others.

### THE GOOD EARTH

The base and foundation of village industries was agriculture. "Years ago I read a poem in which the peasant is described as the father of the world. If God is the Provider, the cultivator is His hand. What are we going to do to discharge the debt we owe to him? So long we have only lived on the sweat of his brow. We should have begun with the soil but we could not do so. The fault is partly mine."

There were people, remarked Gandhiji, who said that no basic reform in agriculture was possible, without political power. They dreamt in terms of industrialization of agriculture by large scale application of steam and electricity. He warned them that trading in soil fertility for the sake of quick returns would prove to be a disastrous, short-sighted policy. It would result in virtual depletion of the soil. Good earth called for the sweat of one's brow to yield the bread of life.

People might criticize that approach as being slow and unprogressive. It did not hold out promise of dramatic results. Nevertheless, maintained the speaker, it held the key to the prosperity of both the soil and the inhabitants living on it. Healthy, nourishing food was the *alpha* and *omega* of rural economy. "The bulk of a peasant's family budget goes to feed him and his family. All other things



come afterwards. Let the tiller of the soil be well fed. Let him have a sufficiency of fresh, pure milk and ghee and oil, fish, eggs, and meat if he is a non-vegetarian. What would fine clothes, for instance, avail him, if he is ill nourished and underfed? "The question of drinking-water supply and other things would come next. A consideration of these questions would naturally involve such issues, as the place of plough cattle in the economy of agriculture as against the tractor plough and power irrigation etc. and thus, bit by bit, the whole picture of rural economy would emerge before them. In this picture cities would take their natural place and not appear as unnatural, congested spots or boils on the body politic as they were today. "We stand today in danger of forgetting the use of our hands," concluded Gandhiji. "To forget how to dig the earth and tend the soil is to forget ourselves. To think that your occupation of the Ministerial chair will be vindicated if you serve the cities only, would be to forget that India really resides in her 700,000 village units. What would it profit a man if he gained the world but lost his soul into the bargain?"

Questions were then asked.

#### REMEDIES

*Q.* You have called cities boils or abscesses on the body politic. What should be done with these boils?

*A.* If you ask a doctor he will tell you what to do with a boil. It has to be cured either by lancing or by the application of plasters and poultices. Edward Carpenter called civilization a malady which needed a cure. The growth of big cities is only a symptom of that malady. Being a nature curist, I am naturally in favour of nature's way of cure by a general purification of the system. If the hearts of the city-dwellers remain rooted in the villages, if they become truly village-minded, all other things will automatically follow and the boil will quickly heal.

*Q.* What practical steps can be taken to protect our village crafts from the invasion of foreign and Indian manufactured goods under the present circumstances?

*A.* I can only speak in broad terms. If you have felt in your heart that you have taken office as custodians and representatives of the interests of the masses, everything that you do, your legislation, your executive orders, the instructions that you issue, will breathe concern for the villager. To protect his interests, you do not need the Viceroy's sanction. Supposing you want to protect the hand-spinner and hand-weaver against the competition of mills and solve the problem of cloth shortage for the masses, you will put aside red tape and send for the millowners and tell them that, unless they want you to go out of office, they must make their production policy conform to the requirement of the masses, whose custodian and representative you are. You will tell them not to send mill cloth to certain areas, which are put under hand production or produce a certain range of yarns and textiles which comes within the hand loom weaver's domain. If you are in earnest, your word will go home and they will willingly give their

co-operation as they did recently, when they provided the required textiles for export to Indonesia, in return for Indonesian surplus rice for the relief of the Indian famine. But there must be that inner conviction first, everything else will then be all right. Sevagram, 8-8-'46

PYARELAL

### CONGRESS MINISTRIES AND BASIC EDUCATION

The worst sabotage during the Sec. 93 regime following upon the resignation of the Congress Ministries in seven provinces in 1940 was that of the basic education plans, prohibition and the programme of rural rehabilitation and resuscitation of basic rural crafts that were launched by the Congress Ministries. Naturally, the first concern of the Congress Ministries on resuming office was to salvage what remained of their experiments and to take up the broken threads where they had left them.

The Education Ministers from the Congress Provinces met at the invitation and under the presidency of Shri Balasaheb Kher in a conference for the purpose in the Council Hall at Poona on the 29th and 30th July. Education Ministers from all the provinces had been invited. But from two, they could not attend. Gandhiji attended the conference for over one hour on the afternoon of the 29th. Although the basic education experiment had received a set back so far as Governmental and affiliated institutions were concerned, it was continued under the auspices of the Talimi Sangh, who, thanks to Gandhiji's prevision, was fully prepared for the emergency. With the completion of the first seven years, basic education came of age. In his first meeting with the members of the Talimi Sangh in 1944, after his release from detention, Gandhiji explained to them that a stage had been reached, when the scope of basic education should be extended. They would have to take post-basic as well as pre-basic training within their compass. Basic education must become literally education for life. Taking up the thread of the argument from that point, Gandhiji explained to the conference in the course of his address, on what line that extension should take place and what, according to him, the duty of the Ministers was in that respect. He was speaking in answer to the question of Dr. Zakir Hussain, who was anxious that in their overzeal, they should not take a bigger bite than they could chew. An over-ambitious programme, which they had not the means to implement, might prove a trap and danger.

#### "IF I WERE A MINISTER"

He knew clearly enough, said Gandhiji, what was to be done but he did not quite know how it could be done. So far they had their course mapped out for them, but now they had to sail on uncharted waters. He knew their difficulties. It was not easy for those who had been brought up in the old tradition, to break away from it at a stroke. If he were in the Ministerial chair, said Gandhiji, he would issue broad instructions that hereafter all educational



activity of the Government should be on basic education lines. Adult education drives had been launched in several provinces. If he had his way, he would conduct them also through a basic craft. In his opinion, cotton spinning and the allied processes were crafts *par excellence* for this purpose. But he would leave the choice of the craft to the people concerned in each case in the certain belief that in the end that craft alone which had the necessary intrinsic merit would survive. It should be the job of the inspectors and other officers of the Education Department, to go among the people and teachers of schools and by persuasion and argument, educate them in the value and utility of the Government's new educational policy. That was their primary job, not to lord it over them. If they had no faith in it or if they were unwilling loyally to work out the new policy, he would give them the choice to resign. But he did not think that it would be necessary, if the Ministers knew their job and put their shoulder to the wheel. Merely issuing orders would not do the trick.

#### REORIENTATION OF UNIVERSITY EDUCATION

What he had said about adult education applied equally to university education. It must be organically related to the Indian scene. It must therefore be an extension and continuation of the basic education course. That was the central point. If they did not see eye to eye with him on that point, he was afraid they would have little use for his advice. If, on the other hand, they agreed with him that the present university education did not fit them for Independence but only enslaved them, they would be as impatient as he was to completely overhaul and scrap that system and remodel it on new lines consonant with the national requirement.

Today the youth educated in our universities either ran after Government jobs or fell into devious ways and sought outlet for their frustration by fomenting unrest. They were not even ashamed to beg or sponge upon others. Such was their sad plight. The aim of university education should be to turn out true servants of the people, who would live and die for the country's freedom. He was therefore of opinion that university education should be co-ordinated and brought into line with basic education, by taking in teachers from the Talimi Sangh.

The Ministers had accepted office as people's representatives. Their writ would not run beyond the four walls of the Council Hall, unless they could carry the people with them. What was taking place in Bombay and Ahmedabad today, was an ominous symptom, if it portended that the Congress had lost its hold over the people. Nai Talim was as yet a tender sapling but it held out big promise. Its growth could not be forced by ministerial ukases, if popular support was lacking. If, therefore, they could not command popular support, his advice to them would be to tender their resignations. They should not be afraid of anarchy. Theirs was only

to do their duty according to their light and leave the rest to God. People would learn the lesson of true Independence even out of that experience.

He then invited questions. The first question was: "Can basic education be conducted minus the self-support basis?"

"You can certainly try," replied Gandhiji. "But if you ask my advice, I will tell you that in that event, you had better forget basic education altogether. Self-sufficiency is not an *a priori* condition but to me, it is the acid test. This does not mean that basic education will be self-supporting from the very start. But taking the entire period of seven years, covered by the basic education plan, income and expenditure must balance each other. Otherwise, it would mean that even at the end of their training, the basic education students will not be fitted for life. That is the negation of basic education. Nai Talim without the self-support basis would, therefore, be like a lifeless body."

Other questions and answers then followed:

**Q.** We have accepted the principle of giving education through a basic craft. But the Mussalmans are somehow opposed to the spinning wheel. Your emphasis on spinning is perhaps all right in cotton tracts. But do not you agree that it is unsuited to areas where the cotton crop is not grown? May not some other craft be substituted for it, in such places — agriculture for instance?

**A.** This is a very old question. Any basic craft to serve as a medium for education must answer the test of universality. As early as 1908, I came to the conclusion that to make India free and to enable her to stand on her own legs, the spinning wheel had to hum in every home. If England can become an exporter of textiles to India and to the whole world, although she does not grow a pod of cotton, I cannot understand why we cannot introduce cotton spinning in our homes, merely because cotton would have to be obtained from a neighbouring province or district. As a matter of fact, there is no part of India where cotton was not at one time grown. Localization of cotton cultivation in 'cotton tracts' is only a recent and anomalous development, forced upon India by cotton manufacturing interests at the expense of the poor tax-payer and cotton spinner of India. Even today tree cotton grows everywhere in India. Such arguments as yours, speak ill of our capacity for taking initiative, for our enterprise and resourcefulness. It would kill all manufactures if transportation of raw materials from another place were to be regarded as an insuperable handicap.

Moreover, to enable a person to clothe himself through his own effort, when the alternative is to go naked, is in itself an education. An intelligent pursuit of the various processes related to cotton spinning has besides, a very high instructional value. In fact, it covers the whole education of man as perhaps no other craft does. We may not today be able to dispel the doubts of the Mussalmans, as they are rooted in a delusion and delusion is a very real thing to its victim, while he is under its spell. But



if our own faith is clear and firm, and we can demonstrate the success of our method, the Mussalmans will themselves come to us and ask to be taught the secret of our success. They do not seem to have realized that the charkha has done more for the poorest Mussalman masses than even the Muslim League or any other Muslim organization. The bulk of the weavers in Bengal are Muslims. Nor should it be forgotten, that Dacca owed its world-wide fame for its *shabnams* to the deftness and skill of Muslim women spinners and Muslim weavers.

The same applies to Maharashtra. The best cure for the delusion is to concentrate on the performance of one's own duty. Truth alone will endure, all the rest will be swept away before the tide of time. I must, therefore, continue to bear testimony to Truth even if I am forsaken by all. Mine may today be a voice in the wilderness, but it will be heard when all other voices are silenced if it is the voice of Truth.

#### THE VICIOUS CIRCLE

"To produce efficient teachers for Nai Talim would take time. What should be done to improve education in the schools in the meantime?" asked Avinashilingam Chettiar speaking in English. Gandhiji chaffing him for it suggested amid general laughter, that if he could not speak in Hindustani, he might whisper what he had to say into his neighbour's ear, who would render it into Hindustani for him.

"If you realize," he proceeded, "that the present system of education cannot bring India Independence but only serves to deepen her slavery, you will refuse to encourage it, irrespective of whether any other takes its place or not. You will do whatever you can, within the four corners of the principles of Nai Talim and be satisfied with that." If people did not want the ministers on those terms, it would be better for the ministers to resign. They could not possibly be party to catering for poison, because they could not provide or because the people did not relish life-giving food.

Q. You say that for Nai Talim we do not need money but men. But to train men we again need institutions and therefore money. How can we get out of this vicious circle?

A. The remedy lies in your own hands. Begin with yourself. There is a good English proverb: 'Charity begins at home.' But if you yourself will sit in an easy chair like a *sahib* and expect others of the "lesser breed" to get ready for the job, you will get nowhere. That is not my way. It has been my practice ever since my childhood, to begin with myself and my immediate environment in howsoever humble a way. Let us in this respect take a leaf out of the book of the British people. A mere handful of them came to and settled in India in the first instance and carved out an empire for themselves which is even more formidable in its cultural than in its political aspect, so much so that, today we are so infatuated with English that we hug it just as a slave hugs its fetters,

even at the cost of the mother-tongue. Think of the faith, single-minded devotion, sacrifice and perseverance, which must have been at the back of it. It only shows that where there is a will, there is a way. Let us be up and doing with the firm resolve not to give up, come what may, and all the difficulties will melt away.

#### THE PLACE OF ENGLISH

Q. What is the place of English in this programme? Should it be made compulsory or taught only as an optional, second language?

A. I must cling to my mother-tongue as to my mother's breast, in spite of its shortcomings. It alone can give me the life-giving milk. I love the English tongue in its own place, but I am its inveterate opponent, if it usurps a place which does not belong to it. English is today admittedly the world language. I would therefore accord it a place as a second, optional language, not in the school but in the university course. That can only be for the select few—not for the millions. Today when we have not the means to introduce even free compulsory primary education, how can we make provision for teaching English? Russia has achieved all her scientific progress without English. It is our mental slavery that makes us feel that we cannot do without English. I can never subscribe to that defeatist creed.

Poona, 3-8-'46

PYARELAL

[The following resolution was passed by the Conference:

"The Conference of Education Ministers and Workers held in Poona on July 30th and 31st, discussed some of the most pressing educational problems before the nation and passed a few resolutions."

The last of these was:

"This Conference is of opinion that the physical well-being of children including adequate diet, medical care—both curative and preventive—and formation of health habits, forms an integral part of national education and necessary steps should be taken to introduce this educational programme in all primary and secondary schools—both basic and non-basic."

Ashadevi who has brought these adds that Ministers cannot implement them unless they are backed by popular support. To this end, she suggests the holding of a small conference of specialists such as educationists, medical men, nutritionists, social workers and workers for or in the villages. P.]

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# HARIJAN

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TWO ANNAS

## ALTERNATIVE TO INDUSTRIALISM

(By M. K. Gandhi)

A correspondent writes :

"Do you then believe that industrialization of India — to the extent of India producing her own ships, locomotives, aeroplanes, etc. — is necessary? If not, will you kindly suggest the alternative means by which India shall discharge her responsibilities as a free and independent nation?"

"If you believe in the establishment of such industries, who should, in your opinion, exercise control over the management and the profits that will accrue?"

I do not believe that industrialization is necessary in any case for any country. It is much less so for India. Indeed, I believe that Independent India can only discharge her duty towards a groaning world by adopting a simple but ennobled life by developing her thousands of cottages and living at peace with the world. High thinking is inconsistent with complicated material life based on high speed imposed on us by Mammon worship. All the graces of life are possible only when we learn the art of living nobly.

There may be sensation in living dangerously. We must draw the distinction between living in the face of danger and living dangerously. A man who dares to live alone in a forest infested by wild beasts and wilder men without a gun and with God as his only Help, lives in the face of danger. A man who lives perpetually in mid-air and dives to the earth below to the admiration of a gaping world lives dangerously. One is a purposeful, the other a purposeless life.

Whether such plain living is possible for an isolated nation, however large geographically and numerically in the face of a world, armed to the teeth and in the midst of pomp and circumstance, is a question open to the doubt of a sceptic. The answer is straight and simple. If plain life is worth living, then the attempt is worth making even though, only an individual or a group makes the effort.

At the same time I believe that some key industries are necessary. I do not believe in arm chair or armed socialism. I believe in action according to my belief, without waiting for wholesale conversion. Hence, without having to enumerate key industries, I would have State ownership, where a large number of people have to work together. The ownership of the products of their labour, whether skilled or unskilled, will vest in them through the State. But as I can conceive such a State only based on non-violence, I would not dispossess monied men by force but would invite their co-operation in the process of conversion to State ownership. There are no *pariahs* of society, whether

they are millionaires or paupers. The two are sores of the same disease. And all are men "for a' that".

And I avow this belief in the face of the inhumanities we have witnessed and may still have to witness in India as elsewhere. Let us live in the face of danger.

On the train to Delhi, 25-8-'46

## THE PLACE OF MEDICINE IN NAI TALIM

(By M. K. Gandhi)

Being engrossed in her work and being considerate of my time, Ashadevi never takes it unnecessarily. She did, however, come to me for five minutes the day before my departure for Delhi, to ask whether, in my opinion, there was need for teachers in the Talimi Sangh to study medicine and whether she herself should have the same four or five years' course that doctors have.

I at once realized that in spite of utmost trying, it is difficult for one like Ashadevi who has taken her M. A. under the old system of education to break away completely from its influence.

I have no degrees to boast of. And I forgot long ago to attach any value to the little knowledge I acquired in a high school. And I have drunk deep at the fountain of nature cure. So I said to her :

"You say that the first lesson our children have to learn is how to keep fit and how to keep themselves and their surroundings clean in every respect. I say to you that all the medical knowledge you require comes into this. Our education is conceived for the crores of villagers, it is for their benefit. They live close to nature, but even so they do not know the laws of nature. What little they know, they do not carry out. Nai Talim is derived from our knowledge of the piteous condition of the villagers. We cannot, therefore, know much about this Nai Talim from books. What we have hitherto acquired is from the book of nature. In the same way, we have to learn village doctoring from nature too. The essence of nature cure is that we learn the principles of hygiene and sanitation and abide by those laws as well as the laws relating to proper nutrition. Thus does every one become his own doctor. The man who eats to live, who is friends with the five powers, earth, water, ether, sun and air and who is a servant of God, the Creator of all these, ought not to fall ill. If he does, he will remain calm relying on God and die in peace, if need be. If there are any medicinal herbs in the fields of his village he may make use of them. Crores live and die like this without a murmur. They have not so much as heard of a doctor, much less seen one



face to face. Let us become really village-minded. Village children and adults come to us. Let us teach them how to live truly. Doctors aver that 99% of disease springs from insanitation, from eating the wrong food and from under-nourishment. If we can teach this 99% the art of living, we can afford to forget the 1%. They may find a philanthropic doctor like Dr. Sushila Nayyar to look after them. We need not worry about them. Today pure water, good earth, fresh air, are unknown to us. We do not know the inestimable value of ether and the sun. If we make wise use of these five powers and if we eat the proper and balanced diet, we shall have done the work of ages. For acquiring this knowledge, we need neither degrees nor crores of money. What we need are a living faith in God, a zeal for service, an acquaintance with the five powers of nature and a knowledge of dietetics. All this can be acquired without wasting time in schools and colleges."

On the train to Delhi, 26-8-'46

(From *Harijansevak*)

### CONFUSION ABOUT RAMANAMA

(By M. K. Gandhi)

A friend writes:

"Regarding your suggested cure of malaria by *Ramanama*, my problem is that I do not understand how to rely on a spiritual force for my physical ailments. I am also not sure if I deserve to be cured and if I am justified in praying for my salvation, when there is so much misery amongst my countrymen. The day I understand *Ramanama*, I shall pray for their salvation. Otherwise I would feel more selfish than I do today."

This is from a friend whom I believe to be an earnest seeker of truth. I take public notice of his difficulty, as it is typical of that of many like him.

Spiritual force is like any other force at the service of man. Apart from the fact that it has been used for physical ailments for ages with more or less success, it would be intrinsically wrong not to use it, if it can be successfully used for the cure of physical ailments. For, man is both matter and spirit, each acting on and affecting the other. If you get rid of malaria by taking quinine, without thinking of the millions who do not get it, why should you refuse to use the remedy which is within you, because millions will not use it through their ignorance? May you not be clean and well because millions of others will not be so, ignorantly or may be, even cussedly? If you will not be clean out of false notions of philanthropy, you will deny yourself the duty of serving the very millions by remaining dirty and ill. Surely refusal to be spiritually well or clean is worse than the refusal to be physically clean and well.

Salvation is nothing more and nothing less than being well in every way. Why should you deny it for yourself, if thereby you show the way to others and beyond showing it, actually serve them in addition by reason of your fitness? But you are wholly selfish, when you take penicillin in order to get well, although you have the certain knowledge that the others cannot get it.

The confusion lying behind my correspondent's argument is obvious.

What, however, is true is that the taking of a pill or pills of quinine is much easier than gaining the knowledge of the use of *Ramanama*. It involves much effort as against the mere cost of buying quinine pills. The effort is worth making for the sake of the millions, in whose name and on whose behalf my correspondent will shut *Rama* out of his heart.

Sevagram, 17-8-'46

### Notes

#### Goa

The game of hunting lovers of civil liberty is going on merrily in Goa. A small power because of its smallness often acts with impunity where a great power cannot. If the facts are as they have come to me, Shri Purushottam Kakodkar is fasting in his prison and may soon join the majority. As a believer unto death in Satyagraha, neither I nor any Satyagrahi should deplore the death. In such deaths of spotless victims lies the seed of true liberty.

But what of the Portuguese Power which boasts of philanthropy and alliance with the Roman Catholic Church? That Power will have to justify itself before man and God. The blood of the innocents (assuming the innocence of the victims) will cry out from their tombs or their ashes. It is more potent than the voice of the living, however powerful and eloquent.

On the train to Delhi, 26-8-'46

#### Cochin

I have read all that has appeared in the *Hindu* of 30th July about the announcement made by the Maharaja of Cochin. It is good as far as it goes. His Highness deserves congratulations for his courage. But good words do not carry us much further, unless they are accompanied by present action. It would certainly be a tremendous advance if the Maharaja were to make the beginning today, irrespective of what Travancore or other States do or do not do. Will Cochin become a part of what is called British Malabar today, the Maharaja keeping for himself no status other than what the free vote of the adult population of Cochin gives him?

Sevagram, 24-8-'46

#### Move on

On reading about my persistent darkness, a correspondent sends me the following lines of comfort:

"The path may be clouded

"Move on, for the orbit is fixed for your soul;

"And though it may lead into darkness of night,

"The torch of the Builder shall give it new light."

Savagram, 16-8-'46

#### English Notices

"You and Congress Governments advocate immediate discontinuance of English as the medium of instruction in this country. Will you not exert your influence through the *Harijan* to get all sign and direction boards, plates of offices, names of roads, streets, lanes, villages, schools, colleges, hospitals etc. written in the regional language of the district? A change in Government or semi-Government institutions will be a lesson to private shops, stores, saloons etc. to follow suit. Articles in the Company's and other Acts requiring a name-board in English must go."



I believe that nowadays the tendency is towards the use of the regional language on signboards etc. The correspondent is right regarding Government institutions and offices. Now that there are national Governments, the change should be introduced.

If any such rule exists in Company's or other Acts as referred to by the correspondent, it should certainly go.

On the train to Delhi, 25-8-'46. M. K. G.

### Hindustani Prachar Examinations

"The examinations for the Hindustani Prachar Sabha, Wardha, had been announced to take place on September 15th. But owing to the postal strike, letters were not delivered regularly for nearly a month nor did the centres receive the examination books in time. In the circumstances, the time for examinations has been postponed to November 17th (Sunday). In view of the extra time afforded, it is hoped that advantage will be taken to open more centres and more examinees will be forthcoming. The last day for receiving applications for the examinations at the Wardha office is 30th September."

I endorse the hope that the extra two months gained by the postponement will mean more entrants for the examinations.

On the train to Delhi, 25-8-'46 M. K. G.  
(From *Harijansevak*)

### Kasturba Gandhi National Memorial Trust

In continuation of the list of provincial agents of the Kasturba Gandhi National Memorial Trust, already published in the 'Harijan', Gandhiji as the Chairman of the Trust has appointed the following provincial agents:

1. Delhi: Shrimati Vedkumari
2. Central India: Shrimati Rukmini Devi Sharma
3. Tamil Nad: Dr. Soundaram Ramchandran
4. Nizam's Dominions: Shrimati Gyan Kumari Heda
5. Maharashtra: Shrimati Prema Kantak

Wardha, 6-8-'46 SHYAMLAL

### Errata

1. In Harijan of July 28, 1946, in the article 'Inspiring for Gramsevak', on p. 240, column two, line 4, read 1945 for 1935.

2. Same para, line 25, 'from the railway line' should read 'from the city'.

3. Second para, line 4, 'September 1943' should read 'September 1942'.

4. In Harijan of August 11, in the note on Kasturba Gandhi National Memorial Trust, on p. 258, the figure of Rs. 2,01,866-2-10 against total expenditure referred to expenditure through the Central Office only. To this must be added the following:

Expenditure through the Provincial Offices

Rs. 1,35,647-0-7

Advances that have nearly been spent

Rs. 80,681-7-10

Grand Total Rs. 4,18,194-11-3

5. In Harijan of August 25, 1946, in the article 'What can violence do?', on page 280, para three, last line read 'peace' for 'piece'.

## ENGLISH INTO HINDUSTANI

(By M. K. Gandhi)

What English knowing Indian has not felt the shame and sorrow of his failure to discover an equivalent for an English word in either his mother-tongue or the national language? A Gujarati lad has an English-Gujarati dictionary in such a case to help him; similarly an Urdu or Hindi knowing lad has his dictionary to fall back upon. But for Hindustani, which is neither Persianized Urdu nor Sanskritized Hindi and which is the tongue of the common folk of the North, whether Hindu or Mussalman, a writer has no dictionary to fall back upon. An attempt will be made through a column at least of the *Harijan* each week to furnish for English a Hindustani word or two, spelt in both Nagari and Urdu scripts. An endeavour will be made to give the names of those who will contribute their labour to this fascinating task. This is pioneer work and therefore will, like all pioneer work, have defects. Those who detect them, will confer a favour by drawing the attention to them of the Editor. I would suggest to students that they copy out these words week by week in a note-book and add to or amend the attempt. They will find that the labour will combine recreation with instruction.

Only those English words which are in common use, have been selected from a standard English dictionary. In reading the following, the reader should also know that no claim is made that the equivalents are the best possible or that they are exhaustive. They are a help to the searcher. The plan for this week is that those who are helping me to conduct the *Harijan* have prepared the first list. Kakasaheb and Acharya Shrimannarayan looked at the selection. The first letters of their names "Ka" or 'Shri' have been given in parenthesis after the addition.

Sevagram, 23-8-'46

1. Abandon v. छोड़ देना, तजना, (का०) त्यागना (श्री०) ।  
چھوڑ دینا، تھنا، (کا) نیاگنا (شری)
2. Abase v. झलील करना, घटिया बनाना ।  
کھٹیا بنانا، چٹیا بنانا
3. Abash v. पानी पानी करना, शरमिदा करना, शरमाना, झपना, लजाना ।  
शर्मन्दा करना, शर्मना, शरमाना, झपना, लजाना
4. Abate v. घटना, घटाना, नरम पड़ना (का०) ।  
کھٹنا، گھٹانا، (کا) نرم پڑنا
5. Abbreviate v. छोटा करना ।  
چھوٹا کرنا
6. Abdicate v. तख्त छोड़ना, राज-पाट छोड़ना ।  
تخت چھوڑنا، راج پاٹ چھوڑنا
7. Abdomen n. पेट
8. Abduct v. मग लेजाना ।  
بھگا لے جانا
9. Abide by v. पक्का रहना (वादे पर), पालन करना (वचन का), पाबन्द रहना ।  
پکا رہنا (وعدہ پر)، پالन کرنا (وچن کا)، पाबन्द रहना
10. Ability n. लियानत
11. Able adj. लायक
12. Abnormal adj. गैर सामूली, अनरीत
13. Abolish v. मिटाना, छुटा देना, रद करना (का०) ।  
مٹانا، چھुटा دینا، رد کرنا (کا)



# HARIJAN

September 1

1946

## IF I WERE THE MINISTER

(By M. K. Gandhi)

The talks with the Ministers concerned at Poona on 29th to 31st July on village-crafts and basic education have given rise to a lot of correspondence and private discussion. For the guidance of the Provincial Governments and others interested in the question of Khadi which has naturally occasioned the bulk of the correspondence and discussion, I set forth below my thoughts on the subject.

I refer the reader to my note in the *Harijan* of 28th April last. My views, then expressed, remain unaltered. One thing has created a misunderstanding. Some friends have read compulsion in that note. I am sorry for the obscurity. In it I had answered the question as to what representative governments could do if they wished. I had, I hope pardonably, assumed that such governments' notices too could not be interpreted as compulsion. For every act of a *bona fide* representative government would assume consent of the voters represented. The voters would mean the whole populace, whether registered as voters or not. With that background, I wrote that the government should notify to the villagers that mill cloth would not be supplied to the villagers after a certain fixed date, so as to enable them to wear Khadi prepared by themselves.

Whatever the meaning of my article of 28th April last, I want to state that any scheme adopted about Khadi, without the willing co-operation of those concerned, must mean death to Khadi as a means for attaining Swaraj. Then the taunt that Khadi was a return to the darkness and slavery of the Middle Ages would be true. But I have held the contrary view. Whilst Khadi under compulsion was a badge of slavery, Khadi intelligently and voluntarily prepared, primarily for one's own use, was easily the badge of our freedom. Freedom is nothing if it is not all-round self-help. I, for one, would have nothing to do with Khadi, if it were not a free man's privilege as well as duty.

A friendly critic asks whether Khadi thus prepared could also and at the same time be for sale. Yes, if sale is its secondary use; not, if manufacture for sale is its only or even primary use. That we began with sale of Khadi shows temporary necessity as well as our limited vision. Experience is a great teacher. It has taught us many things. Not the least is its primary use. But it is by no means the last. But I must leave this fascinating field of speculation and proceed definitely to answer the question put in the heading.

My first business as the minister in charge of revival of the villages as the centre of all govern-

mental activity, would be to find out from among the Permanent Service honest and incorruptible men capable for the work. I would put the best among them in touch with the A. I. S. A. and the A. I. V. I. A., creations of the Congress, and bring in a scheme for giving the village-crafts the greatest encouragement. I would stipulate, there should be no compulsion on the villagers, that they must not slave for others and that they should be taught to help themselves and rely upon their own labour and skill for the production of articles of food, cloth and other necessities. The scheme would thus have to be comprehensive. I would instruct my first man, therefore, to see the Hindustani Talimi Sangh and see what it has to say.

Let me assume that the scheme, thus produced, contains a clause saying that the villagers themselves declare that they would not want mill cloth, say, after one year from a fixed date, that they require cotton, wool and necessary implements and instruction, not as a gift but to be paid for on the easiest terms. The scheme provides too, that it will not apply at once to the whole of any province but only to a part to begin with. The scheme further tells one that the A. I. S. A. will guide and assist the working of the scheme.

Being convinced of its soundness, I would give it legal form in consultation with the law department and issue a notification, fully describing the genesis of the scheme. The villagers as well as the millowners and others would have been party to it. The notification will show clearly that it is the people's measure, though bearing the Government stamp. The Government money will be used for the benefit of the poorest villagers, making the largest return possible to the people concerned. It will, therefore, be probably the most profitable investment in which expert assistance will be voluntary and overhead charges the least item. The notification will give in detail, the whole cost to the country and the return to the people.

The only question for me as minister is whether the A. I. S. A. has the conviction and capacity to shoulder the burden of creating and guiding a Khadi scheme to success. If it has, I would put my little barque to sea with all confidence.

On the train to Delhi, 26-8-'46

### NOTICE

Readers will please note that a branch of the Navajivan Karyalaya has been recently opened at Delhi (Kucha Mahajani, Chandni Chowk). Copies of the four weeklies *Harijan* (English), *Harijanbandhu* (Gujarati), and *Harijansevak* (both in Nagari and Urdu scripts), of our Gujarati monthly, *Shikshan ane Sahitya*, and our publications will be available there. The subscriptions for the weeklies and the monthly will be received there. All sales in Delhi and New Delhi, of *Harijan* and its various editions will henceforth be handled by the branch office.

MANAGER



## WEEKLY LETTER

I

## MAHADEV DESAI DAY

The fourth anniversary of Mahadevbhai's death in prison was jointly observed by the various Sevagram institutions on the 15th of August. Beginning with a *baitalik* in the morning, the students and workers went round the Ashram singing Rabi Babu's songs dear to Mahadevbhai and dispersed after a final chorus in front of his hut. An exhibition of specimens of calligraphy and common spinning occupied the place of honour in the day's programme. His diaries, manuscripts, letters, all in his uniform print-like hand, provided a perfect feast for the eyes. Whether he wrote English, Gujarati, Sanskrit or Persian script, it carried the mark of distinction and elegance. Specimens of handwriting of other celebrities in the Congress and of numerous lesser lights in the Ashram, who had more or less successfully adopted him as their model in that respect, not to mention the students of the Basic School, completed the picture.

Gandhiji swears by little things on which, he has often averred, his life is built. Drawing attention to three aspects of Mahadev's life at the prayer gathering on the evening of the 15th, he remarked: "Friends and admirers of Mahadev Desai have been following the practice of observing his death anniversary by occupying themselves with something dear to him. His was a rich, gifted hand. He had many loves. Among these the spinning wheel held the first place. He span regularly and beautifully like the artist that he was. No matter how fatigued or overworked he was, he always found time for spinning. It refreshed him.

"Among his many accomplishments, not the least was his peerless handwriting. There he was master. Ramadas Swami in one of his couplets has likened beautiful handwriting to a lustrous pearl. The characters which Mahadev's pen traced were like a pearl without a flaw.

"His third quality which all should emulate and copy was his love of the Indian tongues. He was a linguist. He attained proficiency in Bengali, Marathi and Hindi and he learnt Urdu. In jail he attempted to learn Persian and Arabic under Khwaja Sahib M. A. Majid, who was a fellow prisoner."

Commenting on Rabi Babu's song that had been sung, Gandhiji observed: "The song which you have just heard was one of Mahadev's favourite songs. He has rendered it into Gujarati verse too.

When the heart is hard and parched up, come upon me with a shower of mercy,

When grace is lost from life, come with a burst of song,

When tumultuous work raises its din on all sides shutting me out from beyond, come to me, my Lord of silence, with Thy peace and rest.

When my beggarly heart sits crouched, shut up in a corner, break open the door of my mind, and come with the ceremony of a king.

When desire blinds the mind with delusion and dust, O Thou Holy One, Thou wakeful, come with Thy light and Thy thunder. — Gitanjali

That summed up the innermost yearning of the deceased's soul. May it do yours too. Mahadev's life was an inexhaustible well of virtues which you can all share. The sharing won't diminish its volume. That is the beauty of spiritual treasures. As the Upanishad says:

"पूर्णमदः पूर्णमिदं पूर्णात् पूर्णमुदच्यते ।

पूर्णस्य पूर्णमादाय पूर्णमेवावशिष्यते ॥"

## PANDIT NEHRU AT SEVAGRAM

Availing themselves of Pandit Jawaharlal's presence at Wardha in connection with the Working Committee's meeting, the Sevagram group of institutions invited Panditji to meet them in the New Talimi Sangh Hall also known as Rabi Hall at Sevagram Ashram. These included the Khadi Vidyalaya, the Hindustani Talimi Sangh, the Go-Seva Sangh and the trainees under the Kasturba Gandhi National Memorial scheme. In a luminous little speech Panditji expressed great satisfaction at the pace at which the place had grown since he had visited Sevagram last. A busy hive of constructive activities institutions had sprung up where only a few scattered hamlets stood before. Great tasks awaited the trainees, who had come there for training, on their return to their respective fields of work, he said. It was no small task to raise the level of 40 crores of men, women and children. Papers, remarked Panditji, were full of politics these days. In a way it was natural. But they should remember that political independence only cleared the way for constructive work. It could not take the place of constructive work. "If we succeed in driving out the English and the condition of the country remains unchanged, we shall only have travelled farther to fare worse. Political independence will only remove the obstacles that hinder nation-building. Real work would only then begin. We must remove the poverty and unemployment that afflict our masses and ameliorate their condition in general."

"What is wealth?" asked Panditji and replied, "Not gold and silver." A traveller who lost his way in the desert could not eat or drink gold and silver. He would gladly exchange all the gold and silver in the world for a morsel of food and a drink of water to sustain life. Gold and silver only provide a handy medium for the exchange of useful commodities. A nation's wealth was measured not by the precious metal in its vaults but by the useful commodities it possessed and the capacity to produce them. A nation that had healthy and industrious men and women with the skill and talent to produce useful commodities, was a rich nation, although it did not own an ounce of gold or silver. On the contrary, a nation that lacked these was a poor nation in spite of all the gold and silver it might possess. A person who did not produce but only consumed was a parasite living upon the industry of others and became a burden to society.

"Today on the one side, we have the spectacle of the idle rich who do no work and on the other, the poor toilers who starve because they can get no employment. The numerous arts and crafts of the people which once flourished in this country,



when India was free, have been killed and recurring famines ravage the land which today lies weak and exhausted as a result. That is our present plight. It has to be remedied. Not a single person should be without employment or means of sustenance. All should have equal opportunity for development and growth. All men are not equal in one sense—some are intelligent, others stupid, some weak, others strong. You cannot condemn a person for inefficiency when he has been denied the opportunity to develop efficiency. How can you expect a poor illiterate, half-starved villager to show the same capacity or efficiency as a well-fed person who has had all the opportunities for education and growth. It is not necessary that all men should be equal in every respect but all should have equal opportunity in life. Then alone can there be a fair appraisal of talent."

Capacity to earn money, went on the speaker, was no measure of talent. A money bag which a man made by exploitation at the expense of others was not an asset to the country. But a person who produced something useful, however commonplace, e. g. a table or a chair, added to the wealth of the country and was therefore an asset. It had become a fashion these days to attach exaggerated importance to academic education. It was also true that many of our distinguished public men, present and past, were drawn from the lawyer class. But it was a great mistake to think that Swaraj could be run with the help of academic talent alone. If all took to law, the country would be in a poor way. The country could do without a single lawyer but there would be a serious crisis if all the *bhangis* struck work for a single day. And yet this most useful member of society was dubbed as unclean and an inferior being. "Such is our topsyturvydom. India will need an army of trained workers, artisans, craftsmen, engineers, doctors and teachers to serve her people in the villages. We shall have to train them. That is what is being done here. I regard this work as being of first-class importance. A nation is not made great by a few distinguished personalities on the top but by raising the level of the whole mass of the people. Absence of outstanding personalities does not matter if the foundation is sure and strong. It is therefore of the utmost importance to strengthen the foundation. Gandhiji has done more than anybody else, to raise the level of the masses. But much more needs to be done in that direction. The students of today will be the teachers of tomorrow. If their training is neglected or otherwise defective, the foundation of Swaraj will be weak. The work that is being done here today, therefore, may not be outwardly very exciting or ostentatious but it is vital. It therefore delights me to see so many of you engaged in laying a solid foundation of the Swaraj to come."

#### THE RETURN OF THE NATIVE

When a man returns to his country after an exile of 30 years and more, for no other crime than love of the Motherland, he naturally becomes a legendary figure. In the case of Raja Mahendra Pratap, the legendary character is further strengthened

by his bizarre appearance and still more bizarre personality. After numerous adventures in Afghanistan where he became an Afghan citizen, Germany, Russia and China, he found himself under Gen. Mac Arthur's custody in a war criminals' camp after the occupation of Japan by the American forces. In October last, when his fate hung in the balance, he occupied himself with drafting his plan of 'Universal Unity' which he sent to Gandhiji for publication. "Our Muslim brethren, those Indians who fought in the war, Princes and the English elements in the country can all co-operate in our Congress if we see the new changes in the world in the right perspective," he wrote. The manifesto was signed "M. Peter Pratap, Servant of Mankind, Founder of World Federation!" He himself refused to take part in the world war No. II, nor did he join hands with Netaji Bose or the late Shri Rash Behari Bose. In Japan he insisted on describing himself as a "Stateless subject" and thereby added to the difficulty of those who were trying to help him to return to India. He speaks English, German, Russian, French and Persian, besides several Indian languages. He believes in the unity of all religions and the religion of universal love after his own style. At Sevagram Ashram, when he came to see Gandhiji the other day, he recited at Gandhiji's invitation his cosmopolitan prayer, consisting of extracts from Hindu scriptures, Bible and Koran, in addition to the Buddhist prayer at the evening prayer gathering. At Wardha in Bajajwadi, where he was a guest with the Sardar, he forgot to eat his luncheon in reciting his prayer verses while others dined! A colourful if an eccentric personality, years ago he donated his fortune to finance the Prem Maha Vidyalaya at Brindaban of which he is the founder. His friends and workers of the Vidyalaya will be glad to welcome him back after such a prolonged absence. Sevagram, 19-8-'46

#### II

#### HIS SPIRITUAL LABORATORY

Utopias have a nasty knack of recoiling on the heads of their authors. In Swift's Utopia philosophers, scientists and mathematicians among them, made a mess of things. The scientists devoted all their time to "extracting sunbeams from cucumbers" or "growing grain from chaff", the days and nights of the philosophers were spent in inventing robot permutation and combination word-machines for producing philosophical systems to order, the mathematicians occupied themselves with abstruse mathematical speculations about the courses of the planets and the probable end of the world "till their eyes were fixed with horror"! The net result of it all, however, was that in the whole kingdom of Laputa not a wall stood erect, not a corner of a building but was crooked! Gandhiji is no Utopian. He is determined not to let his Ashram turn into another Laputa. It is no easy task that he has set to himself. "Politics I take easy," he once remarked. "They leave me unperturbed. For, I can cut my way through them by the 'sharp axe of detachment'." But the Ashram sucks him dry. It presents problems that would turn anybody's hair grey. Yet it has a



fatal fascination for him. "I do not know why," he remarked on another occasion, "but whatever institution I touch, I end by converting it into an Ashram—I seem to know nothing else." The explanation is not far to seek. Truth and *ahimsa* with him are no cloistered virtues to be practised in a vacuum. They are meant to be of use to mankind in daily life.

The poet lamented that he found God in the "shining of the stars" and in the "flowering of the fields" but that "in His ways with men and world" he found Him not. As a votary of truth and *ahimsa* Gandhiji holds that he must realize his God of truth and *ahimsa* in his little world of Sevagram Ashram or not at all. It is his spiritual laboratory. He goes further and insists that he must be judged solely by his surroundings. "My truth and *ahimsa* should be deemed to have validity only to the extent that they are reflected in the people around me," he says. Naturally he has to tackle their taxing conundrums.

#### A HARD CASE

On our return to Sevagram Ashram after a few months' absence, one of the workers was found to have got mentally deranged. He was in that state when he first came. This was the second attack. He became uncontrollable and a decision had to be taken. The Civil Surgeon of Wardha was consulted. He said he could not keep him in the Civil Hospital but would look after him in the Jail Hospital. So in his own interest as well as in the interest of the Settlement, he had to be sent to confinement. For Gandhiji it was like drawing out a live tooth but there was no escape. He put his dilemma before the Ashram people. "He is a fine worker. After his recovery last year, he looked after the garden and kept the hospital accounts. He worked diligently and was happy in his work. Then he got malaria and was given a quinine injection because injection works quicker. He says the injection has gone to his head and is responsible for his mental affection. While I was working in my room this morning, I found him wandering to and fro outside, shouting and gesticulating. I went out to him and walked with him. He was quieted. But the moment I left him, he became uncontrollable again. He gets violent too and listens to no one. So he had to be sent to jail."

"It has naturally hurt me to think that one of our workers should be sent to jail. I may be asked: 'what about your *Ramanama* which you have claimed to be a cure-all?' Even in the face of this failure let me reiterate that my faith remains intact. *Ramanama* can never fail. The failure only means a lack in us. We must seek the cause of failure within us."

#### AHIMSA AND CLEANLINESS

Sanitation and cleanliness being the basic conditions of civilized life, great emphasis is laid upon them in the Ashram. But all sorts come there and some one, probably a raw newcomer, through ignorance or carelessness, wrongly used the latrine. It was brought to Gandhiji's notice. It grieved him. A mistake committed by any one member of society affected

all the others. It was therefore everybody's duty to see that a latrine was always left clean and tidy after use. If proper care was taken, there should be no smell, no fly-breeding. Trench system for the disposal of night-soil had been held to blame for flies. He differed. Trench latrines with proper care should be perfectly safe.

In Bangalore in a hotel, Dr. Fowler used an interesting method. He collected night-soil in a reservoir. The solid and liquid matter was well mixed, then poured on to a mound and covered with dry earth from day to day. No one could guess whether the mound was just dry earth or something else. After due conversion, it was sold as manure, as clean looking as any. If fly-breeding could not be avoided, epidemics and diseases were bound to occur. Yet it was extraordinary to see how complacent our people were about it. The food on which a fly has sat, should be considered unfit for human consumption. It should be thrown away. But theirs was a poor country where the vast majority could not afford to throw away food. Therefore, it was their first duty in terms of *ahimsa*, to prevent fly-breeding at all cost.

The external cleanliness was only a step towards internal cleanliness. Dirt within was much more dangerous than dirt without. "We should be cent percent clean in our thoughts and actions. Otherwise, man becomes worse than the beast, for, a beast is a useful creature and deserves our respect and regard in its own place. An unclean man is undesirable in decent society."

#### PROBLEMS IN VILLAGE SANITATION

The fact that Sevagram is an unhealthy spot has always worried Gandhiji. It is situated in a hollow. The subsoil water rises almost to the ground level in the rainy season and creates problems in night-soil disposal, drinking water supply and malaria control. The incidence of malaria has grown less of late and health conditions on the whole have improved. Still Sevagram cannot be called a model, healthy village. On the 18th instant Dr. Sushila Nayyar, Secretary of the Advisory Medical Board under the Kasturba Gandhi National Memorial Trust scheme and Resident Doctor in charge of health arrangements in Sevagram Ashram and Village, called a meeting of doctor friends who had been kind enough to help her with their suggestions and guidance from time to time. Foremost among them was Dr. Jivraj Mehta who, in spite of his multifarious activities, always manages to find time for Sevagram. He has spanned the services of Dr. B. C. Dasgupta, the Health Officer of Bombay, Dr. Vishwanathan, the Malareologist for Bombay Presidency. Dr. Hassan, the new Public Health Minister of C. P. came with a batch of public Health Officers under him and they all went round the village and inspected its surroundings.

Thanks to the lack of co-ordination between the P.W.D. and the Public Health Department that characterizes our provincial administrations, the District Board has left a chain of straggling burrow



pits on either side of the *pucca* road that they have built between Wardha and Sevagram. With a little foresight and planning, the chain of pits might have been a drainage canal and thus served a double purpose. As it is, burrow pits have become pest-holes. The water in them stagnates and breeds mosquitoes. Then there are a number of *nullahs* near about, leaving pools of stagnant water. The earth is black cotton soil which cracks in the dry sun after the rainy season and the water stagnates in the fissures and breeds mosquitoes.

As anti-malaria measures, the doctors recommended D.D.T. spraying of the houses in the village, leaving the regulation and desilting of *nullahs* to be handled as a land reclamation project by the department concerned.

As regards the disposal of night-soil, they were of the opinion that septic tanks were the only solution if we want to eliminate the *bhangis* as a class. They were strongly opposed to trench latrines except as an emergency measure during festivals and the like. Whatever the possibilities of trench latrines theoretically, in practice, it led to fly-breeding and in a place like Sevagram with high subsoil water, contamination of water was bound to occur. For disposal of refuse and cowdung they suggested composting. As for pure water supply, they suggested that protected wells should be built while other wells whose water supply was not safe, should be filled in.

The proposals were placed before Gandhiji by Dr. Jivraj Mehta. Gandhiji while thanking them all for the trouble they had taken, said, he was afraid, elaborate schemes costing large sums of money would not do. He wanted Sevagram to serve as a model and therefore, he wanted nothing there, which could not be multiplied in the 700,000 villages. If they could do that satisfactorily even in one village, it might solve the problem of the other villages of India. Otherwise progress would be at a snail's pace and ambitious planning in a few villages would only stand out as a monument of costly futility.

The project of land reclamation was therefore for the time being put into cold storage. D. D. T. spraying was already being carried on. Gandhiji suggested that it should be intensified. The Government could use the place as a centre for experimental survey and malaria control. They could build a few septic tanks as an experiment but he felt sure that trenching, properly carried out, must remain the solution in the vast majority of cases. Shri Aryanayakam of the Talimi Sangh had offered to make an experiment to see if trenching could not be done without fly-breeding.

#### UNTO THIS LAST

The doctors left in the evening somewhat nonplussed. Was it not Eugene Debbs who said that so long as there was an unreclaimed criminal, his business was to identify himself with him? A little incident that happened on the morning of the 25th, the day of Gandhiji's departure from Sevagram,

furnished an insight into Gandhiji's mind. An Ashram inmate had come to say good-bye. He wanted to touch his feet. "Why should you want to touch my feet?" said Gandhiji. "Millions cannot do that and what millions cannot afford, we should voluntarily renounce. I go so far as to say that if *ahimsa* cannot be practised by the millions, I have no use for it for myself. But if they did not want to, although they could, I would hold on to it, even if I were all alone. People say that *ahimsa* is only for the saint and the seer. I think otherwise. If what they say is right, it ceases to have any value in my eyes. Similarly, if it were open to me alone to desire and strive to live for 125 years, I would not entertain that desire. But everybody can and should desire to live for 125 years, for the service of God and His creation. Self-interest too demands that. For, what would life be worth in a world, in which I am the sole survivor of all those I have worked with and known?"

Gandhiji had two little functions during the week with the trainees of the Hindustani Prachar School and of the Talimi Sangh respectively. But of these more in my next.

On the train to Delhi, 25-8-'46

PYARELAL

### WE ARE ALL INDIANS

(By M. K. Gandhi)

A Roman Catholic student from Goa had the sad experience of being told by some of his fellow students in Bombay that he was a Portuguese and therefore a foreigner. When he told them that the Roman Catholics of Goa had castes just like the Hindus, he was not believed. These transitory lapses will take place whilst we are shedding our narrownesses and claiming all to be free Indians, slaves neither of the British, nor of the Portuguese nor any other foreign rule. If the same students were wisely handled, they would be proud to know their friend as an Indian and not as a Goan and be known themselves as Indians, not Bombayites. Everyone's religion is his own concern but his nationality is a corporate thing, carrying with it important and far-reaching consequences. That even among converts, there are castes is a reflection upon Hinduism and should set every Hindu athinking and make him become, with me, a *bhangi*.  
Sevagram, 23-8-'46

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# HARIJAN

16 Pages

Editor: PYARELAL

VOL. X, No. 31

AHMEDABAD — SUNDAY, SEPTEMBER 8, 1946

TWO ANNAS

## SALES TAX

(By M. K. Gandhi)

I have received many letters in regard to the Sales Tax Act of the Bombay Presidency. Many arguments advanced against it are, in my opinion, thoughtless. Nevertheless, I placed some of the complaints before the Finance Minister. Shri Vaikunthbhai Mehta is a cautious and conscientious Minister. He has sent me a full reply.

It appears that this Act was framed before the popular Government came in. The present Ministry have made some essential changes in it. The letters received by me were full of criticism giving the impression that the present Government was wilful, indifferent to public opinion and the tax was already in vogue. As a matter of fact, not only has the collection of the Sales Tax not begun, but it has been postponed till October 1st and may be delayed still further if need be. Moreover, many articles of necessary use have been exempted, thereby showing that the Government has paid due attention to public objections and inconvenience. I am aware that there are people who hold that there should be no Sales Tax at all. A great deal has been said in favour of this view. But no government can exist if it were to listen to abstract objections. In other words, it is wisdom, in such cases, not to raise basic issues.

The Sales Tax is in vogue in many provinces. The main criterion in judging any tax should be that it does not hit the poor. It should also be seen that the money raised thereby, is used for the public good.

A popular ministry is responsible to the legislatures and cannot do anything without their consent. Every elected member in a popular legislature is responsible to his voters. Therefore, the voter who represents the public should ponder well before embarking on any criticism of the government of his creation. Moreover, one bad habit of the people should be borne in mind. They do not like any tax whatsoever. Where there is good government, the tax-payer gets full return for his money as, for example, the water tax in cities. No tax-payer could get water on his own for the same payment. But even so, and in spite of the fact that the tax is levied by the popular will, tax-payers always resent even paying such taxes. It is, of course, true that one cannot prove the benefit of all taxes as easily as the one I have cited as an example. But as society grows in size and complexity and the field of service also grows, it is difficult to explain to

the individual tax-payer, how he gets his return for any particular tax. This much, however, is clear that taxes as a whole should stand for the general benefit of society. If this were not so, the argument that taxes were levied by popular will would not hold. To the extent that we are still under foreign rule, the Government is not wholly responsible to the people. But in the Provinces today the Governments are popular up to a large extent and we must judge the Sales Tax accordingly.

New Delhi, 29-8-'46

(From Harijanbandhu)

## A SILVER LINING

It is an ill wind that blows no one any good. If a full account of all the kind acts of neighbourliness were to be recounted, it would probably balance the dark deeds of violence perpetrated by the men who had temporarily sunk to the level of beasts recently in Calcutta. For if man has the divine in him, he should inherently be good. The following letter from a Mahomedan is heartening:

"I live in Ballygunje Place. On August 18th my house was threatened but my Hindu friends kept the mob in check. Towards evening, however, the educated Hindus of the locality were losing control. Mine is a family of 35, mostly women and children. It was not possible to remove them with excited hooligans running about. My family and I, therefore, took shelter in the house of a Hindu neighbour while another took charge of my belongings.

"The rowdy element got scent of it and threatened my friend. 'Turn them out, you cannot save them', was their demand. 'I know I cannot save them, but I can die before they are touched,' was the firm reply. Attempts were made by some of my League friends to remove me and my family from this locality but I refused to leave my place of shelter, backed by all the cultured Hindus of Ballygunje Place.

"My brother has two shops in this locality; these were saved by the Hindus while my brother and nephews worked in the local volunteer corps to fight hooligans whoever they might be.

I am convinced that we Muslims and Hindus can live together peacefully unless a clash is engineered."

Such instances of Muslims harbouring their Hindu friends are also on record. If all were to realize that the bond of humanity transcends all barriers of caste, creed and race, we would make life worth living and banish the spectre of fear which today haunts not only individuals and communities, but whole nations and is the root cause of hate.

New Delhi, 30-8-'46

A. K.



## THE ECONOMICS OF KHADI.

In the issue of the 27th of June of the *Eastern Economist*, a journal edited by the well known economist Dr. P. S. Lokanathan, there is an article entitled '*Khadi Economy*'. After giving figures of various kinds, this article seeks to prove that if the required quota of man power were to be employed in the production of Khadi necessary to clothe India, there would not be enough persons left for the other essential services such as railway, police, education, medicine etc." As a subsidiary industry for seasonal occupation, such as agriculture, Charkha certainly has a place among the cottage industries. But as an economic policy for the nation it spells pauperism."

The chief points raised in support of the argument are :

(a) India needs 800 crores square yards of cloth on the basis of 20 square yards per capita consumption.

(b) 3-30 crores of workers will be required to spin the necessary yarn.

(c) On the basis that a worker winds, warps and weaves  $2\frac{1}{2}$  yards cloth in 8 hours per day, 1.06 crores of weavers will be required.

(d) Ginning will occupy .16 crore, carding etc. about .42 crore, bringing the total man power necessary for only the manufacturing processes of Khadi to roughly 5 crores. In addition, 330 lakhs Charkhas will have to be renewed annually for which lakhs of carpenters will be required. 30 lakhs of workmen will have to be reckoned on for making 5 lakhs of looms. 55 lakhs of bales of 400 lbs cotton will be required. The labour required for producing, collecting and transporting this huge quantity of cotton and for making all the above-mentioned accessories can be safely estimated at at least 7 crores, representing 18% of the total population. If 40 per cent of the population is reckoned as the labouring quota, 16 crores may be taken as a rough figure for India. If Khadi employs seven out of these sixteen, only nine crores are left to grow food, build houses, exploit mines, govern, police and protect the country, provide health and educational facilities etc. Since agriculture alone absorbs more than 11 crores, the production of cloth and food between them, will take up more than the entire working population, what about the other services ?

We will try to answer the above arguments one by one. Let us take weaving first. The writer has stated that 1 crore 6 lakhs of weavers are required. If 'weavers' include all the helpers that a weaver requires, the figure is correct. Even before the war, there were a crore of weavers in India, so that there is not much increase of labour required in this section. Weavers today are not getting enough yarn to fulfil their needs. Khadi production would at once absorb all these unemployed.

The same applies to the argument regarding the production of spinning wheels, looms and other accessories. We have more than the requisite quota of looms and spinning wheels in India today. No new ones need be manufactured immediately. More-

over, a spinning wheel lasts a lifetime. Even if some new Charkhas have to be manufactured to begin with, there will never be any need to produce them by the lakh annually. Only a certain amount of repairing will be required.

The fact is that no special or greater number of artisans is required for the manufacture of wheels, looms etc. The experience of the A. I. S. A. shows that wherever Khadi is being produced and the production is increasing, the very persons who produce and repair agricultural implements produce and repair Khadi implements too. These artisans do not now get full time work. But if wheels and looms were to ply in every village, they would certainly get wholetime occupation.

We will not have to start cotton-growing in order to produce 800 crores square yards of Khadi and, therefore, the question of more labour for producing, collecting and transporting 55 lakhs of bales of cotton does not really arise. India today produces, collects and transports more than 60 lakhs bales of cotton. On the contrary, our plan is for every village to produce enough cotton for its own needs. If this is done, the cost and labour required by big textile millowners and businessmen, middlemen etc. for transport, ginning and pressing factories will all be *ipso facto* eliminated.

There remains the argument of 4 crores persons being required for spinning, carding, ginning etc. But the question of employing labour at the rate of 8 hours per day for this purpose does not come into the picture of Khadi economics. All this work will be done within the orbit of self-sufficiency and as a subsidiary occupation. We want every person to spin at least half an hour daily during his or her leisure hours. On the basis that we have a labouring population of 16 crores, we shall get 8 crores hours of work from them annually. The number of those who do not do outside labour, is 24 crores which includes children, the aged and women. If we remove from this number those who are too old and sick and all children under seven years of age, say 12 crores, we shall still have 12 crores in addition to the 16, who can give at least an hour per day to spinning and carding. Moreover, included in the 16 crores are 11 crores agriculturists who are idle for at least 3 months in the year (giving us on an average 2 hours daily in addition) and who can also help to spin and card. In this way we can easily get 42 crores hours of work from all these persons instead of the 32 we need. The 12 crores mentioned above can, if needed, give us more than one hour daily from their leisure hours, so that we can really produce more than the assumed quota without drawing on any further man power.

It will thus be obvious that no more man power than is already available, will be required for cotton growing to weaving for the whole of India. For spinning, carding and ginning can be done during the leisure hours of the general populace. No diversion of labour from other utility services is, therefore, necessary. In fact labour engaged in ginning, pressing



factories etc. and textile mills to the tune of 10 lakhs will be released for other work.

Finally it may be claimed that the entire economic structure of India can and should be based on Khadi. If it is based on centralized large-scale industry, the villages of India will have no peace, no well-being and no plenty.

That Khadi is neither as beautiful nor as enduring as mill cloth and that it is much more expensive are all arguments that have been dealt with before on several occasions and, therefore, need not be refuted again here.

(From *Harijansevak*)

KRISHNADAS GANDHI

### A WAIL FROM GOA

Shri Purushottam Kakodkar in the course of a Hindi letter dated 12-8-'46 to Gandhiji from Panjim Prison, Goa, describes how, while he was talking with a friend, on the main road, he was arrested at about 9 p. m. on Friday the 9th August by one Mr. Figardo, a Portuguese Police Official of Madgaon. On the 10th at about 10 o'clock he was brought under armed police escort to the Mamlatdar's *kutchery*, where he was interrogated by the Mamlatdar. In the course of examining him, the Mamlatdar lost his temper, used foul language and threatened "to do him to death." The same evening he was brought to Panjim Prison. According to his narration, food is served there twice a day, at noon and at night. Every time, it consists of rice, literally a handful, with little *dal* splashed on it, and a couple of spoonfuls of vegetables in addition to one or two *papads*. This is called "half ration", *adha khana*. When he drew the attention of a Portuguese Police Official to it, he was told that it was according to the rules and that he had no authority to give more. Even this provision is for 'beggars', not for those who have the means.

Shri Kakodkar proceeds.

"I took this food at midday today, although it was altogether inadequate. I have not committed any offence against society, yet have been made a compulsory guest of the Government. Whom can I ask to send me food from outside? I do not feel justified in sitting here like a drone and eating food provided by the labour of others. I am going to tell the authorities that I am prepared to work and that they must provide me with proper food."

Referring to conditions of jail administration, he says that sometimes, for hours, no watchman appears on the scene. The fault is not the watchman's but of the administration. The result is that prisoners who are locked up in the cells cannot attend to even the morning appointments regularly. For instance, when he gets up at 4-30 a. m. no watchman is anywhere to be seen and so he has to wait till 7 or 7-15 a. m. when alone he can answer the call of nature. Shri Kakodkar adds that he is suffering from piles which have flared up since his arrest owing to starvation, sleeplessness and too much chillies in the food.

New Delhi, 1-9-'46

PYARELAL

#### Errata :

(1) In Harijan of 18-8-'46, p. 261, column 1, para 3, line 2, read 'long discipleship' instead 'love discipleship'.

(2) Same number, same page, column 2, para 1, line 5, delete the word 'unaided'.

### ENGLISH INTO HINDUSTANI

#### ENGLISH

#### HINDUSTANI

Abominable *adj.* मकरुह, नफरत (घृणा) के काबिल।  
मकरो, फ़रत (ग़हरना) के काबिल

Abound *v.* भरपूर होना, मालामाल होना। भरपूर होना, मालामाल होना

Abridge *v.* खुलासा करना, घटाना, संक्षेप करना।  
ख़लासा, ग़ैताना, संक्षेप करना

Abrupt *adj.* अचानक, यकायक। अचानक, यकायक

Abscess *n.* फोड़ा। फोड़ा

Absence *n.* गैरहाजिरी, अभाव (श्री० का०)।  
ग़ैरहाजिरी, अभाव (श्री० का०)

Absolute *adj.* पूरा पूरा, पूरन (श्री०)।  
पूरा पूरा, पूरन (श्री०)

Absolve *v.* माफ़ी देना, बरी करना।  
माफ़ी देना, बरी करना

Absorb *v.* चूसना, घुल मिल जाना, सोख लेना, घुल मिलाना।  
चूना, ग़ल मिल जाना, सूख लेना, ग़ल मिलाना

Abstain *v.* दूर रहना, बचना।  
दूर रहना, बचना

Abstract *v.* निकालना।  
निकालना

Abstract *n.* खुलासा।  
ख़लासा

Abstract *adj.* खयाली।  
ख़याली

Absurd *adj.* बेतुका, लचर, फ़सूल।  
बेतुका, लचर, फ़सूल

Abundance *n.* रेलपेल, बहुतायत, बहुतायत (का०)।  
रेलपेल, बहुतायत, बहुतायत (का०)

Abuse *v.* बुरामाला कहना, गाली देना, दुरुपयोग करना।  
बुरामाला कहना, गाली देना, दुरुपयोग करना

Abuse *n.* बुरी रीत, गाली।  
बुरी रीत, गाली

Abyss *n.* खड्ड, गढ़ा, रसातल।  
खड्ड, गढ़ा, रसातल

Accent *n.* लहजा, जोर, भार।  
लहजा, जोर, भार

Accept *v.* मानना, कबूल करना।  
मानना, कबूल करना

Access *n.* पहुँच, रास्ता।  
पहुँच, रास्ता

Accident *n.* वारदात, अकस्मात, घटना (श्री०)।  
वारदात, अकस्मात, घटना (श्री०)

Accidentally *n. adv.* अचानक।  
अचानक

Accommodation *n.* जगह, गुंजायिश।  
जगह, गुंजायिश

Accompany *v.* संग होना या जाना, साथ हो लेना (का०)।  
संग होना या जाना, साथ हो लेना (का०)

Accomplice *n.* साथी (गनाहमें)।  
साथी (गनाहमें)

Accomplish *v.* पूरा करना।  
पूरा करना

Accomplished *adj.* निपुण, कमाल, खूबीवाला।  
निपुण, कमाल, खूबीवाला

According to *prep.* मुताबिक, अनुसार (श्री०)।  
मुताबिक, अनुसार (श्री०)

According as *prep.* जैसे।  
जैसे

Account *n.* हिसाब, बयान।  
हिसाब, बयान

On account of *कारण, वजहसे।*  
कारण, वजहसे

Account for *v.* हिसाब देना, जवाब देना, ठिकाने लगाना।  
हिसाब देना, जवाब देना, ठिकाने लगाना

Accumulate *v.* जिकड़ा करना या होना।  
जिकड़ा करना या होना

Accuse *v.* माथे थोपना (किसी के), जिलजाम लगाना।  
माथे थोपना (किसी के), जिलजाम लगाना

Accustom *v.* आदत डालना।  
आदत डालना

Achieve *v.* पा लेना, हासिल करना (का०)।  
पा लेना, हासिल करना (का०)

Acid *adj. n.* खट्टा, तेजाब।  
खट्टा, तेजाब

Acknowledge *v.* रसीद देना, पहुँच लिखना, मानना।  
रसीद देना, पहुँच लिखना, मानना



# HARIJAN

September 8

1946

## ANTIDOTE

(By M. K. Gandhi)

After giving a graphic description of the recent unfortunate and disgraceful happenings in Calcutta, a writer asks: "What is our duty in such circumstances? The Congress gives no clear instructions to the rank and file in such crises. Sermons on non-violence from afar are of little use. To have offered non-violent resistance would have meant allowing all property to be destroyed and every Hindu to be killed."

The Congress Working Committee has given the clearest possible lead in the last sentence of its resolution published in the newspapers. Fratricide will not abate by "intimidation and violence but by mutual understanding, friendly discussion and, if necessary, by agreed arbitration." One does not need to believe in non-violence as a creed to perceive the truth of this practical proposition. If through deliberate courage the Hindus had died to a man, that would have been deliverance of Hinduism and India and purification of Islam in this land.

As it was, a third party had to intervene in order to still mutual savagery. Neither the Muslims nor the Hindus concerned have gained by the intervention. Supposing that the Calcutta virus extends to the whole of India and British gunpowder keeps the two from stabbing one another, the British power or its substitute will be in possession of India for a long time to come. The length will be measured by the period required by the parties coming to sanity. It will come either by an exhausting mutual fight, independent of the foreign element or by one party eschewing violence in spite of heaviest odds. Successful mutual strife is obviously impossible in the present state of general ignorance of the use of modern weapons and their inaccessibility. Non-violence does not require any outside or outward training. It simply requires the will not to kill even in retaliation and the courage to face death without revenge. This is no sermon on *ahimsa* but cold reason and the statement of a universal law. Given the unquenchable faith in the law, no provocation should prove too great for the exercise of forbearance. This I have described as non-violence of the brave.

Unfortunately for us, we are strangers to the non-violence of the brave on a mass scale. Some even doubt the possibility of the exercise of non-violence by groups, much less by masses of people. They restrict its exercise to exceptional individuals. Only, mankind can have no use for it if it is always reserved only for individuals.

Be that as it may, this much is clear that if the people are probably not ready for the exercise of non-violence of the brave, they must be ready for the use of force in self-defence. There should be

no camouflage. Self-defence must be pure and simple. Then too it must never be cowardly or crude. It must, therefore, never be secret. Such is stabbing in the back and evading detection. I am conscious of the fact that we are a people unarmed and untrained in the use of arms. Opinions will differ as to whether it is good that we are in that position. There can be no denying the fact that no one needs training in the use of arms in self-defence. What is wanted for the purpose is strong arms and stronger will.

Doing injury to another is obviously violence but harbouring injury to another and yet unwillingness from cowardice to defend oneself or one's neighbour is also violence and probably worse than the first.

What then are the leaders to do? What are the new Ministers to do? They must ever seek to attain communal harmony — never under threats, ever for its own sake. I regard a Muslim or any Non-Hindu as my blood brother, not in order to please him but because he is born of the same mother Hind as I am. He does not cease to be my brother because he may hate or disown me. I must woo him even, it may be, in spite of himself. The new Ministers must resolve never to use British troops, no matter what their hue is, not even the police trained by them. They are not our enemies. But they have been hitherto used not to help the people but to keep them under the foreign yoke. They should now, as they can, be used for constructive purposes. The military are specially qualified for such work. They are trained and expected to bring into being canvas cities in a moment. They know what it is to procure and keep clean water and make perfect sanitary arrangements. No doubt, they know how to kill and be killed in the act. The public know this part of their work only too well. But it is by no means the most substantial part of their work. It is the background which should be prized, advertised and followed. The animal part of it is unhuman, the other part is essentially human and clean. Let us copy it and humanize the troops if we can. The attempt is worth making. It can only be made by those who are not deceived by the glamour that hangs round them and the awe they inspire. This is possible only when we have the courage to face death without revenge or retaliation in mind or deed.

New Delhi, 2-9-'46

### For Readers

The 'Question Box' has become a regular feature of the *Harijan*. It tries to resolve the doubts of questioners as far as possible. But the post often contains questions which have been answered in one form or the other on more than one occasion. Readers should study the contents of 'Question Box' carefully.

Then there are letters asking for medical advice for sick people. The desire is there to answer such questions. But the fulfilment must take time. It is difficult too to satisfy incomplete postal inquiries. Ailing correspondents should wait awhile.

New Delhi, 2-9-'46

M. K. G.



## HINDUSTANI V. URDU AND HINDI

(By M. K. Gandhi)

A Bombay Government circular of 16-8-'39 reads :

"It has been observed that the word *Hindustani* is being used indifferently for Hindi or Hindustani. Please note that Hindustani is different and distinct from both *Hindi* and *Urdu*, and when a reference to that language is to be made, it should be made as *Hindustani* only."

On 9th October 1940 a press note was issued :

"In September 1938 the Government of Bombay announced their decision to introduce the study of Hindustani in the schools of the Province. Steps were accordingly taken to implement that decision and the language is being taught in the primary schools, secondary schools and in the training institutions. In actual practice the teaching of the language in the schools has raised certain difficulties which have to be considered. The chief of them are lack of literature in the language, as it has yet to develop and the absence of suitable text books for use in schools. The Hindustani text books now in use, have been found to be defective, both in regard to the language used in them, which is said to contain too many words of Hindi origin and in regard to the subject matter of the lessons included in them, some of which are stated to be unsuitable for Muslim pupils. Besides, both Urdu and Hindustani have so much of a common vocabulary, that it has been suggested that it is unnecessary to insist on the teaching of Hindustani in Urdu schools. The Government having carefully considered the whole question have now directed that though there is no serious objection to the teaching of Hindustani in other institutions, Urdu educational institutions in the Province, i. e. the primary and secondary schools and training institutions, where the medium of instruction is Urdu, should be exempted from the inclusion of such teaching in the curriculum."

Another circular issued in 1941 exempts Hindi schools from the teaching of Hindustani, thus leaving Hindu schools where the medium is other than Hindi or Urdu for teaching Hindustani. What is the present Government of the Province, which is based on popular will, to do?

The answer is contained in the admission that the present Provincial Government is based on popular will. If the Hindi schools wish to have Hindustani, the national language, taught in the primary and secondary schools, it should be taught. Naturally the question has to be decided by the parents of the children, learning in these schools. If they do not want it and an attempt is made to impose it by force, the claim for being a popular Government cannot be sustained. I should certainly advise the parents to want their children to be taught it. It should never be forgotten that Hindustani is essentially a cross between Hindi and Urdu and written in both the scripts. If the parents want either only Hindi or Urdu and only one script, they cannot impose it on an unbelieving or

unwilling Government. Either party has freedom of action.

The question whether Hindustani is or can be a national form of speech is irrelevant at this stage. The argument has, moreover, been examined often enough in previous issues of the *Harijan*.

Sevagram, 25-8-'46

## NOT BY FORCE BUT BY FRIENDLINESS

(By M. K. Gandhi)

Mr. S. Wolff writes from Palestine :

"I rejoiced very much, when I found in the Jerusalem newspaper *Palestine Post*, last Monday, the kind, peaceful words you had published in your *Harijan* just before the last most terrible outrage on 'King David' Hotel caused more than 150 casualties. Of course, I do very well understand your requirement towards my countrymen, that 'adversity would teach them lessons of peace', but, alas! most of the people do not understand this way. On the contrary, adversity inspires them to additional outrage of hate and anger and blind revenge on anyone in their reach, whether he is actually guilty or innocent in their terrible disaster and suffering.

"The state of these poor (indeed very poor!) resembles the desperate state of a man who neither believes nor hopes anything any longer and 'fights for life or death' because he 'has nothing more to lose' (as they themselves use to express it) and therefore, prefer to perform all that can be performed in order, at least, to die like 'heroes', not like 'coward nothing-doers'. Of course, they do not believe and can never be made to believe in your sublime weapon of holiness and Satyagraha although, as I once wrote you (on the 26th December, 1938), this is in full agreement with the views of our holy ancestors, and they ought to accept it even from the point of view of their own tradition, and I am quite sure, you do understand it. I remember that several years ago, you told or wrote (it was published here in one of the Hebrew newspapers) in a similar way, that we Jews have, it is true, absolutely no right to impose ourselves over Palestine, but if we nevertheless have the intrinsic desire to come to the land of our ancestors out of aspiration to fulfil here the holy principles of our great Prophets, we should do it only by trying to conquer the hearts of our neighbours and the whole of mankind through love, not by trying to impose ourselves over Palestine by the help of naked force."

Sevagram, 21-8-'46

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## ARMAMENTS—AT WHAT COST?

### I

Referring, in 1937, to the cost of rearmament on which many nations had launched before the war and in anticipation of it, John Gunther, in his *Inside Europe* gave the following figures of the cost of some of the pieces of armament:

"Bullets do not cost much. But if you shoot one million rounds an hour at £6 per thousand, the figures mount up. A rifle does not cost much—perhaps £5. But equip an army of one million men, and you have spent £5,000,000. A machine gun costs about £128. The French have about forty thousand of them. A 37 mm. field-gun costs about £200, and each shell about £3. The famous French 75's come to about £1,600 each. They are expensive and intricate, with fuses built like watches. Their shells cost £5 each, and in a single bombardment, some millions may be fired. A big tank, complete, costs about £16,000. A bombing plane may diminish your budget £20,000. A modern cruiser costs £2,200,000, an aircraft carrier £3,800,000, and a big battleship almost £6,000,000."

And he went on to say:

"The world according to the League of Nations, spent £835,360,000 on armament in 1934. In one year mind you. This sum is too astronomical for ready comprehension. . . . This figure more than doubled itself in two years. In 1937 the world bill for arms, was at least £2,000,000,000, believe it or not."

This was before the war. Since the outbreak of hostilities in 1939, the figures kept mounting up at such a speed that men lost count of them. To take but two instances, Britain was reported, at the end of 1941, to be spending on the war over £13 million per day. "The British Government is spending £48000,000 a day," wrote *Time* on January 5, 1942; and in U. S. A., according to the same authority, the Government spending, in December 1941, "reached a level of \$72,000,000 each business day." The first United States budget for war expenses for the fiscal year 1943 (beginning July 1, 1942) was for \$58,927,992,300, and the actual war expenses in the preceding year were \$52,786,186,000, which was equivalent to \$3,295 per hour, and was more than one-half of the estimated national income. President Roosevelt, in presenting the budget before the Congress said on January 6, 1942: "War costs money. So far we have hardly even begun to pay for it." Referring to the taxation that these expenses would require, *Time* made a cryptic remark, "The U. S. was going to have to pay through the nose" (Jan. 19, 1942).†

\* The Singapore naval base "had cost the British Empire \$400,000,000 and 19 years." Yet, at the time of the Japanese invasion, it was found that "it was useless, and so it had been evacuated before the first Japanese troops were sighted." The battleship *Normandie* (renamed the *Lafayette* after its capture by the U. S. A.), which was burnt in an accidental fire in an American harbour, was "a ship into which the French had poured \$60,000,000 and some 2,500,000 man-days of labour."—*Time*, Feb. 16, 1942.

† "The President this week signed the most whopping appropriations bill of all time in any nation: a \$26,495,265,474

### II

Arms and ammunition, tanks and aeroplanes are destroyed, every day in modern warfare, at a rate which is incomprehensible. New models and designs are invented at such a feverish speed that armaments become obsolete before they are long in use. For it is not enough to manufacture them at a rapid rate or in large numbers: they must also be superior in destructive capacity to the enemy's armaments. As an American authority on aerial warfare (S. Paul Johnstone) said, "Military design progress follows a zigzag course—one side or the other obtaining a temporary advantage, shortly followed by improvement of design by the other side."

Of this race for the improvements in designs, an American military authority said four years ago:

"Man does not live by bread alone, nor do armies win by munitions. That nation which would impose its will upon another, or resist such imposition, must possess munitions not only in stupendous quantity, but of excellent quality, latest design, and operated by corps upon corps of super-specialists."†

Yet quality by itself does not suffice. Numbers are also as important. Said another American writer, Keith Ayling, in an article on 'The Truth about Air Power', in *Harper's Magazine* for February 1942: "Number is the keynote of air superiority. Produce the finest bomber in the world, and it is merely useful when you have a thousand of the type. At ten thousand it becomes efficient, at twenty thousand it is the super machine the designer intended." (Twenty thousand of only one type, in warfare where several types have to be put in action at a time!)

Calvin Goddard, the authority cited above, agrees in this opinion about the paramount need of large numbers in addition to the most up-to-date designs, and he gives a revealing account of how the Allies, in spite of their stupendous preparations, spread over a number of years, suffered from a woeful lack of both in the various types of armaments:

"In the fall of 1939, and throughout 1940, the German military machine met these requirements, while every object of its rude attentions proved

appropriation bill to pay for the addition of 25,000 planes to the Navy's sky force and to enlarge the two-ocean Navy."

"In January (1942), the month when Donald Nelson's new War Production Board was set up, the Government cleared \$11,652,000,000 in defence contracts—as much as in the four preceding months. . . . The Government actually spent \$2,276,000,000 on arms—nearly \$300,000,000 more than in December. To meet present production goals, by the end of the year, the Government must be spending more than \$5,000,000,000 a month."—*Time*, Feb. 16, 1942.

"(In America) the sudden urgent demand for an unlimited number of planes has started a process of expansion which will increase factory floor space threefold, the number of workers fivefold, and multiply fabulously the monthly production figures."—Alden Stevens in *The Nation* (New York) Oct. 18, 1941.

"To train an army flier for three years in the United States Army, including salaries, equipment, and instructors, is said to cost \$100,000 per man."—Haldore Hanson: *Human Endeavour* (1939) p. 158.

† *Encyclopaedia Britannica*—Book of the year 1941



lacking in one or more. All were inferior in air power, whereas air superiority was a *sine qua non* to success. It likewise soon became apparent that no contestant could gain and hold vital objectives, unless possessed of tanks, in numbers almost limitless. France boasted thousands, but mostly of the world war vintage. Unable to steel itself to the financial sacrifice incident to their replacement with others of modern design, France puttered along with what it had.\* Britain was almost equally lacking in the foresight necessary to the junking of obsolete equipment, or to the adequate production of new and better types. Though making a magnificent gesture at rearmament, it remained a gesture only. Came the day of judgment, and the Swastika floated over Paris."

So much with regard to quality. As to numbers, he says:

"What miraculous properties were to be found in the munitions of 1940 as against those of 1939 — of 1914-18? None. In weapons themselves there was little new or startling. It was in their mass employment that the revolutionary appeared. In contrast with the homoeopathic pills in which formerly administered, force was now applied in heroic doses. An objective against which in 1918 an infantry attack would have been implemented by perhaps a score of tanks and as many aeroplanes, to succeed or fail after hours of bloody stalemate, with unnumbered casualties on both sides, was in 1940 overwhelmed in a matter of minutes by literally hundreds of bombing planes, followed by as many tanks, almost without loss to the attacker."

It should not surprise us that France was "unable to steel itself to the financial sacrifice, incident to their replacement with others of modern design," and that it "puttered along with what it had", when we bear in mind the figures that each type of armament would cost to make.\*\* Moreover it had already spent huge amounts on the Maginot Line, and reposed a faith in it that proved pathetic. The result was, Calvin Goddard goes on to say:

"Germany gave short shrift to the modest fleets of Holland (200 ships), Belgium (400), and France (1200). And, as an example of what could happen, those who defied German will, Germany razed in two short hours (12 noon to 2 p. m., May 14, 1940), in a succession assaults by massed flights of bombers, no less than 26,000 buildings in the city of Rotterdam, a metropolis of 600,000,

\* "France," it has been said, "was prepared in 1914 for the war of 1871, and in 1937, France is perfectly prepared — for the war of 1914" — John Gunther (1937).

\*\* "Just before the war started, according to the Federal Reserve bulletin for December, 1941 Britain's gold and dollar resources aggregated \$4,483,000,000. Today (i. e. after two years of the war) there is only \$547,000,000 available in this country (U. S. A.) with which the British Government can meet the many disbursements, not included under Lend-Lease.—Keith Hutchinson in *The Nation* dated March 7, 1942. Britain, which was till then, a creditor country, became a debtor country.

this after the Dutch Commander had made the official signal of surrender." \*

This, however, pales into insignificance before the destruction of Berlin and other German cities on which thousands of tons of bombs were dropped by American bombers night after night, and the destruction of Hiroshima by a single atom bomb. And yet the atom bomb is not the last word in destructive warfare. It was said by Napoleon that the essential conditions of winning a war were: "First, money; second, money; and third, money." The truth of this remark is amply borne out by the events of the recent world war. §

Baroda, 12-6-'46

C. S.

## WORK AS EDUCATION

"Work is or can be a very powerful educational factor."

— *The Christian Newsletter* of August 8, 1945 under the caption *War and the School*.

This is what Gandhiji has always been saying. By now a majority of those who have cared to think over the problem have no hesitation in admitting that education through work, meaning correlating knowledge to work, is the best way of imparting it. But perhaps few will be prepared to find that work itself without a word of correlated knowledge, is education, and education of the highest order. We had a chance of trying this out, in the Sevagram Basic School, with the seventh grade boys. The stress and storm through which the country passed after 9th August, 1942, the fact that the present batch was the first undergoing training under the basic scheme and constantly changing teachers, had left the boys in an almost wild state. It should be remembered that the experiment was confined to the cotton processes required in spinning and weaving. As the material was raw, its effects under efficient and scientific supervision were bound to be more pronounced. Again fortunately we were in a hurry to find out the standard reached by these students in the various processes, from the cleaning of the cotton to the manufacture of cloth, so that we might be able to plan for their Post-Basic Studies. So practically for nearly five hours daily, the boys were doing pure craft-work, under what are called factory conditions, i. e. keyed up to produce their maximum. The word 'factory' need not shock anyone in that, educationally the experiment proved a success.

Economically the result may be summed up as follows:

\*Speaking of the Nankai University at Tientsin (China), Haldore Hanson says: "Rockefeller had invested \$250,000 in its irreplaceable libraries and research institutes . . . All afternoon the planes shuttled back and forth. By nightfall the U. S. \$2,000,000 University had been reduced to shattered stonework, resembling some ancient Babylonian city. What 5,000 years did to Babylon, the Japanese army accomplished in five hours." (*Op. Cit.*, p. 64).

§ Most military officers agree that, if Napoleon should return to Europe today with the finest of his troops, he would be defeated by any second rate power, say Hungary or Rumania. Present-day armies have pushed Napoleon's style of warfare back to the kindergarten." — Haldore Hanson: *Op. Cit.*, p. 160.



Student	Measurements of cloth produced	Punjam	Hours taken from the cleaning of cotton to the manufacture of cloth	Rate of income per hour
Madhu	8 yds. X 32"	13	138	0-0-11
Ganpat	8 yds. X 32"	13	123	0-1-1
Bakaram	8½ yds. X 36"	13	117	0-1-2
Gopal	8½ yds. X 27"	9	127	0-0-9
Hari	8 yds. X 32"	13	135	0-1-0
Atmaram	8 yds. X 32"	10½	115	0-0-11
Vaman	8½ yds. X 27"	9	102	0-0-11

N. B:— 1. In calculating the time taken, there has been a departure from the usual practice. If three boys, say, have done sizing, then the time taken to do it has been trebled when calculating man-hours. Usually the time taken by those who help in the process is not taken into account.

2. From the price of the cloth produced calculated at the A. I. S. A. rates, the price of cotton was deducted. The rest was all regarded as the income of the children.

These figures need no comment. In a country where the per capita income is only a few annas a day, a child of fourteen earning 1 anna (or nearly 1 anna) per hour is certainly revolutionary. Thus, spinning can and should become a subsidiary industry in periods of enforced idleness.

So far about the economic aspect. This result would have been of no value, if it did not mean also education, i. e., improvement of the mind. The educational results were more surprising. We were afraid lest by making them work for five or six hours a day, without correlating any recognized form of knowledge, we might just be 'slave-driving' the children. Really speaking, however, there should have been no such fear. Our experience amply bore out that the 'insignificant' processes of cotton cleaning, ginning, carding, spinning, etc. were full of immense educational possibilities.

Punctuality and a sense of time were the first things stressed, and they were enforced with the utmost vigilance. The time-piece was always in front of the boys, and they were taught to have the eye always fixed on this indicator of fleeting time. An accurate record was kept of the time when the work was begun, when it was stopped, when it was interrupted. Its relation to speed, etc. was noted. It was found how lazy we were apt to become when we had no record of time in minutes or even seconds. The boys themselves again and again saw the advantage of always keeping it in front of them. One of them said one day as he was happily and swiftly plying his wheel: "It is the first time that we have learnt the value of time." Those who know the village life and our want of time sense, would not be surprised by the remark.

Again, it was found that unless one was alert and worked with full concentration, production declined considerably. As talking during work was stopped, the production curve immediately went up. But simple concentration is not enough. One has to be constantly on the alert for any defect in the tools used or in the manner of carrying out the process which must be immediately remedied. Lazily allowing the ginning machine to creak on through absence of oiling or some cotton seeds having been

caught between the rollers, may straightway reduce production by half. Again, one has constantly to be thinking how best to prevent waste and promote cleanliness of work. Take the simplest process, that of cotton cleaning. The first day the average speed of the class was 6 *tolas* per hour, because the boys lazily and 'happily' talked on during their work. Talking during the lesson hour is prohibited everywhere. This was lesson time. Talking was stopped and the output went up. We had to think out what extraneous matter or dirt should be removed from good cotton before carding and what would automatically be removed by carding, how to hold the cotton pod so that its fibres do not get pressed together, which would make both ginning and carding very difficult later, how to pull out extraneous matter and raw fibres, so that the largest number are pulled out at one and the same time, and without bringing along with them good fibres, how to place uncleaned cotton, cleaned cotton and waste cotton, so that the minimum time is taken to pick up uncleaned cotton, pull out the extraneous matter and drop both the refuse and cleaned cotton in their respective places in the quickest manner. And to do all this in a way, so that the whole place looks clean. In this way, this insignificant process, so far entrusted to ignorant female labourers for a pittance, was able to teach the boys to do some hard thinking, inculcate on them a sense and value of time, resourcefulness, cleanliness, economy, art of arrangement and, last but not least, an eye for detail. "These are small things," said Gandhiji once. "But big things evolve from small things. An eye for detail is absolutely essential, and it is our duty as educationists to develop it in the children."

The other processes provided equally good opportunities for inculcating the above-mentioned qualities on the children. They had, however, also their own especial contribution to make. Carding provides an excellent lesson in rhythm and muscle co-ordination, especially when done by the Bihar method. Moreover, those who have an experience of carding know what a lesson in discipline it is to teach a boy as he comes out of the carding class, a very sheep of a boy, all covered over with cotton fibres, to clean himself of cotton fibre before entering another class-room. Spinning develops sensitiveness of fingers and co-ordination of the two hands, and the eye. Weaving requires alertness, speed and, very often, infinite patience.

The Educational value of the other activities during these days were also fully exploited. Take cleaning, for instance. The boy who was deputed to clean the room, was given half an hour every day. He had not only to clean the class-room with its walls, its corners, its roof etc. but also to understand that the surroundings of which it was a part, must also be cleaned, and the work was examined with as much care and minuteness as a scientific experiment. In this way our habits of cleaning our own house and throwing the refuse in front of our neighbours, was sought to be remedied, and a sense of neighbourliness sought to be developed in these



future citizens of rural India. Again, arranging *asans* everyday in new styles to suit the particular process in hand, provided good lessons in neatness and method.

But perhaps the most important lesson that was sought to be taught was that of co-operation. It is a lesson badly needed for reconstructing our villages and is one that can only be learnt through work. Work in the class-room was so arranged as to give the boys the sense that they would all sink or swim together, and it is surprising, how many opportunities for inculcating the spirit of co-operation can be found in that little world called the class-room where tuition consists in doing corporate work.

Within two months, the boys showed marked improvement in their general behaviour, which was visible to the whole Talimi Sangh community who had doubted the success of the experiment. The boys had become better disciplined and had done their work with great enthusiasm and joy. It was with pride and joy that they finally brought in their pieces of hand-woven Khadi.

We discovered that there was no conflict between the economic and the educational aspects. The close relationship between work and character was firmly established by various graphs, both individual and collective, which were elaborately maintained. The graphs showed steadily ascending curves. The improvement in production may be seen by the following figures for example:

Cotton-Cleaning		Ginning		Spinning	
Date	Average speed per hour	Date	Average speed per hour	Date	Average speed per hour
9-1-'46	6 <i>tolas</i>	9-1-'46	40 <i>tolas</i>	18-2-'46	262 <i>tars</i>
12-1-'46	14 "	11-1-'46	44 "	21-2-'46	306 "
13-1-'46	21 "	12-1-'46	63 "	22-2-'46	316 "
17-1-'46	42 "	16-1-'46	72 "	25-2-'46	328 "
18-1-'46	69 "	21-1-'46	104 "	28-2-'46	340 "
				4-3-'46	345 "
				22-3-'46	365 "

Tar = 4 feet

This increased production in itself would be no demonstration of the success of the education through work but for the increased mental capacity of the pupils observed and narrated in the foregoing paragraphs. The distinction between the workshop and a school-room where tuition is given through work consists in the fact, that in the workshop the apprentice works mechanically and slaves at only a part of the work turned out, no regard being paid to his mental growth. In the school-room every pupil learns all the processes, not mechanically but organically, so that the full capacity of the man in him or her is drawn out at a given stage. Looked at thus, the measure of increase in each pupil's work is the measure of progress in education.

There was time when we were afraid of our schools being called workshops. But we are no longer afraid of the same: Only our schools will be both economically more productive and educationally more instructive. It would be a happy day when we can plant one such 'workshop' in every one of India's villages.

The Hindustani Talimi Sangh,

Sevagram, 1-7-'46

DEV PRAKASH NAYYAR

## TWENTY RULES FOR DAIRY FARMS

[The following are points to be kept in mind by dairy farmers as summarized by the United States Department of Agriculture. They may be observed by our cow-keepers with suitable modifications.]

—V. G. D.J

### THE COW

1. Have the herd examined at least twice a year by a skilled veterinarian. Promptly remove animals suspected of being in bad health. Never add an animal to the herd, until certain it is free from disease, especially tuberculosis.

2. Never allow a cow to be excited by fast driving, abuse, loud talking or unnecessary disturbance; do not expose her to cold or storms more than necessary.

3. Clean the entire body of the cow daily; hair in the region of the udder should be kept short by clipping.

4. Do not allow any strong-flavoured food like garlic, cabbage or turnips to be eaten except immediately after milking. Changes in feed should be made gradually.

5. Provide fresh, pure water in abundance, easy of access, and not too cold.

### THE STABLES

6. Dairy cattle should be kept in a stable, preferably without cellar or storage loft, and where no other animals are housed.

7. The stable should be light (4 square feet of glass per cow) and dry, with at least 500 cubic feet of air space per animal. It should have air inlets and outlets, so arranged as to give good ventilation without drafts of air on cows.

8. The floor should be tight and constructed preferably of cement; walls and ceilings should be tight, clean, free from cobwebs, and whitewashed twice a year. Have as few dust-catching ledges, projections and corners as possible.

9. Allow no dusty, musty or dirty litter, or strong-smelling material in the stable. Haul manure to field daily or store under cover at least 40 feet from stable. Use land plaster daily in gutter and on floor.

### MILK HOUSE

10. Have a light, clean, well-ventilated and screened milk room, located as to be free from dust and odours.

11. Milk utensils should be made of metal, and all joints smoothly soldered. Never allow utensils to become rusty or rough inside. Use them only for handling, storing or delivering milk.

12. To clean dairy utensils, use only pure water. First rinse the utensils in warm water. Then wash inside and out in hot water, in which cleansing material has been dissolved, and rinse again. Sterilize with boiling water or steam. Then keep inverted in pure air and sun, if possible, until wanted for use.

### MILKING AND HANDLING MILK

13. Use no dry, dusty food just previous to milking.

14. The milker should wash his hands immediately before milking and milk with dry hands. He should wear a clean outer garment, kept in a clean place



when not in use. Tobacco should not be used while milking.

15. Wipe the udder and surrounding parts with a clean damp cloth immediately before milking.

16. In milking, be quiet, quick, clean and thorough. Commence milking at the same hour every morning and evening, and milk the cows in the same order.

17. If any part of the milk is bloody, stringy or unnatural in appearance, or if by accident dirt gets into the milk pail, the whole should be rejected.

18. Do not fill cans in the stable. Remove the milk of each cow at once from the stable to the milk room. Strain immediately through cotton flannel or cotton. Cool to 50°F. as soon as strained. Store at 50°F. or lower.

19. Never mix warm milk with that which has been cooled, and do not allow milk to freeze.

20. A person suffering from any disease, or who has been recently exposed to a contagious disease, must remain away from the cows and the milk.\*

## STORY HOUR

[These stories are taken from G. F. Vallance's *Stories that illustrate texts*, Volume I. — V. G. D.]

### I

Plague was raging in London, and Lord Craven was about to leave it for safety. A coach and six stood at the door. The nobleman was stepping into it, when a Negro postilion said to another servant, "I should suppose by my Lord's quitting London to avoid the plague that his God lived in the country and not in town." The Negro's speech struck Craven forcibly, and he said to himself: "My God lives everywhere and can preserve me in town as well as in the country. I will stay even where I am. The postilion has taught me a fine lesson. Lord, pardon my unbelief and distrust of Thy providence, which put me upon running away from Thy hand." So saying he ordered the coach to be put away, continued to live in town and helped sick neighbours, but never caught the infection.

### II

One day when there was an explosion in Lanerch pit, Thomas and Bennet were in a part of the mine some distance from the place of accident, but they knew they must hurry to the shaft and get out. On they went through suffocating passages, but presently, Thomas who was ahead of his friend noticed that he was alone, and Bennet was not following him. He stopped and retraced his steps to find Bennet overpowered by gas. He shook him, raised him and once more started him on the way to the shaft, saying, "Run, man, run for your life." This time he put Bennet in front. By great effort Bennet reached the cage and was taken up. But Thomas who had gone back to save him did not come to the surface, the foul gas overpowered him, and he died in order that his friend might live.

"Greater love hath no man than this that a man lay down his life for his friends" (John XV-13).

\* *The Business Encyclopaedia* edited by Henry Marshall (Garden City Publishing Co., Garden City, New York).

### III

A rich and miserly old man visited his rabbi who took him by hand, led him to the window and said,

"Look out there and tell me what you see."

"I see men, women and little children."

The rabbi again took the old man by hand, this time led him to the mirror and said,

"What do you see now?"

"Now I see myself."

Then the rabbi said, "Behold, in the window there is glass, and there is glass in the mirror too. But the glass of the mirror is covered with a little silver, and no sooner is the silver added than you cease to see others and see only yourself."

## REVEALING FIGURES

The following facts and figures taken from a pamphlet entitled 'Food Crisis, 1946,' are of special interest in view of the food shortage:

### Production of Foodstuffs in India (1945-46)

Rice	25.8 million tons
Wheat	8.3 " "
Gram	3.0 " "
Millets	7.5 " "
Maize	2.2 " "
Barley	1.7 " "

The above quantity has been found insufficient for the total population of India and the estimated deficit is 6 million tons."

The Punjab, C. P. & Berar, Sind, Orissa and Assam are not exporters of cereals in normal times. The deficit areas are the N. W. F. P., Bihar, U. P., Madras, Bombay, Bengal, the States of Travancore and Cochin, all of which have to import either wheat, rice, millet, or all.

The production vs. requirements of foodstuffs annually is as follows:

Foodstuff	Production million tons	Requirement million tons	Deficit million tons
Cereals	50	60	10.
Pulses	7	12	5
Vegetables & Fruits	Unassessed	At least double	..
Fish	0.6	9	8.4
Milk	22	35	13
Eggs	2660	146000	143340 (No.)

The following is a table of balanced diet for the maintenance of proper health:

Cereals	14 ozs.
Pulses	3 "
Green leafy vegetable	3 "
Root vegetable	3 "
Other vegetables	3 "
Fruits	3 "
Milk	10 "
Sugar & Jaggery	2 "
Vegetable oil, ghee etc.	2 "
Fish and meat	3 "
Egg	1 only



This diet yields about 2600 calories.

The adult Indian male requires	2600 calories
Female	2100 "
Child 12 & 13 yrs.	2100 "
" 10 & 11 "	1800 "
" 8 & 9 "	1600 "
" 6 & 7 "	1300 "
" 4 & 5 "	1000 "
Pregnant woman	2400 "
Nursing mother	3000 "

But how much do they get in comparison with other countries? The figures reveal a sorry tale:

Country	Calories per head per day
America	3,200
Great Britain	2,600
Germany (after the war)	1,600
Japan (under American occupation)	1,575
'Grim and dangerous level'	1,500

India and 960

No wonder the death rate and infant mortality figures are appalling:

Country	1942 Death rate per 1000	Infant mortality per 1000 births
Australia	10.5	39
Canada	9.7	54
America	10.4	40
Germany	12.7 (1940)	68
England	12.2 (1940)	54
Japan	17.6 (1938)	114 (1937)
India	22.0	163

and our expectation of life woefully short:

Country	Expectation of life at birth	
	Males	Females
Netherlands	65.70	67.20 (1931-40)
New Zealand	65.46	68.45 (1934-38)
Sweden	64.30	66.92 (1936-40)
America	63.65	68.61
Denmark	63.50	65.80 (1936-40)
Union of S. A.	61.46	66.80 (1940)
Canada	60.90	64.70 (1940-42)
Ireland	59.00	61.0 (1940-42)
England	60.18	64.40 (1937)
Germany	59.86	62.80 (1932-34)
Italy	53.76	56.00 (1930-32)
Japan	46.92	49.63 (1935-36)
India	26.91	26.56 (1931)

"Place any other country under the same condition, with crippled industries, with agriculture subject to a heavy and uncertain Land Tax and with financial arrangements requiring one half of the revenues to be annually remitted out of the country, and the most prosperous nation on earth will soon know the horrors of famine," said R. C. Dutt years ago.

Too long has India groaned under the cruel foreign yoke. Mr. Winston Churchill and those of his ilk who talk pious platitudes about their concern for the minorities of India, should read these figures and pause before they dare to play the role of hypocrites. Not until our people are able to get enough to eat, can all our schemes for proper housing or roads or even education and health be of any real avail. Adequate and proper diet is the first requirement of man and to this end the energy of all Provincial Governments must be diverted forthwith if we are to live.

Poona, 1-8-'46

A. K.

## A LIGHTER INTERLUDE

Gandhiji seldom has time for lighter interludes in his daily programme which, since his recent return to Sevagram after a long absence, has been more than full. But one such came his way yesterday when Shri Aryanayakam brought nine boys of the 7th class to meet him. These had all practically completed their seven years' course in the Sevagram Basic School. They were village lads from Sevagram and the neighbouring villages. Compared to those whom one sees working in the fields and who have never been to school, they were a heartening result of a first endeavour. They were clean, well-groomed, disciplined and well-mannered. Gandhiji cracked a few jokes with them which they entered into with merry laughter. One of them had the temerity to ask Gandhiji what type of boy of fourteen, he expected to be turned out after a seven years' course at a Basic School? Gandhiji seized the opportunity of telling them that if the school had done its duty by them, boys of fourteen should be truthful, pure and healthy. They should be village-minded. Their brains and hands should have been equally developed. There would be no guile in them. Their intelligence would be keen but they would not be worried about earning money. They would be able to turn their hands to any honest task that came their way. They would not want to go into the cities. Having learnt the lessons of co-operation and service in the school, they would infect their surroundings with the same spirit. They would never be beggars or parasites.

Sevagram, 21-8-'46

A. K.

## A PROHIBITION ANTHOLOGY

[For the English quotations below I am indebted to Tryon Edwards' *New Dictionary of Thoughts* (Classic Publishing Company).]

— V. G. D. ]

1

सर्वं मद्यमपेयम् ।

आपस्तम्ब धर्मसूत्र १-५-१७-२१

"One shall not drink any intoxicant."

2

"There is scarcely a crime before me that is not directly or indirectly caused by strong drink."

Judge Coleridge

3

"He that is a drunkard is qualified for all vice."

Quarles

4

"Intemperance makes them engage in gambling."

Cotton

5

"Death wanted to choose his Prime Minister. Several courtiers presented their claims for the office, among these being various diseases and war. But Intemperance said, 'Give way, you pretenders. Am I not your parent?' The grisly monarch at once placed him on his right hand."

Dodsley.

6

"Drunkards kill themselves as much as those who hang or poison or drown themselves."

Sherlock



7

"I consider the temperance cause the foundation of all social and political reform." Cobden

8

एकतः सर्वपापानि मद्यपानं तथैकतः ।  
चाणक्य (फ्रेंच) ३२

"All other sins on one side and drunkenness on the other balance each other."

9

मद्यपानात्परं पापं न भूतं न भविष्यति ।  
चाणक्य (फ्रेंच) १२२

"There never was, nor shall there ever be a sin more heinous than drunkenness."

## PREACHING TO EMPTINESS

(By M. K. Gandhi)

Downes was a Seventh Day Adventist. He was a quack like me. He was my guest years ago in Durban. One day he said he must preach the simple life to those who cared to listen to him. He succeeded in borrowing a chapel hall for one hour in Mercury Lane and asked me to preside. I warned him that with me as chairman in the very early days of my life in South Africa, probably in 1894, he must not expect an audience. He would not heed the warning. Precisely at the advertised time Downes began his address to an audience of one. I asked him in vain to wait a few minutes for other comers. He would not be party to stealing God's time and unconcerned, he went on with his speech. So far as I remember, a few stragglers, under ten, came in during the speech. I happened to relate this experience to Horace Alexander whilst I was in Delhi. He gave me in return the stranger story of Stephen Grellet a Quaker, preaching to emptiness. I asked him to give me the authentic version for the readers of 'Harijan,' it being a rich experience of living faith in God. I reproduce below the story as sent by Horace Alexander:

"Stephen Grellet was a well-known Quaker preacher of the early nineteenth century. By origin a French emigre (Etienne de Grellet), after a residence in London, he emigrated again to America, and in later life undertook extensive travels in the Ministry on both sides of the Atlantic. The incident here recorded is not found in his own journal, but was vouched for by his daughter and is accepted as authentic by his most recent biographer (W. W. Comfort). But it cannot be exactly dated.

"S. G. 'waiting on the Lord to shew him His will' was directed by the spirit to take a long journey into the backwoods of America and preach to the woodcutters who were hewing timber in those parts. Seeking for direction to know where he should go, he pictured a part of the forest he had visited before, but which had left his mind, and a voice was heard in his own heart, saying distinctly but very gently, so that only he could hear it, 'Go back there and preach to those lonely men.' So he left his wife and home. As he proceeded on his way, a flood of happiness came over his soul. Coming near the place, he both trembled and rejoiced. But he found it 'silent and deserted.' The one big wooden hut that

remained, had evidently not been used for many days. The woodcutters had moved on into the woods, and might not return for weeks. Could he have mistaken the voice? No, he could not believe that. What should he do? He put up a silent prayer. Through the windless silence of the forest came the answer: 'Give your message. It is not yours but mine.' So he strode into the building, went to the end of the room and stood on a form as if there were one or two hundred eager listeners and preached to the empty building with a power he had never known in his life before. He spoke of the Love of God as the greatest thing in the world, of how sin builds a wall between man and God, but the wall is thrown down in Jesus Christ, who longs to come and dwell with man. S. G. thought of the silent woodcutters, rough wild men, and felt love for each one. How much greater, then, must be God's love for them! He prayed aloud for them. Finally, utterly exhausted by his effort, he threw his arms on the boards in front of him and hid his face in his hands. A long time passed. The place was still deserted. He noticed a poor mug, left as if to mock him. In his heart he hated the mug, and compared it with the beautiful utensils in his father's aristocratic house in Limoges in France. Why had he renounced beauty and luxury to follow a voice that led him on fool's errands, to preach to nothing but a cracked mug? He wrestled with this mood, and overcame it. He took the mug, cleansed it carefully at a little stream, drank from it, ate some dry bread from his pocket, and felt himself enfolded in a sustaining life-giving presence. He rode home again like a man in a dream, conscious that he was not alone. Years later he was crossing London Bridge in a crowd of people, wearing his habitual Quaker hat and coat. Suddenly someone seized him and said in a gruff voice: 'There you are. I have found you at last, have I?' S. G. remonstrated: 'Friend, I think that thou art mistaken.' 'No, I am not. When you have sought a man over the face of the globe year after year, you don't make a mistake when you find him at last.' In a loud voice, regardless of the passers-by the man tells his story. He had heard S. G. when he preached to nobody. He had gone back that day to get his lever from the deserted settlement. He had thought S. G. a lunatic, standing on the bench, preaching to emptiness, but had listened through the chinks. 'Your words went through a chink in my heart, though its walls were thicker than those of any shanty.' He was ashamed to be seen, so slunk away back to the camp, and was miserable for weeks. Finally he got hold of a Bible. How the other men laughed! He found the passage about the lost sheep. 'It's share and share alike in the forest. I told the men all about it, just like you. I gave them no peace till everyone was brought home to God. Three went out to preach to other districts. At least 1000 have been brought home to the good shepherd by that sermon of yours which you preached to nobody.'"

Sevagram, 16-8-'46



## GOA

(By M. K. Gandhi)

"With reference to Mr. Gandhi's short commentary on Goa in the *Harijan* of the 18th instant, where he gives the so-called "contrast" between French and Portuguese authorities, we have to state the following for your knowledge and publicity purposes:

"There is nothing more out of place as a comparison between French India and Portuguese India. The objects, administrative methods and the goal are absolutely dissimilar in their essence. The recent integration (1816) of the French possessions in India in the French Colonial Empire and its setbacks, have nothing in common with Portuguese India which for more than 400 years, has been benefited by the Portuguese administration, completely identifying its destinies with the Motherland.

"If the inhabitants of French India wish to identify their destinies with Free India (what has yet to be ascertained), the same does not happen in Portuguese India where the totality of the inhabitants wish to continue under the beneficial action of Portuguese administration which has been the cause of its material and moral progress to the point of Goa, being the pride of the Portuguese colonizing effort and part and parcel of the Motherland.

"These being the facts based on historical data, we trust you will publish the relevant corrections in your paper."

This letter to the Editor of the *Harijan* from the Head of the Government Information Bureau, Nova Goa, makes sorry reading. It is an example of the truth of the proverb, "Comparisons are odious." Surely there is not much to choose between French and Portuguese imperialism. The hands of imperialism are always dyed red. The sooner imperialistic powers shed their imperialism like Ashoka the Good, the better it will be for the groaning world. One may be pardoned for giving credit to France, where credit is deserved as it is in the case of French India, assuming, of course, the truth of the newspaper version of the statement of the Governor of French India. Moreover, it is ridiculous for the Head of the Government Information Bureau to write of Portugal as the motherland of the Indians of Goa. Their mother country is as much India as mine. Goa is outside British India but it is within geographical India as a whole. And there is very little, if anything, in common between the Portuguese and the Indians of Goa.

I have read also the contradiction of my statement about Shri Purushottam Kakodkar. I must adhere to it in spite of the contradiction of the Portuguese authorities in Goa. Here is what his wife says in her letter dated 24-8-'46:

"Shri Purushottam Kakodkar, Secretary of the Goa National Congress, was arrested while talking to a friend on 9-8-'46 by the Portuguese authorities. On the 10th he was removed to Panjim (Nova Goa). On the 11th and 12th, he was kept on half rations. When he learnt that the authorities were deliberately

underfeeding him, he went on hunger strike on the 13th and was still fasting on the 20th.

"The Portuguese Government is undeterred in its policy and up till now (24-8-'46) no attention has been paid to the written request sent in by Shri Kakodkar for adequate food supply to himself and other prisoners."

I ask the Portuguese authorities whether they would allow a representative from the *Harijan* to meet Prisoner Kakodkar and ascertain facts for himself?

New Delhi, 29-8-'46

## WEEKLY LETTER

## THE LURID GLARE

"When the Ashram was first started in Kocharab we set before us certain ideals. Same ideals are before us today. What is our duty in terms of these ideals in the face of the conflagration that is raging in the country today? Let us be humble and confess that we have not got the strength today to meet all the expectations that the people entertain of us. But we are sincerely striving for it. If we had fully realized the principles for which we stand, we should have rushed into the blaze and offered the purest sacrifice which might have conceivably quenched the flames."—With these words Gandhiji took leave of the Ashram inmates at the final evening prayer gathering on the 24th. He was referring to the lurid happenings in Calcutta and elsewhere. He then proceeded to give his definition of a 'pure sacrifice'. It was not the thoughtless annihilation of the moth in the flame. Sacrifice to be effective must be backed by the uttermost external and internal purity. There is nothing that such sacrifice cannot achieve. Without the requisite purity, sacrifice is no better than a desperate self-annihilation devoid of any merit. Sacrifice must, further, be willing and it should be made in faith and hope, without a trace of hatred or ill will in the heart.

"Although we have fallen short of our ideal," he went on to say, "we have never been found wanting in honest endeavour. The art of jail-going we have learnt with the rest. But jail-going is only the beginning, not the end of Satyagraha. The acme of Satyagraha for us would be to lay down our lives for the defence of India's just cause. Let us then pray to God to give us the requisite purity and fearlessness in the true sense of the term, to make our sacrifice worthy of the altar. Then alone shall we be worthy of the name of the Ashram."

## TEACHERS OF TOMORROW

In a previous issue was given Shri Mahadev Desai's summary of an address delivered to the trainees of the Basic Teachers' Camp at Sevagram by Gandhiji on the day previous to his departure for the A. I. C. C. meeting at Bombay in August '42. He again did the same on the 23rd August in anticipation of his departure for New Delhi, at the instance of Shri Aryanayakam. There were 79 of them from the various Congress Provinces sent by the Provincial Governments, 30 being sent on behalf of the Kasturba Gandhi National Memorial Trust. The function was



held in the Talimi Sangh Hall, just where it was held four years ago. Shrimati Ashadevi who is the life and soul of the institution no less than her husband Aryanayakam, has by her artist touch introduced a whiff of Shantiniketan into her environment. A finished Sanskrit scholar, she is a fine singer too. But her most valuable contribution is, perhaps, the motherly love which she has infused into her work and with which she nourishes her little pupils of the basic school. She had got the Talimi Sangh Hall decorated in a simple but artistic manner befitting its surroundings. Beautiful designs in white had been drawn on the floor and for light there were rows of earthen lamps which filled the place with their mild, subdued glow that soothed the tired eyes and nerves after a strenuous day. The proceedings began with a prayer. After the pupil teachers had been introduced to Gandhiji he briefly addressed them. The main theme of his address was the educative value of useful, manual work. "One of the complaints that has been made by one of you," he remarked, "is that too much emphasis is laid here on manual work. I am a firm believer in the educative value of manual work. Our present educational system is meant for strengthening and perpetuating the imperialist power in India. Those of you who have been brought up under it have naturally developed a taste for it and so find labour irksome. No one in Government schools or colleges bothers to teach the students, how to clean the roads or latrines. Here, cleanliness and sanitation form the very *alpha* and *omega* of your training. Scavenging is a fine art you should take pains to learn. Persistent questioning and healthy inquisitiveness are the first requisite for acquiring learning of any kind. Inquisitiveness should be tempered by humility and respectful regard for the teacher. It must not degenerate into impudence. The latter is the enemy of the receptivity of mind. There can be no knowledge without humility and the will to learn.

"Useful manual labour, intelligently performed is the means *par excellence* for developing the intellect. One may develop a sharp intellect otherwise too. But then it will not be a balanced growth but an unbalanced, distorted abortion. It might easily make of one a rogue and a rascal. A balanced intellect presupposes a harmonious growth of body, mind and soul. That is why we give to manual labour the central place in our curriculum of training here. An intellect that is developed through the medium of socially useful labour will be an instrument for service and will not easily be led astray or fall into devious paths. The latter can well be a scourge. If you grasp that essential point, the money spent by your respective governments in sending you here for training will have been well-spent."

#### THE DAY

On the 2nd of September, Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru and his colleagues put on the crown of thorns as a matter of supreme duty. For Gandhiji it was a day of deep heart-searching. In the early hours of the morning, while most slept, he set down to

draft a note for Pandit Jawaharlal as to the duty of the members of the new Government in this supreme hour. The substance of it he amplified later in the evening.

Hailing the auspicious day for which India had so long waited as a red letter day in India's history, in his address at the evening prayer, he described it as only a step towards full Independence which was yet to come. He congratulated and thanked the British Government for having resolved an age-old issue between Britain and India by peaceful settlement. Whatever it might have done in the past, this was no time for cavilling at old wrongs or reviving bitter memories.

A friend had asked him, proceeded Gandhiji, as to when the Viceregal Palace would be turned into a hospital for the poor as was promised by him in the presence of the British Ministers and Rulers of Indian States at the Second Round Table Conference in London. He had not forgotten that promise, he remarked. He stood by it still. Only the time for it was not yet. They could not today ask the Viceroy to vacate his Palace, while he still held office. Power had not yet been completely transferred into their hands. The Viceroy was still there with the army. Sooner, rather than later, complete power would be in their hands, if Pandit Nehru, their uncrowned king and first Prime Minister and his colleagues fully and worthily did their part. The Viceroy would then himself vacate his Palace and, to be sure, it would be turned into a hospital for the poor including the Harijans who were the poorest of the poor.

#### NO TIME FOR JUBILATION

It was not a day for rejoicing or jubilation, he reminded them. Their Ministers had reluctantly agreed to accept responsibility for the Interim Government without the Muslim League which was undeniably a powerful organization of the Muslims. The league had refused to come in. The Muslims were their brothers. Both Hindus and Muslims were sons of India. Our mortal mother who gives us birth is entitled to our reverence and worship. Such worship purifies the soul. How much more worthy of our common allegiance and reverence must be our Motherland then, the Imperishable Mother on whose breast we are borne and will die, he asked? "All those who are born in this country and claim her as their Motherland, whether they be Hindu, Muslim, Parsi, Christian, Jain or Sikh are equally her children and are, therefore, brothers, united together with a bond stronger than that of blood."

Today the Mussalmans, continued Gandhiji, looked askance at the Hindus. Rightly, or wrongly, the League had come to believe that the Hindus had bypassed and deceived it and was therefore angry. The Mussalmans were observing the day as a day of mourning. They did not cease to be their brothers on that account. One could not return one's brother's anger with anger. Whilst, therefore, they could not join the Mussalmans in their mourning, it was up to them, the Hindus, to try to come as close to them as possible and spare



them provocation by abstaining from jubilation, rejoicing and other exuberant manifestations, such as feasting, illuminations etc. Exuberant manifestations were hardly in keeping with the solemnity of the occasion. The proper way of observing solemn occasions as enjoined by Islam, Christianity and Hinduism alike was by fasting, rather than feasting. They should utilize the occasion to turn the search-light inward and try to find out if they had really done their Muslim brothers any injustice. If there was any, it should be openly admitted and remedied.

At the same time he would respectfully tell the League, added the speaker, that it was neither logical nor right to regard both the British and the Hindus as their enemies and to threaten them with direct action. It could not ride two horses at the same time. If it non-cooperated with the British, it should imply co-operation among themselves. Why then should they non-cooperate with their own brothers? The Congress could never ally itself with Britain against the Muslims. It had today accepted responsibility for the Interim Government for the sole purpose of attaining freedom for all alike, including the Muslim League, not for any particular section or community. If a Minister joined the Cabinet to serve a sectional interest to the detriment of the rest or with a desire to injure any particular section, he was unfit to be a Minister. It was wrong for the Mussalmans to regard the Hindus as their enemies and seek to forget that they had lived together as good neighbours for centuries, were born in the same land, were nourished by the same soil and were destined to be returned as dust to the same soil. He would go so far as to say that the League attitude was un-Islamic. The remedy for injustice, if there was any, was to reason together or refer the dispute to arbitration in the last resort, if mutual discussion failed.

#### REDEEM OLD PLEDGES

What was the first duty of the Ministers, he next asked and replied that their first act should be to remember the Salt Satyagraha and remove the Salt Tax. It was on that issue that the country had given such a noble fight in 1930. It was the Dandi March that had electrified the whole country and brought women to the fore. It symbolized the Congress pledge to win freedom for the toiling masses. India's womanhood reached the high watermark during the Salt Satyagraha and extorted the admiration of the whole world. It was now time to redeem that pledge and make the poor man's salt as free as water and air. It was not the quantum of taxation but the fact of salt being free or not that made all the difference to the poor. Removal of the Salt Tax would take the message of Swaraj into the huts of the poorest without distinction of Hindu or Muslim, caste or outcaste and serve as an earnest of early termination of all oppression under which the masses have been groaning.

The second task before the Ministers was early realization of communal unity. That could not be

done by a Government notification. The Ministers would have to live for it and die for it. If he had his way, remarked Gandhiji, he would declare that hereafter the military would not be used for the preservation of internal peace. Personally he would like to see even the use of the police banned for that purpose. People must find other means to prevent the communities from flying at each other's throat. If the worst came to the worst, they must have the guts to fight it out among themselves without external aid. He ventured to say that so long as they needed the help of British arms for their security, their slavery would continue.

Then there was the total eradication of untouchability. As early as 1920-21, the Congress had declared untouchability to be a blot on Hinduism. They were pledged to remove it root and branch. The conditions of life in the sweepers' quarters in all the big cities of India was a shame. Before this, he used to appeal to the Viceroy to improve them. Now it was the responsibility of the Interim Government and they could call the Ministers to account for it.

Lastly there was the pledge of Khadi to be redeemed to provide clothing to the poor villagers. The Congress by a resolution in 1920 had resolved that all of India's inhabitants must be clothed in hand-spun and hand-woven cloth to the exclusion of all other. The Congress was still pledged to it. They had not yet carried out that resolution. Instead, people grumbled that they could not produce yarn which was required for the purchase of Khadi under the new A. I. S. A. regulations. Wherefrom was the Khadi to come if people did not spin? asked the speaker. They could not get yarn spun for wages owing to an abnormal inflation of wages all around. They must spin for themselves. There was no other way. It was the solemn duty of the members of the Interim Government to redeem the pledge about Khadi and to see that nothing but Khaddar was used in their homes or in their offices. As for yarn required to purchase Khadi, he made them a sporting offer. The new A. I. S. A. rules allowed them to present yarn spun by friends for the purchase of Khadi but not yarn spun for wages. As their friend, he would, out of yarn presented to him by the people, undertake to provide them with all the yarn that they might require for the purchase of Khadi. There was no doubt a dearth of Khadi in the Khadi Bhandars; but he would try his best to carry out their orders. He, however, warned them that it might be only coarse Khadi for the present and they would have to be satisfied with that. He could not guarantee to provide them with fine Andhra Khadi. For that, they must wait till India was completely independent.

Gandhiji hoped fervently that the Interim Government would give the right lead and put India on the road to truth and purity and real Swaraj. In that endeavour he hoped, it would have the loyal co-operation of all Indians.

New Delhi, 3-9-'46

PYARELAL



## SOUTH AFRICA

(By M. K. Gandhi)

Sir Shafaat Ahmed Khan who, but for the recent murderous assault on him, would have joined the Interim Government yesterday wrote on August 6th to me an interesting letter from which I quote as follows :

"My study of the Indian community while I was in South Africa, convinced me that but for your heroic work in the Union, the Indian race in that country would not have survived as a self-respecting community. You built up, cell by cell, the power of resistance in a highly gifted race and your work in that country is the inspiration of the Indian race in South Africa at the present time.

"My sole aim in South Africa was to lay the foundation of Indian unity in Natal. I do not think I succeeded completely in my aim but I am inclined to think that the heroic struggle which our race is carrying on at the present time, would have been impossible but for the dissolution of the Natal Indian Association and A. I. Kaje's Natal Indian Congress and the revival of the Natal Indian Congress, which you had founded in 1894. This was accomplished on August 29th 1943 and since that time, there has been only one political organization of Indians in Natal."

"The South African situation is complicated and owing to conventions of diplomacy, my lips are sealed. My despatches from South Africa which give a complete picture of the political situation for three years and are very exhaustive, cannot be published owing to conventions of international intercourse. . . .

"I came to the conclusion that no redress of our grievances in South Africa is possible unless we are masters in our own homeland and India is free."

In reply to my letter acknowledging receipt of the above, Sir Shafaat Ahmed Khan further writes :

"You will be glad to hear that since my return from South Africa, I have been busy preparing my speeches in South Africa and have added a section in my book, shortly to be published, on the history of the Indian community in South Africa. In this I have made bold to give a brief account of your work there and followed with the greatest interest your march to Volkhurst etc. . . .

"For more than three years — 1942-45, I wrote lengthy despatches to the Government of India on the South African problem and in April 1943 I warned them against General Smuts' policy and told them to take the strongest measures against the Union Government in connection with the Pegging Act. . . . Strong measures have been taken now, but I am afraid, it is too late. If the Congress forms a National Government soon and the new member in charge of the Department, decides to publish these despatches, particularly from April

1943 onwards, they will clear up numerous points for the next session of U. N. O. I am bound to say that the convention is that such despatches are not published unless and until there is rupture of relations between two countries. I offer no opinion as to whether they should be published at all. This is a matter which the new Government should decide."

New Delhi, 3-9-'46

## Why Go Abroad ?

An Indian doctor went to America in order to learn Neuro-surgery, so that he might return and serve his people here. He has with difficulty secured a seat in the Columbia University and is working as a house surgeon.

He writes to ask me to influence students not to go abroad for the following reasons :

"(a) The amount our poor country spends on sending and training ten students abroad could be better utilized by securing the services of a first rate professor who could train 40 students as well as equip a laboratory.

"(b) Students who come here acquire basic knowledge in research but do not know how to equip a laboratory on their return home.

"(c) They have no chance of continued work.

"(d) If we have experts brought out, our laboratories will also get perfected."

I have never been an advocate of our students going abroad. My experience tells me that such, on return, find themselves to be square pegs in round holes. That experience is the richest and contributes most to growth which springs from the soil. But today the craze for going abroad has gripped students. May the extract quoted serve as a warning !

New Delhi, 2-9-'46

M. K. G.

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# HARIJAN

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TWO ANNAS

## CONGRESS MINISTERS AND NON-VIOLENCE

(By M. K. Gandhi)

Shri Shankarrao Dev writes:

"Many people do not understand why those who call themselves Satyagrahis, resort to the use of the military and the police, the moment they become Ministers of Government. The people feel that this is a breach of both the creed and the policy of *ahimsa*. This popular belief seems to be consistent with reason. The inconsistency between belief and action of the Congress Ministers and the exploitation of the same by their opponents, both Congress and non-Congress, makes it hard for our workers to stand up to the criticism.

"Generally speaking, Congress *ahimsa* has been the *ahimsa* of the weak. It was bound to be so in the present development of the country and this fact is well-known to you. You claim that there is a special fire in the *ahimsa* of the strong. At the same time you accepted leadership of the weak, in order to make them strong through the use of *ahimsa*. And, in spite of their weakness, governmental power has today come into their hands. It is impossible for them today to put down disturbances without the use of the police and the military, and if they tried to do so, they would not only not succeed, but they would not get the co-operation of the people either.

"I did once ask you, whether a Satyagrahi should take high office if it came his way and if he did, how should he promote non-violence? I hold that the person who has made non-violence his creed, should not take office and he will never be happy there. But there can be no such difficulty for those who have accepted *ahimsa* only as a policy. Many Congressmen have accepted office and you have permitted them to do so. The question arises as to whether you can expect those who believe in *ahimsa*, to act up to it, at least in their personal capacity, during disturbances. Further, having acquired strength through non-violence, how should it be used, in order to bring in a State, where there is need for the least government? If you cannot lighten our path towards the desired goal, Satyagraha will not be considered a full-fledged weapon."

From my point of view the answer is easy. I have been saying for some time, that the words "truth and non-violence" should be removed from the Congress constitution. But whether they are actually removed or not, let us assume that they

are and then we shall be able to come to an independent judgement on the rightness or wrongness of any action. I am convinced that so long as we have to rely on the use of the military and even the police for preserving internal order, we shall continue to remain the slaves of either Britain or some other foreign power. It matters little then, whether the Government is in the hands of Congress or non-Congressmen. Let us assume that Congress Ministers are not pledged to non-violence. Let us further assume that Hindus, Mussalmans and others want military and police protection. If they do, they will continue to receive it. Those Ministers who are wedded to non-violence, must resign, since they would object to the use of the military and the police. The significance of it all is that so long as our people have not the wisdom to come to a mutual understanding, so long will goondalism continue and we shall not be able to generate the true strength of *ahimsa* within us.

Now as to how this non-violent strength can be created. I gave the answer to this question in the *Harijan* of August 4th, in replying to a letter from Ahmedabad. So long as we have not cultivated the strength to die with courage and love in our hearts, we cannot hope to develop the *ahimsa* of the strong.

There remains the question as to whether in an ideal society, there should be any or no government. I do not think, we need worry ourselves about this at the moment. If we continue to work for such a society, it will slowly come into being to an extent, such that the people can benefit by it. Euclid's line is one without breadth but no one has so far been able to draw it and never will. All the same it is only by keeping the ideal line in mind that we have made progress in geometry. What is true here is true of every ideal.

It must be remembered that nowhere in the world, does a State without government exist. If at all it could ever come into being, it would be in India; for, ours is the only country where the attempt has, at any rate, been made. We have not yet been able to show that bravery to the degree which is necessary and for the attainment of which there is only one way. Those who have faith in the latter, have to demonstrate it. In order to do so, the fear of death has to be completely shed, just as we have shed the fear of prisons.

New Delhi, 6-9-46

(From *Harijansevak*)



## Notes

### The Lowly Cow

A knowledgeable sister writes :

"Q. 1. With the exception of those cows or buffaloes that are in calf, cannot all others, whether in milk or not, be used to plough the land? This would be of immense help to the farmer but the general public is averse to the idea. What is your opinion?"

"Q. 2. There is a great dearth of pasture land in our country. It is difficult for the farmer to provide fodder even for useful cattle. Are you then in favour of the slaughter of all such animals as cannot be made use of or do you think, this slaughter should be forbidden by law?"

A. 1. The first question was put to me as long ago as 1915. I felt then as now, that if the cows referred to, were used for purposes of ploughing the land, it would not hurt them. On the contrary, it would make them strong and increase their yield of milk. But this benefit could only come about, provided the cow was treated as a friend and not cruelly, as cattle in our land so often are. This friendly treatment should of course be insisted on for animals from whom we take service. Every living being has to work within his or its limitations. Such work uplifts, never lowers either man or beast.

A. 2. The second question also has long since been answered by me. Cow slaughter can never be stopped by law. Knowledge, education, and the spirit of kindness towards her alone, can put an end to it. It will not be possible to save those animals that are a burden on the land or perhaps even man if he is a burden. New Delhi, 4-9-'46  
(From *Harijansevak*)

Khaddar

Readers of the *Harijan* may well say that in the present atmosphere of mad frenzy, any talk of Khadi is meaningless, because many Khadi-loving persons live in cities and so far, the trouble is, by the grace of God, confined to cities. As a matter of fact, all city-dwellers are by no means party to the senseless strife, and those who truly love Khadi, must always be actuated by thoughts of peace. We have either to make Khadi universal among the masses or give up all dreams of non-violent Swaraj. Therefore, all who love and believe in peace, however fiercely the storm of communal strife may rage around them, will forget neither the spinning wheel nor Khadi. They may omit their meals but not the Charkha.

The request given below on behalf of the Charkha Sangh is thus quite proper. Such requests have been made by other Khadi-loving organizations too. Those who look upon Khadi in the above light, will act on the resolution passed by the A. I. S. A. as referred to below :

"1. The Trustees of the Charkha Sangh hereby appeal to all Khadi Bhandars and all Khadi lovers to try their utmost to secure 78,000 ordinary co-operators for the coming Seventy-eighth Khadi Jayanti, of which number, at least half shall be self-sufficient.

"2. By an ordinary co-operator is meant one who is a habitual Khadi-wearer and will donate

at least 6 hanks of self-spun yarn annually to the Charkha Sangh.

"3. By 'self-sufficient' is meant one who, unless prevented by illness or other sufficient and unavoidable cause, regularly produces, whether spun by himself or through his family members or friends, at least 7½ hanks yarn, per month or 5 hanks, if he has done his own ginning, carding and slivering.

"4. The Charkha Sangh has also passed a resolution to the effect that in all Khadi producing centres, at least one square yard per person, according to the population, must be used by the people in the area. This much at least must be accomplished."

New Delhi, 4-9-'46

(From *Harijansevak*)

### The Devadasi System

A correspondent writes :

"It is a well known fact that you are trying your best to uplift the Harijan community and even spending your most precious time in the Harijan Colony. But may I assure you that there are thousands of Devadasi girls of the Harijan community residing in Poona and Bombay and are leading a life of public prostitution. Why should this be so? Is it because these girls belong to low caste community and are induced to lose their moral character that they are neglected by the public and put to the shameful life of prostitution?"

"May I be justified in stating that this is a most important and urgent problem. Is it not possible to stop this illegal practice in the Bombay Province as in Madras and Madras by the Madras Government under the ruling of Section 366 A, 366 B, 372 and 373 of the Indian Penal Code, page No. 574?"

I have, on more than one occasion, written about the shame attached to the Devadasi system, whether in temples or in other places. "Prostitutes" is commonly supposed to apply to women of lewd character. But the men who indulge in vice are just as much, if not more, prostitutes than the women who, in many instances, have to sell their bodies for the sake of earning a livelihood. The evil practice should be declared illegal. But the law can only help up to a point. The evil exists clandestinely in every country in spite of the law. Vigorous public opinion can help the law as it also hinders. New Delhi, 2-9-'46

### Untouchability and the Flush System

Q. Do you consider that the adoption of the flush system is one way of eradicating untouchability? If so, you would not presumably oppose its introduction on the basis of your dislike of machinery.

A. Where there is ample supply of water and modern sanitation, can be introduced without any hardship on the poor, I have no objection to it. In fact, it should be welcomed as a means of improving the health of the city concerned. At the moment, it can only be introduced in towns. My opposition to machinery is much misunderstood. I am not opposed to machinery as such. I am opposed to machinery which displaces labour and leaves it idle. Whether the flush system will remove the curse of untouchability, is open to grave doubt. This latter



has to go from our hearts. It will not disappear through such means as has been suggested. Not until we all become *bhangis* and realize the dignity of the labour of scavenging and latrine-cleaning, will untouchability really be exorcized.

New Delhi, 2-9-'46

### **Harijans and Wells**

Shri Hardev Sahay writes:

"Last evening (4-9-'46) in your address to the prayer gathering, you drew the attention of the public to the disability attached to Harijans in the matter of drawing water from public wells. After 25 years of incessant effort on their behalf, we have not yet succeeded in removing this disability. No one knows of their sufferings more than you.

"It is my humble opinion that now that Congress Governments are in power, they should forthwith proclaim their policy towards the Harijans and remove all such of their disabilities as they can by law. In this connection I should like to draw your attention to conditions in the Punjab. Leave aside the question of drawing water from wells, Harijans are not even permitted to obtain land for sinking a well for themselves. I would beg of you to appeal to the Punjab Government to provide wells for Harijans at State expense, wherever there are no facilities of drawing water or at least provide them with land for sinking wells for themselves. There are ever so many villages in the Punjab where, even if the Harijans are willing to spend their own money, they are not given the requisite land."

"There are a few places where the Government has started making wells for the Harijans; but they are wholly insufficient. It is surely the duty of the State to see that a proper supply of drinking water is available to all its citizens."

The writer is perfectly right in what he says. It is the duty of the Government to provide wells for the Harijans. It is not enough only to give the land; the Government should be responsible for sinking the wells.

New Delhi, 6-9-'46

(From *Harijansevak*)

M. K. G.

### **An Australian Experiment**

Sometimes back a case was reported of effluent from a paper mill polluting the flow of a river in Orissa to the detriment of villages on its banks who drew their water supply from it. It presented a tough problem for the paper mill to tackle. A recent issue of the Australian Agricultural Newsletter describes an experiment, showing the value of mill-sludge as fertilizer. It says:

"A 250 acre dairy farm in Tasmania, Australia, has had its carrying capacity increased from 45 to 200 cows by sludge pumped from paper mills and then dispersed by irrigation channels. The sludge was previously spoiling water for landholders further down the stream.

"The sludge is residue after straw has been 'cooked' for eight hours, and looks like black liquid mud. It is diverted into eight miles of intricate channels, and dispersed for soil building. In 1937 it was directed over a useless stony outcrop which today is completely covered and carrying deep grass."

"The only weed," adds the bulletin, "the sludge has not exterminated from the property is artichoke thistle. In 13 years only four cases of sick stock have been noticed."

New Delhi, 7-9-'46

P.

### **Independence Celebrations**

An Indian friend from Egypt writes:

"On the radio and from newspapers, we have heard the news that India is soon to get her Independence and that the event is to be celebrated all over the country. The Indian community here would like to join in the celebrations. But as we do not care to do so, unless you are wholly satisfied that the country really is independent, we will await hearing from you."

In reply, Gandhiji has written as follows:

"I have received your letter. You have done right to wait. What is there to celebrate until and unless we are really independent? The most that can be said today is that the door to Swaraj has been opened. But it would be wholly foolish to be content with this. Today Hindus and Muslims are fighting with each other in our cities. In these circumstances, Indians abroad can best help us on the road to freedom by standing for unity. You who live in Egypt, can make a valuable contribution in this matter."

New Delhi, 8-9-'46

(From *Harijanbandhu*)

### **QUESTION BOX**

(By M. K. Gandhi)

#### **NATURE CURE A PANACEA**

Q. It has been said that 'Nature Cure' can be applied to every disease. If so, can it cure short or long-sightedness, cataract and other eye diseases? Can one avoid spectacles? Can hernia, tonsils etc. which need the surgeon's knife be cured by Nature Cure?

A. I know that the claim attributed to Nature Cure has been made by its exponents. I do not count myself among them. This much, however, can be safely claimed. Disease springs from a wilful or ignorant breach of the laws of nature. It follows, therefore, that timely return to those laws should mean restoration. A person who has tried nature beyond endurance, must either suffer the punishment inflicted by nature or in order to avoid it, seek the assistance of the physician or the surgeon as the case may be. Every submission to merited punishment strengthens the mind of man, every avoidance saps it.

#### **ENFORCED MARRIAGE**

Q. A sister writes:

What is an unwilling girl to do when her parents insist either upon her marriage or leaving the parental home? Where is she to go, if she has not been educated enough to earn her own living? Whose protection is she to seek?

A. The question makes sad reading. It is wholly wrong of parents to force marriage on their daughters. It is also wrong to keep their daughters unfit for earning their living. No parent has a right to turn a daughter out on to the streets for refusal



to marry. Let us hope that such cruel specimens are rare. To the girl concerned, my advice would be not to look on any labour with her hands, down to scavenging, as beneath her dignity. Women may not look for protection to men. They must rely on their own strength and purity of character and on God as did Draupadi of old.

New Delhi, 6-9-'46

## HARIJAN

September 15

1946

### WHAT TO DO?

(By M. K. Gandhi)

A friend sends the following questions:

*Q. 1.* You have all along held and expressed the view that persons should observe strict non-violence even when attacked by hooligans or others. Does this hold good when women are attacked or outraged? If people are unable to follow your lead regarding non-violence, would you advise them to die as cowards or resist aggression with violence?

*Q. 2.* Should you not unequivocally condemn the dual role that the Muslim League is playing today? While, on the one hand, its leaders are openly preaching violence and *jehad* against Hindus, the same men continue, on the other hand, to hold office as Ministers, having a controlling hand on all the threads of administration, including police and justice.

*Q. 3.* Is there no constituted authority in India which can put a stop to this grave anomaly which is unprecedented in history?

*Q. 4.* Do you realize that if the present happenings are allowed to continue, civil war will become inevitable? How would you advise your countrymen to face such a catastrophe, if it comes?

*A. 1.* In a society of my imagination, outrage posited by the questioner cannot take place. But in the society in the midst of which we are living, such outrages do take place. My answer is unequivocal. A non-violent man or woman will and should die without retaliation, anger or malice, in self-defence or in defending the honour of his womenfolk. This is the highest form of bravery.

If an individual or a group of people are unable or unwilling to follow this great law of life, which is misnamed my lead, retaliation or resistance unto death is the second best, though a long way off from the first. Cowardice is impotence worse than violence. The coward desires revenge but being afraid to die, he looks to others, may be the Government of the day, to do the work of defence for him. A coward is less than man. He does not deserve to be a member of a society of men and women. Lastly, let me add that if women had followed or would now follow my advice, every woman would protect herself without caring or waiting for aid from her brother or sister.

*A. 2.* Of course, the dual role adverted to is unequivocally bad. It is a sad chapter in our national life. My condemnation is of universal application. Fortunately it is so bad that it cannot last long.

*A. 3.* The only constituted authority is the British. We are all puppets in their hands. But it would be wrong and foolish to blame that authority. It acts according to its nature. That authority does not compel us to be puppets. We voluntarily run into their camp. It is, therefore, open to any and every one of us to refuse to play the British game.

Let us also admit frankly that the British authority is struggling to quit India. It does not know how. It honestly wants to leave India but wants before leaving, to undo the wrong it has been doing for so long. Being in the position of 'the toad under the harrow', I must know where it hurts. I have been telling the authority, if it will undo the wrong quickly, to leave India to her fate. But those who compose the British service cannot realize this obvious fact. They flatter themselves with the belief that they know India better than we do ourselves. Having successfully kept us under subjection for over a century, they claim the right to constitute themselves judges of our destiny. We may not grumble, if we are to come into our own through the way of peace. Satyagraha is never vindictive. It believes not in destruction but in conversion. Its failures are due to the weaknesses of the Satyagrahi, not to any defect in the law itself. The British authority having decided to quit, (whatever the reason), will show growing defects and weaknesses. Parties will find that it is more and more a broken reed. And, when parties quarrel as Hindus and Muslims do, let one or the other or both realize that, if India is to be an independent nation, one or both must deliberately cease to look to British authority for protection.

*A. 4.* This brings me to the last question. We are not yet in the midst of civil war. But we are nearing it. At present we are playing at it. War is a respectable term for goondaism practised on a mass or national scale. If the British are wise, they will keep clear of it. Appearances are to the contrary. Even the English members in the provincial Assemblies refuse to see that they were given seats by the Act of 1935, not because it was right but in order that they might protect British interest and keep Hindus and Muslims apart. But they do not see this. It is a small matter. Nevertheless it is a straw showing the way the wind is blowing. Lovers and makers of Swaraj must not be dismayed by these omens. My advice is Satyagraha first and Satyagraha last. There is no other or better road to freedom. Whoever wants to drink the ozone of freedom must steel himself against seeking military or police aid. He or they must ever rely upon their own strong arms or what is infinitely better, their strong mind and will which are independent of arms, their own or other.

New Delhi, 9-9-'46



## PROHIBITION

(By M. K. Gandhi)

The following extracts from Rev. E. Gordon's writing provoke thoughts on total prohibition :

"With famine facing the country, we cannot very well quarrel with sincere efforts for combating the menace, but why prohibition of foodstuffs such as, pastries, ice cream etc. which have real food value, and why talk of prohibition or severe reduction of supply of sugar to aerated water and other mineral water manufacturers and yet keep absolutely silent about the prohibition or severe reduction of cereals and sugar to the distilleries and breweries? Is the drinking of alcoholic liquors any less of a luxury than the eating of pies, pastries and cakes? Can even the most astute and ardent lovers of alcoholic beverages argue that these drinks are so essential to life that no reduction can be made in the amount of cereals and sugar required to make whisky, beer etc. ?

"Granted that there is a certain amount of food value in beer, is it equal in value to the barley that could be used in making bread or cakes ?

"The President of the United States has ordered a drastic cut in the quota of wheat to be issued to distilleries in the U. S. A. How can we from India plead with America to send us large quantities of grain to save millions from death by starvation, when no published statements assure us that grains, whether imported or grown in this country, will be used for intoxicating drinks ?

"We give our whole-hearted approval to the Congress Ministry of Madras in their desire to introduce prohibition as soon as possible. Notwithstanding all that anti-prohibitionists say about the failure of prohibition in the United States, if they would honestly look at the other side of the picture, they would find that the drinking is far worse now than it was then and the amount of spiritous liquors is increasing year by year. Other things being equal, we sincerely believe that under prohibition, India will forge ahead much quicker and more rapidly than she could without prohibition. Honestly tried and courageously and indefatigably enforced, she will prove to the world the extent to which liquor has dragged and is dragging down the nations of the world."

The Reverend gentleman is right. India has the capacity and the opportunity to lead the world in the matter of prohibition. Can she forego the revenue derived from this degrading traffic? She must, if she is to live. I have a hideous tale from South Africa, related to me by Satyagrahi Cachalia Junior, a worthy son of his deceased father who was a hero of the first Satyagraha campaign in that country. He tells me that a thoughtless agitation has brought to the Indian community, the freedom to drink, with the result that it is sapping their moral strength. I know what this deadly freedom means. On this issue there is no difference of opinion between Indians, Mussalmans and, shall I say, others in India, save the liquor interest.

I have no doubt that the loss of revenue which drains the moral and material means of the poor drinkers, will be more than balanced by the gain accruing to them from prohibition. Moreover, the military burden in defence of which the argument for the maintenance of the excise revenue has so far been used, cannot hold water in the New India, where that burden will no longer exist. The excise revenue must, therefore, be sacrificed without delay and without hesitation. No thought of the loss of this revenue, should interfere with the progress of this much-needed reform. Whether the happy conjunction between the Congress and the League takes place or not, the Congress Provinces should dare to do the right.

The positive side of prohibition must run side by side with the negative. The positive consists in providing the drinker with counter-attractions giving him health and innocent amusement.

New Delhi, 7-9-'46

## REGARDING HINDUSTANI

(By M. K. Gandhi)

"The great and encouraging work that is being done on behalf of Hindustani is of real benefit to the country and a help towards attainment of freedom. The country that has no national language has no right to exist. But that is our unfortunate position today. And yet our leaders are not paying due attention towards this matter. In spite of your efforts, Congress workers do not put your advice into practice. You are aware that in our Congress Committee meetings as also in our legislatures, most people, including even those whose mother tongue is either Hindi or Urdu, prefer to speak in English. Is it not possible to make it compulsory for Congressmen to speak and carry on work whether in meetings or legislatures in Hindustani, just as it is made incumbent on them to wear Khadi? Of course, some latitude will have to be given to those who are wholly unacquainted with Hindustani, but even they should be given a definite time limit within which to learn the national language. My experience is that responsible Congressmen who know Hindustani prefer to speak in English. This must be stopped if we want the change to be universal. Today Congressmen are taking high office. There too they should try to carry on their work in the mother tongue."

The correspondent is quite right. The lure for English has not left us. And until it goes, our own languages will remain paupers. Would that the people's Governments everywhere would do their work either in the national or provincial languages! But to attain this, they must have language experts in their offices and the public must be encouraged to write in their provincial or the national language. We shall not only be saved much expense by adopting our own languages but it will also make things much easier for the general public.

New Delhi, 7-9-'46

(From *Harijansevak*)



## HARIJAN WORK IN KISTNA DISTRICT

(By M. K. Gandhi)

Shri G. Ramachandra Rao writes a letter giving an account of his Harijan work. The following is a precis of it :

"We have taken up the problem of the use of public wells by Harijans. Section 126A of the Madras Local Boards Act of 1920 provides for the use, by persons of whatever caste or creed, of wells, tanks, reservoirs, water-ways etc. maintained by a *Panchayat*. It even imposes a fine of Rs. 100 on anyone who obstructs its operation. But the law is honoured in the breach where the Harijans are concerned. It is pathetic to see the latter often waiting in long queues for hours at a time in front of a public well for some generous non-Harijan to fill their pots with water. We chose Kankipadu village where a public well is maintained by the local *Panchayat* and explained to the leaders, not only the implications of the law but also their moral obligations. The response, after about three weeks of propaganda, being heartening, we called a public meeting where, owing to overwhelming support for the proposition, it was announced that in future Harijans would be allowed to use the well in question without molestation.

"The next morning, however, the Harijans themselves were found to be too timid to take advantage of the decision. It was a sad commentary on their mentality and we had to work hard to bring them to the well. As soon as they began drawing water, a reaction set in among the caste Hindus, the vast majority of whom, even at personal inconvenience, refrained from coming to the well. A few, however, remained staunch to their resolve and gradually the opposition was worn down. I had also to appeal to the Deputy Inspector of Local Board to explain to the people the implications of section 126A.

"This experience has encouraged us to take up similar work in other villages too, where Harijans have no facilities for obtaining water. I am of opinion that for the removal of such disabilities, moral persuasion and legal provision should go hand in hand. Absence of one renders the other inefficient. The existing Government acts dealing with social disabilities are vague and weak. This defect must be remedied and the Government of Madras, who have set aside one crore of rupees for Harijan work, might well utilize a certain sum for publicity of the provisions of the relevant laws already on the statute book. Execution of the law is as important as its passing."

Professor Rao deserves hearty congratulations for his assiduous work on behalf of the oppressed Harijans. His effort ought to be supported by the public.

New Delhi, 7-9-'46

## WEEKLY LETTER

### LAND WITHOUT SUFFERING

Gandhiji echoed the sentiment of the whole country when he remarked the other day after the evening prayer, that they had a right to hope that now their country would become the land where there was no sorrow and no suffering as described in the song which they had sung so often at the prayer. That consummation would not be brought about merely by their Ministers wearing the crown of thorns. That land, as the poet had sung, was within us. It was within the power of every one to raise him or herself above the sphere of sorrow and suffering by fulfilling certain conditions and if many people did that in India, we should realize the dream of a society in which there is no sorrow and suffering. But today alas! the people were filled with fear and anger. Brother quarrelled with brother and returned anger for anger and blow for blow. What could their Ministers do? Were they expected to send the military and the police to protect them? The whole atmosphere was rotten. Offices and staff had been multiplied a hundredfold. No wonder, bribery and corruption were rampant.

If they did not purify themselves within and without, they would make government impossible for their Ministers and displace the very men whom they had put in power.

Again how could their country become the land without sorrow and regrets while their *bhangi* brethren continued to be oppressed. It pained him to hear and read of the persecution of Harijans in villages. If there was an epidemic, they were beaten. They could not draw water from wells. They lived in hovels. This state of affairs may not exist in the country of our dreams. All human beings are one in the sight of God and they must look upon Harijans as no less members of the great human family than they themselves were.

It pained him to hear too that bribery and corruption were rampant among the *bhangis* themselves. They should not demean themselves by giving bribes to corrupt officials or their own foremen and *jamadars* etc. They should not look upon themselves as beggars at anyone's door. They must demand justice and fight for it, but with clean hands. And with their own Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru and others as Ministers, they need have no fear that justice would not be meted out to them.

### ALL EYES ON MINISTERS

Soon after the new Ministers took office, Gandhiji received a note in which some English friends had expressed the fear that the lovely gardens of the houses, formerly occupied by the members of the Viceroy's Executive Council, would now suffer neglect. There would be no flowers, grass would be allowed to grow anyhow where there were velvety lawns and the compound would be untidy. Carpets, chairs and other furniture would probably be ruined by oil or grease stains, the lavatories would be dirty etc. Gandhiji said that having lived in England and South Africa and known Englishmen well, he could be witness to the



fact that cultured English people do understand and observe the laws of sanitation and hygiene. English officials were living in palaces as kings. They kept a huge staff of servants to keep their houses and surroundings clean. The people's leaders had gone to the Interim Government as their servants. They were of the people and one with them. There was no need for them to depend on a large staff of servants. They would be untrue to their calling, if they did. But they could and should keep their houses and surroundings spotlessly clean by self-help. The women of their household would be their caretakers with themselves and Gandhiji knew that not one of the leaders would hesitate to clean their own lavatories. A doctor lady had told him years ago, that while the Viceroy's House was a palace and spotlessly clean, the quarters of his staff of Harijans etc. were a very different show. The people's leaders would make no such difference. One of Jawaharlalji's personal staff—a Harijan—had been an M.L.A. They treated their servants as members of the family. Gandhiji would not be happy, unless the Ministers of the nation maintained the highest standards in every department of life and he was sure, they would not disappoint the nation.

#### A FOOLISH WASTE OF MONEY

One of the new Ministers was describing to Gandhiji the other day how Pandit Jawaharlal had to wade through a pile of 500 to 800 wires every day and an equal number was probably being received by the Viceroy. Characterizing the practice as a foolish waste of money as well as of the Viceroy's and their Ministers' precious time, in one of his prayer addresses, he described how at one time, people used to send wires to the King, little realizing that as a constitutional monarch, he was bound by the advice of his ministers.

Time was when the Viceroy was all-powerful and could do everything. But now he had of his own free will, relegated his powers to the Cabinet of which, like the King of England, he was the constitutional head. The King of England could not do anything without the consent of his ministers. The people of England had even beheaded one monarch because he went against their will. Gandhiji hoped that the people's ministers here would never do anything of the kind because they had in their possession the matchless weapon of Satyagraha, should occasion ever arise for its use. In any case, the people who sent these wires, should realize that apart from burdening the recipients and the telegraph offices, they were also wasting the people's money. The well-to-do imagined it was their money; but it really belonged to the starving masses whom they exploited.

#### BOMBAY'S SHAME

Gandhiji then turned with a heavy heart to the continued strife in Bombay. He did not know who killed whom. But it was tragic that some people even rejoiced that Hindus were now strong enough to kill in return those, who tried to kill them. He would far rather that Hindus died

without retaliation, for, that was the only way to quench the fire of hatred. But today they had neither that valour nor that non-violence or love in their hearts. Demand for more and more military and police protection was pouring in from all sides. To quarrel among ourselves was bad enough. But far worse was to call in troops whom the British had trained and whose oath of allegiance was to the British King. He did not want the people to ask the Government anywhere for military and police protection. They must generate their own strength and not rely on anyone else. If they insisted on being provided with military and police help, the Ministers should resign rather than comply with a request that would strangle Independence at its very inception. Instead, they and their leaders should be willing to go into the fray themselves and lay down their lives for the sake of Hindu and Muslim honour. As for the military, they should be harnessed to all kinds of constructive work at which they were adepts. Let them grow more food for the starving millions and do all kinds of other work that was waiting to be done.

#### DELHI MUNICIPALITY

Some members of the Delhi Municipality and businessmen had come and complained, said Gandhiji, that in Delhi it was the Chief Commissioner's and Deputy Commissioner's *raj*. He had told them in reply that the remedy lay in their own hands. They should go to the Municipality for service only, with no personal end to serve. He was afraid, they would not be able to stand that test. They had many sins of omission and commission to answer for. As elected representatives in the Municipality, they were responsible for the Harijan hovels and the dirt and squalor of Delhi. Businessmen and contractors exploited the poor. If communal strife occurs in Delhi, it is the citizens who are responsible. The day for the Commissioner's *raj* is over. It must now be the people's *raj*, but the people must be alive to their responsibilities.

#### COMMUNAL STRIFE

Gandhiji brought his discourse to an end by expressing sorrow at the Qaid-e-Azam's recent utterances. He was the leader of a powerful organization and it behoved him to weigh every word he spoke. If he did, it would redound to his credit, it would be for the good of Islam, for the benefit of Hinduism too and for the welfare of India as a whole. But, said Gandhiji, each one was responsible for his own correct action and correct action on the part of everyone would make the Qaid-e-Azam act aright too.

The rising tide of communal hatred, passion and violence and as a result, false propaganda in the country made Gandhiji open out his heart to his audience on the day following. It had hurt him to hear some of the recent pronouncements of the Qaid-e-Azam and his lieutenants. They go on saying that they will take what they want by force. He wondered where this was going to lead the ship of State. Congressmen may have the reins of power come into their hands but this has only increased



their duties and responsibilities a hundredfold. While Congress was in the wilderness, they were arrested, beaten and punished, even killed; but that is past history for the time being at any rate. If Congress had resorted to violence, they would have fallen. The only true suffering is that which does not retaliate and it alone can bear fruit. Moreover, the 40 crores of India, i. e. Village India did not think in terms of violence. They were slaves. The violence today was in the hearts of a handful of towns people. Gandhiji said that as a villager, he became one with the ocean of Indian humanity and Congress has taken office for the sake of this suffering humanity. He had espoused the Hindu-Muslim cause, long before he joined the Congress. Even as a boy at school he had many Muslim friends. He went to South Africa in charge of a case for Muslim friends of his brother. He went to South Africa to earn his living but he soon put service first. He became a coolie barrister in order to serve his labourer friends there and he really served Hindus through Muslims whose employee he was. Hindu-Muslim unity was part of his very being. The memory of those days, Gandhiji said, was full of fragrance for him. Even today, although alas! communal differences have raised their head there too, all were fighting as one man for Indian rights. He recalled stalwart Muslims who had joined the Satyagraha movement, especially Sheth Cachalia now gone, who said he would rather die than remain a slave. He, therefore, wondered and was hurt when the Qaid-e-Azam and his disciples called Hindus their enemies. He was not a Muslim but he claimed that Islam did not teach enmity to any man. If he was as he believed, a true Hindu, he was equally a good Christian and a good Sikh and a good Jain. No religion teaches man to kill fellow man because he holds different opinions or is of another religion, and yet this was what was being done. No one can look upon another as his enemy unless he first becomes his own enemy. The Muslim League leaders talked of forcing the Congress and the Hindus and even the British to yield to their demands. This surely was not the right way. He recalled with pride the days of the Khilafat and related the incident when the Ali Brothers wept tears of joy. Gandhiji was addressing a meeting of Hindus and said to them, 'If you want to save the cow, you must save the Khilafat, die for it if need be.' This brought tears of joy to the eyes of the Ali Brothers. What a sad change was there today! He longed for those days when Muslims and Hindus never did anything without consulting each other. What could he do to bring that state of affairs back again, was the question that was worrying him all the time. He made bold to say that for any Hindu or Mussalman to regard the other community as 'enemy' was not only disloyal but stupid too. He appealed to Englishmen too not to imagine that

they could keep them apart. If they did, they were disloyal to both India and Britain. Hindus and Muslims were all one of the same soil, blood-brothers who ate the same food, drank the same water and talked the same language. They have to live together. The Qaid-e-Azam says, all minorities will be safe in Pakistan. There is already Muslim *raj* in the Punjab and Bengal and Sindh. But does it augur well for future peace if things happen in these provinces as threatened? Does the Muslim League imagine they are going to keep Islam alive through the sword? If so, they are much mistaken. The very word Islam means peace. And Gandhiji maintained that no religion worthy of the name, could exist except on terms of peace.

#### GIVE THEM TIME

He was being asked, said Gandhiji in his message, which was read out at the evening prayer gathering yesterday (Monday), as to when the Salt Tax was going to be removed. Why had it not been removed so far? The question denoted impatience. The Cabinet had only been in office eight days. Its Finance Member had not yet taken charge of his office and for this question, his arrival must be awaited. The Cabinet could do nothing without due deliberation. If anyone had the right to show impatience, it should be he, for, he was the originator of the idea of the anti-Salt Tax campaign. He also knew how best it could be abolished with the least loss of revenue. But he knew too that people must not be impatient and they might not worry the Cabinet into doing things in haste. They were people's representatives, working according to the people's wishes. They must have faith that the Salt Tax would go and he who had faith, could afford to be patient. There were many other things that the Cabinet had to do for the people as quickly as possible. If they continue to give them support, the Ministers would surely, in good time, do all that should be done.

New Delhi, 10-9-'46

PYARELAL

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# HARIJAN

12 Pages

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TWO ANNAS

## PROUD OR INSANE ?

(By M. K. Gandhi)

Who would not like to know Gujarat as proud ? It is permissible affectionately to call her insane. As I write these lines in sorrow, the picture that comes before my mind is not of proud but of insane Gujarat.

Shri Parikshitlal is a servant of the Harijans. He aspires in that capacity to serve Gujarat but is baffled by the madness that has seized her people. One hears of living Harijans but in Parikshitlal's story, Harijans dead are also untouchables. On the cremation ground, at any rate, there should be no distinctions between man and man. Once the dead body is reduced to ashes, all uncleanness vanishes. In spite of this, must Harijans be excluded from the common cremation ground ? After much difficulty the *Mahajans* of Navsari were persuaded to permit the body of an old Harijan to be cremated on the common ground. As a matter of fact, there was neither room for favour on one side nor for rejoicing on the other. But one has, at times, to be thankful for small mercies. It is well that the agitation in this case bore fruit.

The other instance is an unmixed tragedy. I do not propose to give the name of the village where it took place. The despicable part of it is that even if an epidemic breaks out among the cattle, it is the poor Harijans who are held responsible. The so-called caste Hindus will not take the trouble even to see the obvious cause of the disease. Grass grows in abundance during the rainy season. It is infested with all kinds of insects. The starved cattle go mad at the sight of green grass and devour it, insects and all. Is it any wonder that they fall ill and die ? The cause of the epidemic is obvious. The cattle of the Harijans suffer no less and yet the latter are held responsible for the calamity. They are subjected to maltreatment in the shape of abuse and assault from the caste Hindus. This, in brief, is the gist of a woeful tale, described in a letter before me. How I wish that my words could reach the ears of the villagers concerned !

Now that reformers are at the helm of government, much of the terrible ignorance of the villagers could be dispelled, if only the officials would make the effort. If the *Mahajans* shed their superstition and the Government and Harijan workers do their duty and the Harijans are roused from their slumbers, it will be possible to deliver Gujarat from this dreadful evil.

New Delhi, 13-9-'46

(From *Harijanbandhu*)

## UNCERTIFIED KHADI v. MILL CLOTH

(By M. K. Gandhi)

A Gujarati friend asks :

"Ever so many national organizations insist that not only should their staff be dressed in Khadi, but that even books should be Khadi-bound. Since certified Khadi can only be had from the recognized *bhandars* on payment of a certain quota of yarn, they naturally resort to uncertified Khadi. Is this right ? Is not mill cloth preferable to uncertified Khadi ? Is not insistence on Khadi that results in buying it from uncertified shops really a false pretence ?"

When, among other things, there is a dearth of Khadi, it is improper to insist on its use for purposes of bookbinding etc. When there was an abundance of Khadi, it was I who recommended its use for all such purposes. The entire Congress Camp in Ahmedabad in 1921, was bedecked in Khadi. Today it would be madness to attempt such a thing. Time and circumstances alter methods.

But I do not understand the writer's plea for mill cloth as opposed to uncertified Khadi. What is uncertified Khadi ? Is it not hand-spun and hand-woven cloth though uncertified ? That there may be fraud about it, is another matter. The Charkha Sangh cannot guarantee cent per cent purity in even certified Khadi. Nothing in this world is proof against deceit, has been true throughout the ages. Drawbacks in uncertified Khadi are well known. In it there is no fixity of wages to the spinners and the weavers. Those who sell it, make what profits they like. Often do persons set up shops, merely to spite the Charkha Sangh *bhandars*. Nevertheless, where there is no fraud, all cloth which is hand-spun and hand-woven must be called Khadi. What a person spins and has woven into cloth for himself, is not certified in the legal sense and yet it is Khadi in the highest and purest sense of the term. It would be a crime on that person's part, to use mill cloth instead of the cloth made from the labour of his own hands.

The upshot is that exclusion of mill cloth must be maintained. Uncertified Khadi should be avoided as far as possible, but where certified Khadi is not available and the choice lies between mill cloth and uncertified home-spun, preference should be given to the latter, assuming of course that it is pure Khadi. You may condemn, if you like, as uncertified, cloth made out of the labour of one's own hands; but the fact remains that it is a purer production than certified Khadi. And, if all span enough to have cloth woven for their requirements, what need would there then be for the Charkha Sangh ?



Heaven and earth would then ring with cries of victory to the Charkha Sangh.

New Delhi, 12-9-'46

(From *Harijanbandhu*)

## THE MOTHER OF KHADDAR

A retired economic botanist (for cotton and *rabi* cereals) to the U. P. Government in a letter to Gandhiji writes:

"In the past you have frequently emphasized the use of Khaddar for the general public, both in the villages and the cities. The Government Agricultural Departments in their zeal for the export of fine quality cotton and the supply of cotton bales to the local spinning mills instead of improving the local *desi* strains through the new Plant Breeding methods have adopted a line of discarding or relegating to the background our country cotton strains and replacing them with foreign American varieties as is found all over the Punjab. American cotton types are undoubtedly producers of better staples, fit for superior cloth of higher counts through mill manufacture. But our old *desi* strains have certain advantages of hardiness and acclimatization, viz. fitness for providing thatchings for roofs in the villages, in addition to providing raw material for local spinning of yarn and weaving of cloth on ordinary handlooms.

"By improving the *desi* varieties of cotton through modern scientific methods, it is possible to raise their spinning worth from 6 and 8 counts to about 22s."

The writer, who has been connected with the cotton breeding work in one of the provinces of Upper India, has been successfully evolving through cross fertilization methods in one of the Government Cotton Research Stations, a cotton strain with a quality of fibre fit for spinning from 18 to 22 counts. The fine quality cottons, he points out, mostly give a lower ginning percentage, i. e. the proportion of lint to seed; while short staple cottons give a higher ginning figure. He has been able to combine the better spinning quality of 22s with a pretty high ginning figure of 38 per cent of lint.

The friend goes on to remark:

"In the light of my almost 35 years of continuous and uninterrupted association with the cotton plant in India, supplemented by observations made personally in Egypt and the United States, I feel convinced that if proper efforts are made by devoting full attention to the study and improvement of the indigenous cotton strains, there are definite possibilities of getting unexpected and brighter results."

He has sent a sample of C520 which is a newly improved *desi* Bengal variety. On being turned into slivers by *tunai*, it has easily given yarn up to 40 counts.

The suggestion made by the writer is worthy of consideration by the Provincial Governments. The struggle between handicrafts and industrial production is not merely one between two sets of

technical processes but between two dissimilar and competing systems of economy which, in many cases, are mutually exclusive. In the past economics favourable to handicrafts have too often been sacrificed to the requirements of mass production. The development of huge cotton tracts by the expenditure of millions of pounds, to provide long staple cotton to Indian and foreign textile industry, is an instance in point.

It is a well-known fact that the staple that is best suited for mill-spinning is not needed for hand-spinning. Hand-spinning can produce better results with the so-called lower grades of cotton. The fact was established through a series of interesting tests made at the time of the Paris Exhibition of 1864. The curious may turn to the pages of Forbes Watson for a detailed account of those tests. A hardy, improved, indigenous variety of cotton of fair staple and high ginning percentage and yield that can be grown individually for local consumption is the mother of Khaddar. It is the prime necessity for its success.

New Delhi, 7-9-'46

PYARELAL

## SUGGESTIONS FOR JAILS

A friend who was at one time superintendent of a jail makes the following suggestions which are worth consideration for meeting the present food and cloth shortage:

1. Utilizing every bit of land in all jails, Borstal institutions, mental hospitals, reformatories etc. for cultivation of more tubers, e. g. potatoes, yams, carrots, radishes etc., which are rich in calcium, minerals and vitamins and could be substituted for rice or wheat at one meal.

2. Preventing waste in cooked food by providing a longer interval between the morning and evening meals and even restricting the prisoners to two meals in consultation with them.

3. Discontinuing the use of the best prisoners for the personal service of jail officials.

4. Paying more attention to and supervising more carefully the cultivation of eatables and cotton in order to reduce the quantity of food and cloth, purchased in the market.

5. Having ideal dairies in every jail and stopping jail officials from keeping cows. These officials may be permitted to purchase milk from jail dairies.

6. Securing co-operation, non-existent today, of departments of agriculture and livestock industries and veterinary in order to co-ordinate work.

7. Making use of the acres of arable lands attached to some jails for emergency use.

8. Introducing the compost system and stopping waste of manure from dairies.

9. Growing fodder for animals on the premises and acquiring grazing lands for each institution, the present misuse and abuse in the jail department at all stages to be stopped.



## LEPROSY AND CONTAMINATION

(By M. K. Gandhi)

Dr. R. G. Cochrane, Principal of the Missionary Medical College for Women in Vellore writes:

"My good friend Mr. Jagadisan has brought to my attention a paragraph in the *Hindu* of Madras of August, the 26th. It reads: 'Bihar is going to have a separate jail for the leper prisoners, it is learnt, to save other prisoners from contamination. Arrangements are being made in the first instance, it is understood, to segregate about 100 such prisoners at Govindpur in the District of Manbhum. I was so pained by the news that I could not resist the urge to write to you, for, you have been a consistent champion of those who suffer from leprosy and indeed, of all persons in society who are undeservedly stigmatized. I feel that I should write to you and say that it will be a great pity if the Bihar Government were to build a separate jail for prisoners with leprosy. It is a gratuitous measure whose only effect will be the strengthening of the public's prejudice against leprosy. On examination, it is likely to be found that 80% at least of the prisoners with leprosy are non-infective, and, therefore, there is absolutely no reason, why these should be separated from the other prisoners. With regard to the prisoners who suffer from infective leprosy, the main precautions are that the prisoner should not come into contact with healthy persons, during night and should avoid, direct, close contact during the day. As leprosy is a mildly contagious disease, even its infective types, a prisoner with infective leprosy could be more easily dealt with than prisoners with other infective diseases. And yet, if the report is true, the Bihar Government is going to act on the fear of 'contamination'. The very use of this word indicates a mediaeval attitude to leprosy. It is a great pity that statements are being continually published to suggest that leprosy patients are contaminated in some way or other.

"We in Madras, enthusiastically supported by Mr. Jagadisan, are doing all we can to protest against the discrimination of the patient suffering from leprosy on the grounds of social stigma. It is no more of a disgrace to get leprosy than to get measles, and not until the general public realize that it is not a rapidly spreading plague, as it is commonly believed to be, shall we make any advance in the control of leprosy. I am very grateful to hear from Mr. Jagadisan that you have now put leprosy work as an integral part of the Nation's Constructive Programme. Your remark that the leprosy patient is as much a part of society as the tallest of us, moves me deeply. May I hope that India's leaders will follow your footsteps and do the right thing by the leprosy patient?"

It is to be hoped that the information about Bihar is not true and that, if it is, this letter of his will dissipate the fear of leprosy. "Superstitions die hard." In this land of faith and superstitions, both flourish abundantly. Hence, they often intermingle and the contamination of superstitions—a multitude—seems to have overlaid faith so much

so that, it is hard to distinguish between the two. But my faith which burns too bright for the army of superstitions to touch it, tells me that leprosy is no contamination. We must learn the laws governing infectious and contagious diseases and obey them.

Dr. Cochrane is, I believe, a medical philanthropist. He knows a great deal about leprosy and lepers. I fancy that the National Governments will not be wrong in accepting his judgment that, of all the diseases of the kind, leprosy is the least among them. In its virulent form, it deprives a patient of his limbs and defies ordinary medical treatment. What nature does is yet unknown. But the ordinary man does not need to bother about this difficult matter. Enough if he realizes that a leper is as much his brother as any other, and he is on no account to be shunned.

New Delhi, 11-9-'46

## COLLECTIVE PRAYER

(By M. K. Gandhi)

Q. You believe in mass prayer. Is congregational worship as practised today, a true prayer? In my opinion, it is a degrading thing and therefore dangerous. Jesus said: "When thou prayest, thou shalt not be as the hypocrites are, but enter into thine inner chamber and having shut thy door pray to the Father which is in secret." Most people in a crowd are inattentive and unable to concentrate. Prayer then becomes hypocrisy. The yogi is aware of this. Should not the masses, therefore, be taught self-examination which is the true prayer?

A. I hold that congregational worship held by me, is true prayer for a collection of men. The convener is a believer and no hypocrite. If he were one, the prayer would be tainted at the source. The men and women who attend do not go to any orthodox prayer house from which they might have to gain an earthly end. The bulk of them have no contact with the convener. Hence it is presumed, they do not come for show. They join in because they believe that they somehow or other, acquire merit by having common prayer. That most or some persons are inattentive or unable to concentrate, is very true. That merely shows that they are beginners. Neither inattention nor inability to concentrate are any proof of hypocrisy or falsity. It would be, if they pretended to be attentive when they were not. On the contrary, many have often asked me what they should do, when they are unable to concentrate.

The saying of Jesus quoted in the question, is wholly inapplicable. Jesus was referring to individual prayer and to hypocrisy underlying it. There is nothing in the verse quoted, against collective prayer. I have remarked often enough that without individual prayer, collective prayer is not of much use. I hold that individual prayer is a prelude to collective, as the latter, when it is effective, must lead to the individual. In other words, when a man has got to the stage of heart prayer, he prays always, whether in the secret or in the multitude.

I do not know what the questioner's yogi does or does not. I know that the masses when they are in tune with the Infinite, naturally resort to self-examination. All real prayer must have that end.

New Delhi, 14-9-'46



# HARIJAN

September 22

1946

## CHARKHA JAYANTI

(By M. K. Gandhi)

What is known as Charkha Jayanti is not Gandhi Jayanti even though the date always coincides with the day of my birth. The reason for this is clear. In ancient times the Charkha had nothing to do with Independence. If anything, it had a background of slavery. Poor women used perforce to have to spin in order to get even a piece of dry bread. They used to get such *cowrie* shells as the government of the day chose to throw at them. I remember in my childhood, watching the then Thakore Saheb of Rajkot, literally throw money to the poor on a particular day. I used to enjoy the fun which it was to me. I can picture in my imagination, how in olden times the poor spinners would have a few shells thrown at them which they would pick up greedily.

In 1908, in South Africa, I conceived the idea that if poverty-stricken India were to be freed from the alien yoke, India must learn to look upon the spinning wheel and hand-spun yarn as the symbol, not of slavery but of freedom. It should also mean butter to bread. It took very little to bring home this truth to Shri Narandas Gandhi and he has, therefore, understood the true significance of Charkha Jayanti. My birthday, so far as I know, was never celebrated before the date got connected with Charkha Jayanti. In South Africa where I had become fairly known, no one ever took any notice of it. It was here that it was joined with Charkha Jayanti. The English day of my birthday has also been included. Therefore, the Jayanti week this year, is being celebrated from 22-9-'46 to 2-10-'46. Narandas Gandhi has played the chief role in this and, as I write these lines, the days of celebration come to mind. In my opinion, however, the real celebration will come only when the music of the wheel which is the symbol of Independence and non-violence will be heard in every home. If a few or even a crore of poor women spin in order to earn a pittance, what can the celebration mean to them and what achievement can that be? This can well happen even under a despotic rule and is today visible, wherever capital holds sway. Millionaires are sustained by the charity, they dole out to the poor; may be even in the form of wages.

The celebration will only be truly worth-while when the rich and the poor alike understand that all are equal in the eyes of God, that each one, in his own place, must earn his bread by labour, and that the independence of all will be protected, not by guns and ammunition but by the bullets, in the shape of cones of hand-spun yarn, i. e. not by violence but by non-violence.

If we consider the atmosphere in the world today, this may sound ludicrous. But if we look within, this is the truth and the eternal truth. For the moment, it is Narandas Gandhi and other devotees of the Charkha, who are trying to demonstrate it through their faith. Let all understand and celebrate the Jayanti in the same spirit as fires these devoted workers.

New Delhi, 14-9-'46

(From *Harijanbandhu*)

## STOP IT

(By M. K. Gandhi)

A Hindi journalist writes to ask me that since a trilingual dictionary, such as is appearing in the *Harijan* is already on the market, where is the need of the latter? If the dictionary referred to answers the purpose, I agree that the *Harijan* effort is not worth-while. If such a dictionary is in existence, I shall be sorry and surprised that none of my co-workers was aware of the fact. Now I am trying to get hold of the book in question and if it answers my purpose, I shall certainly own the mistake and end the unnecessary labour.

Another friend, writing in English, has drawn my attention to the same dictionary and in addition, he complains that my Hindustani is in reality Urdu and, therefore, I am daily becoming more and more unpopular in the Hindi-loving world. The same criticism assails me from the Urdu world. They say that while I call my language Hindustani, I do nothing but displace Urdu words by Sanskritized Hindi ones. I welcome both criticisms. My Hindustani is neither Urdu nor Hindi. It is sought to be a proper mixture of the two. But the river that I desire to flow from the meeting of the waters of Hindi and Urdu is today, I admit, invisible. Scholars tell me that it flowed at one time but that, it has now disappeared. Be that as it may, the aim of propaganda for Hindustani is that the two languages, whose grammar is one but whose words are derived from different sources, should not remain apart, but should so mingle as to become one river. Success of this attempt depends on the labours of the Hindustani Prachar workers. If there is soundness in their effort, it will not have gone in vain. Ultimate success always rests in the hands of God. And, if we realize that He is the Doer as also the Destroyer, why should we worry?

This work has not been undertaken with a view to gaining popularity, with the people. True service seeks no praise nor is it frightened by criticism. That is no service which swells with pride at applause or withers under criticism. A true servant finds his reward in single-eyed service. I would, therefore appeal to my critics to help rather than find fault with me in this good work, so that the blending of the two streams may further enrich and enlighten this great land. It will not offend God if, in addition to calling Him 'Ishwar,' I name him 'Khuda' or 'Allah' and, at the same time, increase my knowledge of Him.

New Delhi, 13-9-'46

(From *Harijanbandhu*)



## TIRED OF SATYAGRAHA?

(By M. K. Gandhi)

News comes from Durban that a group of Indians has sprung up in South Africa, who have lost faith in Satyagraha. They cherish the dream that they can overthrow the rule of the White man there, only by joining forces with the Negroes, the coloured people, other Asiatics and European sympathizers and adopting violent means. The rumour, if there is any truth in it, is disturbing and a definite fly in the ointment. All, whether they believe in non-violence or not, should realize that Indians in South Africa gained world-wide esteem, simply because, in spite of being a handful, they showed infinite capacity for suffering and did not, through losing their patience, resort to sabotage and violence. They learnt the wholesome lesson that true well-being springs from suffering and that victory lies in unity. From my own experience, my firm advice to Indians in South Africa is that they should, on no account, be lured away into throwing aside the matchless weapon of Satyagraha.

This does not, however, imply that they are not to accept the help of the coloured people, Negroes and any other sympathizers or that they will not help them in their need, should occasion arise. The only condition is that Satyagraha should be their one and only weapon. If they go astray from the path of non-violence, they will conform to the description of the poor woman, who, as an Indian proverb goes, went in search of a son and succeeded in losing her husband!

New Delhi, 11-9-'46

(From Harijanbandhu)

## PANDIT NEHRU'S STATEMENT

I am informed by a friend in Durban that my name has been freely used there by some people in support of a violent struggle, in place of the present non-violent campaign being carried on in South Africa and that the association of Africans and others for this violent struggle is being sought. I am surprised to learn this, because I am quite clear that it will be fatal for the Indians in South Africa to adopt violent methods in their struggle. If the non-violent method is desirable in India, it is far more necessary in South Africa in the conditions prevailing there. I have often asked Indians in South Africa, to co-operate with Africans there, and I hope they will do so. The issue raised in South Africa is something much more than an Indian issue. It is an issue which affects all Asians and, of course, all Africans. Therefore, this co-operation is necessary between all those affected. But co-operation can only be effective and succeed on the basis of peaceful methods and it would be folly to indulge in violence.

## Acknowledgment

The treasurer of the A. I. C. C. asks me to say that he has received Rs. 2400 on behalf of the President of the Congress from the Indian community in Manila, Philippine Islands, for the purpose of famine relief.

M. K. G.

## WEEKLY LETTER

IF I WERE A DICTATOR

"If I were a dictator, religion and State would be separate. I swear by my religion. I will die for it. But it is my personal affair. The State has nothing to do with it," remarked Gandhiji sometime back in answer to a question by a missionary friend who asked whether in Free India there would be complete religious freedom and whether religion would be separate from the State. "The State would look after your secular welfare, health, communications, foreign relations, currency and so on, but not your or my religion. That is everybody's personal concern." He then went on to describe his conception of religion. "You must watch my life, how I live, eat, sit, talk, behave in general. The sum total of all those in me is my religion," he said.

Asked which movement, e. g., women's, political, scientific or religious would have had the most far-reaching influence in the world of tomorrow and would be considered 50 years hence as having had the greatest impact on world affairs as a whole and for the greatest good of mankind, he said, it was wrong to bracket religious movement with the rest. "It is religious movement that would dominate the future," he added. "It would do so today but it does not, for religion has been reduced to a Saturday or a Sunday affair; it has to be lived every moment of one's life. Such religion, when it comes, will dominate the world."

"Do you feel there is any special significance in the increasing number and magnitude of labour strikes, especially in India of late?" he was asked next. "What do you think will be the outcome of this labour trouble in India?"

"Strikes have today become a universal plague," he replied. "There are strikes everywhere, America and England not excepted. But in India they have a special significance. We are living under an unnatural condition. As soon as the lid is removed and there is a crevice letting in the fresh air of freedom, there will be an increasing number of strikes. The fundamental reason for this spreading strike fever is that life here as elsewhere, is today uprooted from its basis, the basis of religion and what an English writer has called 'cash nexus' has taken its place. And that is a precarious bond. But even when the religious basis is there, there will be strikes, because it is scarcely conceivable that religion will have become for all the basis of life. So, there will be attempts at exploitation on the one hand, and strikes on the other. But these strikes will then be of a purely non-violent character. Such strikes never do harm to anyone. It was such a strike perhaps that brought General Smuts to his knees. "If you had hurt an Englishman," said Jan Smuts, "I would have shot you, even deported your people. As it is, I have put you in prison and tried to subdue you and your people in every way. But how long can I go on like this when you do not retaliate?" And so he had to come to terms with a mere coolie on behalf of coolies as all Indians were then called in South Africa."



## AN INCIDENT AND ITS MORAL

Gandhiji has cultivated the habit of standing sentinel over himself every moment of his life. Daily he holds a silent tribunal within himself and calls himself to strict account before it for the littlest of his little actions. Nothing escapes his scrutiny and he shows himself no mercy. In fact he believes in viewing one's own shortcomings through a convex lens and those of others through a concave—the one occasion where exaggeration becomes a duty. An illustration of it was afforded the other day at the evening prayer. It has been an old practice of his to sell by auction after the evening public prayer, ornaments presented to him for the Harijan cause. He had discontinued the practice of late to save time. But it made him feel unhappy to think that he was saving his time at the cost of the Harijans who were his special wards and so, for the last 14 days, he has been disposing of one jewel every day, thereby nearly doubling the daily takings for the Harijans. Thus jewels worth Rs. 3071 in the aggregate have been auctioned at sums ranging from Rs. 100 to Rs. 400.

But on Saturday last, owing to rainy weather, the crowd was much smaller than usual. The prayer was held under a dripping *shamiana* and the daily auction was omitted. Afterwards Gandhiji blamed himself for it. Did it not betoken a lack of faith, he asked himself at the prayer gathering on the following day. He was afraid lest the auctions should not fetch a good price as the gathering was small. Why could he not have faith? His South African friend Downes, scheduled to speak from a church pulpit at 7 p. m. in Durban, began his address at the stroke of seven with an audience of one only. That was faith. "A man of faith," he concluded; "will remain steadfast to truth, even though the whole world might appear to be enveloped in falsehood. May God bless you with that faith is my constant prayer. Pray for me also that I too may find that faith in spite of temporary aberration."

## A SIGN?

What originated as a brain wave in Kanu Gandhi's mind has succeeded beyond expectation. The eleven days' spinning course, announced by him, evoked an immediate response. 159 applications were received by the 11th, after which further admissions were closed in terms of the announcement. Many had consequently to turn back disappointed. Requests have since been received for a night class for those who cannot attend during the day-time and arrangements for the same are under consideration. Instruction is at present being given to them in spinning and the allied processes, beginning with hand separation of seed and *tunai*. The trainees come in two batches: one in the morning from 7 to 11 and the other in the afternoon from 2 to 5. Men predominate in the former, women in the latter batch. About 60 per cent of the men who attend in the morning are Government servants. Most of the trainees are from the well-to-do class and are obviously actuated by an altruistic motive. To see them bending over their work in sweltering

heat under the thin shelter of a *shamiana* is a pure joy. The response was so unexpected that the organizers found it difficult to improvise proper implements in the beginning. The difficulty has since been overcome. Gandhiji inspects them at work daily in the morning and at evening and sums up his observations in the course of his address before the evening prayer gathering. In the course of his remarks yesterday he said that the sight of 144 of them attending the spinning classes daily, in the fullness of faith, made him hug the hope that one day the whole of India would be clad in Khadi. When he started the spinning revival of 1918, India was buying 60 crores worth of foreign cloth, excluding Indian mill cloth. This was the largest single import. Next came sugar with 18 crores and then hardware with 7 crores. Today, with the inflated prices the price of all mill cloth, indigenous and foreign, was probably 300 crores. Gandhiji asked his audience to ponder and realize what wealth this would mean to India, if 300 crores worth of cloth was produced by their own hands in the villages. There was a veritable mint of gold for them and if Khadi became universal, the villages would rise to unknown heights. Today our masses were poverty-stricken, without the luster of hope or intelligence in their eyes. The pure hands of the spinners could create this miracle for them and everyone could help. They should have understanding hearts and seeing eyes to detect the beauty in Khaddar even if it is coarse and not be allured by mill finery which could never clothe their nakedness in the true sense of the term. The only way to clothe their nakedness and drive away hunger was for them to grow their own food and make their own cloth. If this happy consummation could be achieved, the eyes of the whole world would be turned towards India. Today everything seemed to be going wrong in this land. He referred to the story that had appeared in the Press of the mad gunmen in Bombay who caused death of several innocent people. This shameful news must have been flashed across the radio to the world and they must hang their heads in sorrow. But, said Gandhiji, if they would only listen to him, all would be well with India. If all purified themselves and all thought of themselves as Indians, then they will have succeeded in learning the true lesson of the charkha.

In a written message in Hindustani, full of the fire of passion, that was read out on Monday, he observed: "Before the Charkha class in full swing, everything else appears dull and lifeless to me. For I behold my Rama dancing in every thread drawn. I find Swaraj in it. When I contemplate the strength of the yarn drawn by 40 crores of hands, my heart is filled with an ecstasy of joy. O, but 20 crores of Indians will not take to spinning," you say. Is it not a sign of our ignorance and lack of faith to refuse to believe in the possibility? Is it an impossible thing to expect every one of half the population to spin for an hour a day? If we have not the capacity to sacrifice even this much for our Motherland, what is our love of country worth?"

New Delhi, 16-9-'46

PYARELAL



## OVER-POPULATION OR UNDER-PRODUCTION ?

It has become a fashion these days to ascribe the recurring famines in India to over-population. That theory has been challenged more than once and seems to have an escapist odour about it. Chapter and verse can be cited to show that India's undeveloped potential of food production is more than adequate to feed her growing population for a good while yet to come. A correspondent points attention to the following facts about our agriculture in this connection.

1. It has been demonstrated by experiments in Government Agricultural Farms that by sowing improved seeds, 29 per cent increase can be affected on the existing yield.

2. If the export of oil-seed, oil-cake, bones, etc. were stopped and the animal droppings saved for the soil as manure by providing the villagers with wood fuel instead of cowdung for domestic cooking etc., the existing crop output could be doubled.

3. By further development of canal irrigation and by building sufficient wells and tanks, two crops could be grown where at present, there is only one. Out of 245 crore acres in India, at present only 32 crores are under double crop.

4. A comparison of yield per acre in India and other countries respectively points to the same thing.

Here are figures for rice per acre :

Egypt	3447 lbs.
Japan	3909 "
Italy	4810 "
Formosa	2407 "
India	939 "

The figures for wheat are :

Japan	2010 lbs.
Italy	1374 "
Canada	1197 "
England	2085 "
India	774 "

5. Government statements further indicate that owing to lack of proper storage facilities, the annual loss of food grains due to the inroads of rats, insect pests, etc. comes to about 10 lakhs of tons per year.

6. The extent of cultivable land which is at present not under cultivation is 9 crore acres.

7. Lastly comes the invasion of 'money crops'. In 1900 the area under commercial crops was 165 lakh acres. In 1930 the figures rose to 240 lakh acres. During this period the land under oil-seeds increased from 130 lakh acres to 160 lakh acres. In 1942, 32% of the entire yield of oil-seeds and jute was for export, of linseed 71% and of groundnuts 15%. In other words, so much soil fertility was bartered away for commercial gain, without the possibility of returning in any shape or form to the soil what was taken out of the soil, thus impairing it permanently. This is not agriculture but downright robbery of the soil at the cost of posterity. If our agriculture could be rescued from the invasion of 'money crops' it would go a long way towards meeting the recurring threat of food shortage.

New Delhi, 7-9-'46

PYARELAL

## RAMA THE SON OF DASHARATHA

(By M. K. Gandhi)

An Arya Samajist writes :

"How can the Rama whom you believe to be immortal, be Rama, the son of Dasharatha and the husband of Sita? I often attend your prayer gathering with this dilemma always confronting me and because of it, I am unable to join in the *Ramadhun*. This hurts me for you are right when you say that all should take part in it. Cannot you make the *Ramadhun*, such that all can join in the recital?"

I have already explained what I mean by all. It applies to all those who can join in it from the heart and recite it in tune. The others should remain silent. But this is a small matter. The important question is as to how Rama the son of Dasharatha can be deemed immortal. This question was raised by Saint Tulsidasa himself and answered by him. The answer cannot in reality be reasoned out. It does not lend itself to intellectual satisfaction. It is a matter of heart speaking to heart. I worshipped Rama as Sita's husband in the first instance, but as my knowledge and experience of Him grew, my Rama became immortal and omnipresent. This does not mean that Rama ceased to be Sita's husband; but the meaning of Sita's husband expanded with the vision of Rama. This is how the world evolves. Rama cannot become omnipresent for the man who regards him merely as the son of Dasharatha. But for the believer in Rama as God, the father of the omnipresent Rama also becomes omnipresent — the father and son become one. It may be said that this is all a matter of imagination. "To each man according to his faith", is all that I can say. If all religions are one at source, we have to synthesize them. Today they are looked upon as separate and that is why we kill each other. When we are tired of religion, we become atheists and then, apart from the little self, nothing, not even God, exists. But when we acquire true understanding, the little self perishes and God becomes all in all. Rama then is and is not the son of Dasharatha, the husband of Sita, the brother of Bharata and Lakshmana and yet is God, the unborn and eternal. All honour then to those who not believing in Rama as the son of Dasharatha still come to join in the collective prayers. This matter of Rama is one which transcends reason. I have merely tried to give to the reader my belief for what it is worth.

New Delhi, 16-9-'46

(From *Harijansevak*)

### FOR AGENTS

Agents are requested to take note of the following :

1. Please remember that agents have to deposit with us an amount covering the price of their demand for two months. A month's deposit will be treated as fixed and the other as current. Every week the cost of the copies sent to them would be deducted from the current deposit.

2. The amounts for the deposits are usually sent by the agents by cheques. Please note that we do not accept cheques. The amount should be remitted either by M. O., Postal Order or by a bank draft.

MANAGER



## Notes

### Blank Minute Books

A student writes:

"It has become a fashion for all to pose as political workers. And politics consist in speeches and participation in election campaigns. You would be pained to know that the minute books of Congress Committees are entirely blank, except for proceedings of annual sittings. It is all power politics. Students also get drawn into its vortex. What is your ideal of a political worker?"

I have all along stressed the need for constructive work and to that end, I drew up a list of items for the guidance of all workers. I hold that if the constructive programme were worked with vigour and understanding, the result would be far more than mere political Swaraj. Speeches and election campaigns would be almost unnecessary, if our workers had established Congress in the hearts of the people through service. Then there will be more service than power and the weekly or fortnightly meetings of Congress committees will be filled with a recital of the activities and achievements of committees in the wide field of work.

New Delhi, 14-9-'46

### Is It Not Cowardice?

Q. Non-violence in your opinion is not cowardice, but it is a form of resistance to injustice. You have admitted that it is wrong to arrest and imprison innocent persons which civil resisters are. And you have cheerfully courted arrest and imprisonment. Is this not inconsistent and cowardly?

A. Evidently you do not know the working of non-violence. An unjust law is itself a species of violence. Arrest for its breach is more so. Now the law of non-violence says that violence should be resisted not by counter-violence but by non-violence. Any breach of a law carries with it a penalty. It does not become unjust, merely because I say so. Nevertheless, in my opinion, it is unjust. The State has the right to enforce it, whilst it is on the statute book. I must resist it non-violently. This I do, by breaking the law and by peacefully submitting to arrest and imprisonment. I call such behaviour an act of bravery to the extent required. That imprisonment for a man like me today carries no suffering with it is irrelevant, if it may be assumed that ordinary prison-treatment would make no difference in my mental condition. Thus non-resistance in the case under discussion, is an essential condition of non-violence, not a symptom of cowardice. Resistance in the shape of refusing to be arrested etc. on the other hand, will in this case be certainly blustering, thoughtless violence and might be classified as cowardly brag. New Delhi, 14-9-'46

### An Appeal to Correspondents

Some good people waste money on sending wires, asking me to secure seats on the Interim Government, others in matters of strikes in various places, yet others in matters of fasting. To all these I would say that they not only take unnecessary trouble and waste money but pile work on an overworked group of co-workers and helpers, without securing needed help from me. I have no wish to influence the National Cabinet in the choice of co-ministers and

I hold that it would be wrong on my part or anybody else's, to do so. The members of the Cabinet should be left undisturbed in their choice if they are to render national service in an efficient and honest manner. In matters of strikes and fasts, my views are well known. These should give sufficient guidance when and where required. It is impossible and improper for me to give opinion on incomplete and one-sided data. And I have no time for studying individual cases. I have only limited capacity left in me. I assure correspondents that it is being exercised to the full extent without needing further additions.

New Delhi, 15-9-'46

### Karachi Khadi Bhandar

Numerous letters have been received with reference to the note in the *Harijan* of 25-8-'46 entitled "Disloyalty to Khadi". I am making inquiries and hope to announce the result as soon as they are completed.

M. K. G.

### The Peace of the Charkha

Shri Vichitra Narayan has sent Gandhiji a letter from a doctor friend of his. Dr. Bhupal Singh no longer practises for his eyesight has become very weak. He has consistently served the poor. The gist of his letter, given below, is interesting.

He avers that he has found the charkha very efficacious in the treatment of nervous disorders. Patients suffering from such are generally unable to concentrate, they are mentally disturbed and disinclined to do any work. The doctor's experience is that in these cases the spinning wheel is of greater help than medicines. The hum of the charkha has a soothing effect, spinning needs concentration and the product of their labour seems to restore self-confidence in the patients. Mental improvement naturally has a salutary effect on the body too. The writer feels that diseases like hysteria and neurasthenia are more prevalent in cities where such health-giving activity as spinning is discarded. The incidence of nervous disorders in the villages is far less.

Dr. Bhupal Singh's faith in the charkha is of long standing. During his many years of practice, he often used to take yarn from paying patients for his fees instead of money. New Delhi, 16-9-'46  
(From *Harijansevak*) A. K.

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# HARIJAN

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TWO ANNAS

## ELEVEN DAYS' CHARKHA CLASS

(By M. K. Gandhi)

The important part of an account given to me by Shri Kanu Gandhi of this class is given below :

"This class was conducted in the Bhangi Colony from 11-9-'46 to 21-9-'46. 156 men and women and three children participated, ages varying from 8 to 75 years. Due to the re-opening after the summer holidays of the schools and in a few cases to illness the number in the end went down to 126. On the 11th day there was a 1½ hours examination held in which 110 persons, 51 women and 59 men, took part.

"Two separate classes were held daily in the morning and afternoon. The morning class from 7 to 11 was attended mostly by office-going persons who could only stay for 2 to 2½ hours. The afternoon class from 2 to 5-30 consisted for the greater part of women.

"The minimum and maximum tuition worked out at 16 and 40 hours respectively. 20 persons knew how to spin before they came to the classes but all the other processes were new to everyone. Owing to lack of spinning wheels etc. the trainees were not able to practise at home in the beginning, but when all the implements became available, they were able to fill this gap. The approximate speed per hour of spinning with 'tunai' of the learners who went in for the examination was as follows :

23 persons	60 rounds
22 "	75 "
10 "	90 "
17 "	100 "
8 "	125 "
5 "	150 "
1 person	239 "

"The count of yarn varied from 19 to 25. Few produced yarn of very poor quality. Coarse yarn was spun by those whose speed was the lowest.

"In order to create enthusiasm among the people an exhibition of all the processes of spinning was held on the 22nd instant. An entrance fee of one anna was charged. All Charkhas from the early village wheel to the modern Yeravda, Kisan and Magan Charkhas (the latter enables the drawing of yarn by both hands), the triangular bamboo Charkha were on view, as also implements of carding including, the bow with both gut and thread and the bamboo knife. There was also a special Charkha for spinning

wool. An interesting sight was a one-armed man who was turning the Yeravda wheel with his foot and drawing the thread with his left hand. His speed was 240 rounds an hour. In one section there were exhibits of different species of cotton and yarn of various counts. A tree of *devkapas* was also on view as well as pictures of the different kinds of spinning wheels, *takhis* and carding implements. Near by lay a heap of 78 lakhs of hanks of yarn for presentation to Gandhiji. Harijan girls and boys from the Kasturba Balika Ashram and the Harijan Industrial School respectively as also workers from the Delhi Khadi Bhandar rendered valuable help. The public took a keener interest than had been expected. The exhibition was opened at 1 p. m. by Shri Jaiprakash Narain and was to remain open till 5 p. m. but owing to an immense crowd it was decided at 2-15 p. m. to stop all entries for 1½ hours and all the exhibits which had been arranged in a large hall originally had to be carried into the open.

"Competitions were held from 2-30 to 5 p.m. by Gandhi Ashram, Chandani Chowk, Delhi. These included spinning with all its processes, plain spinning, competition for children of 12 years, spinning with eyes closed and spinning without breaking the thread. The competitors, nearly 500 in number, were very enthusiastic.

"It was intended to hold the evening prayer preceded by collective spinning in which many of the leaders had promised to join in the exhibition premises. This became impossible owing to the huge unmanageable crowd. The collective spinning was, however, held in Bhangi Colony. Jawaharlalji, Badshah Khan, Rajendra Babu, Fakhruddin Sahib, Jagjiwanramji, Dr. Pattabhi and Shri Shankerrao Dev, all took part for about half an hour. Badshah Khan drew 66 rounds and Jawaharlalji 100. Figures of others are not available.

"It was a pure accident that the close of the spinning class coincided with the Charkha Jayanti. Rajendra Babu performed the flag hoisting in the morning in Bhangi Colony.

"Thanks for valuable help rendered to the spinning class are due to Shri Brijkrishna Chandiwala, Shri Krishnan Nair, Shri Kalkaprasad of Gandhi Ashram and to a worker sent specially for the purpose from Adampur Khadi Bhandar.

"Thanks for the loan of the hall and grounds for the exhibition are due to the Municipal Board and the Principal of the Bengali School."



In my opinion, this class has been of great value. The numbers of the learners, the class from which they came and the perseverance with which they worked are worthy of note. Thousands were drawn to see the small exhibition. Leaders joined in the collective spinning. All these should augur well for the future of Khadi. It is good to understand what perseverance can achieve.

New Delhi, 24-9-'46

(From the original in Gujarati)

### FOOD RATIONING

A mistake is committed in the working of rationing in India. It consists in charging the cost of collection, transport, storage and distribution to the price of food. The resulting difference in price between what the producer gets and what the consumer pays is usually not less than 30 to 50 % (and often more) of the value paid to the producer. The results of this discrepancy in prices are :

1. The producer is unwilling to part with the grain due to the fear that when short of it, he will have to pay more than what he got.
2. The depressing influence on the producer who hesitates to expand his sowings due to the fear of Government control and interference.
3. The stimulus to the black market due to the wide margin of profit.

It is suggested, therefore, that the incidental costs of food control (collection etc.) should be charged to the Treasury and the food sold to the consumer at the rate paid to the producer.

In addition to this, the price of food should be fixed by law for 1 to 3 years ahead, so that the producer and the consumer both know what they will get or pay for food.

Such an apparently simple measure as the changing of the incidental costs of food control to the Treasury will have the following results :

1. knocking out the black market completely,
2. encouraging the 'Grow More Food' tendency,
3. inducing the producer to part with his product, because he knows that he will always get what he needs at the same rate,
4. reassuring the consumer as to his future cost of living, and
5. creating a tendency to a uniform and low price of the basic necessities of life.

The revenue necessary to pay the cost of food control on these lines can be created by imposing a progressive sales tax on all non-rationed and non-controlled articles and highest on luxury articles. Thus the articles of first necessity like food will be subsidized by the purchasers of non-essential and luxury goods.

The proposition can be expressed tersely : the purchaser of goods non-essential to the maintenance of life and health will have to contribute to the costs of collection, transport, storage and distribution of essentials, so that they reach the consumer at the lowest possible price.

Maurice Frydman

### PARADISE LOST

My little room at the Valmiki Mandir had a window at the back which looked out on to open ground. Red rock and rough grass made a ridge of high land beyond which only the wide sky was visible. This was for me a continual comfort, to which was added the quiet society of Bapuji's goats, who had a habit of coming and standing under my little window.

When I was a tiny child, I lived in my grandfather's country house. There were three different walks for which my nurse would take me. One along the road to the town, one to the village, and one past a farm and up a country lane to the hills. There the birds sang and the wild flowers bloomed. Whenever my nurse asked me, which walk I would like to take, my answer was invariably "Up'i lane"—Up the lane towards the hills—for me that was the world of joy and beauty. In Delhi, fifty years later, there was no "Up'i lane", but at least there was a semblance of the countryside, and so my heart was ever through the little window, away from the rush and turmoil of the great city.

On the last day of my stay, I was obliged to go to Chandani Chowk for doing some necessary shopping. From all sides every sense was wounded. The din of traffic and shouting of harsh voices beat upon the ears, ugly sights of dirt and tawdriness hurt the eyes, and nasty smells invaded the nose. But worst of all, were the faces of the people, reflecting as they did, the blunted senses and hardened minds within.

And this is called civilization. To object to it is called 'putting the clock back'. Chandani Chowk is not a slum, it is looked upon as a grand highway and shopping centre !

That evening I took the train for Dehradun. Looking out of the carriage window at dawn, I felt as if Paradise were spread before my eyes. The air was so clear and fresh, the forest rich in its autumn verdure—and now came a brook of crystal water dancing and sparkling over its rocky bed with flowering bushes and tall, feathery grasses on its banks. The forest opened out into a broad glen, the sun had risen over the mountains to the east, and a glimmer of golden light in the opening of the forest, showed Gangaji winding her sacred way towards Haradwar. My heart sang with the birds of the forest in thanksgiving to God.

Then I thought of the city folks in Chandani Chowk surrounded with their own hideousness. Have they come to such a pass that they prefer that to this? Have their eyes lost the power to see God in Nature? Have their ears been so rasped that they can no longer detect the singing of the birds, let alone the voice of the Silence? And their noses, do they seek the city smells rather than the pure sweet air of the mountains? I looked at my fellow passengers—two educated young men. One was deep in a book, the other was tucked up in a corner smoking a cigarette. I thought to myself how, when they got to Mussooree, they would seek



out cinemas, and there go into raptures over foreign scenery, flickering on a screen to the accompaniment of vulgar music. They would not turn their eyes in reverence towards the majestic snows of Kedarnath, nor would they listen to the voices of the wind wandering through the fragrant fir woods.

Alas for modern man! He is the victim of a fell disease, and glories in that sickness, calling it progress, enlightenment, knowledge!

9-9-'46

MIRABEHN

## TRACTORS v. BULLOCKS

Tractor cultivation is a controversial question. Some people consider mechanization of agriculture the ideal goal for India, and some would not so much as look at a tractor.

There is a middle path during the development period.

In U. P. there are 79 lakhs acres of actually culturable waste lands. Much of this vast area is *usar* land which has become very hard, and in some cases needs extra deep cultivation in order to break up the *kankar* layer below the surface. There are other waste lands covered with tall deep-rooted grasses, and yet others especially in the *terai*, where even shrubs and small trees have to be uprooted.

For many years the cattle population of India has been deteriorating, and with the recent war, it has become alarmingly reduced owing to wholesale slaughter of animals for feeding the foreign armies (English and American), and prisoners of war. This means that, today, to try and deal with waste lands by means of bullock power would be so slow a process that it would be as good as useless. We have to overcome long years of administrative neglect in as short a space of time as possible, if we are successfully to stop the rot which is steadily undermining our countryside.

I would, therefore, advocate the use of tractors for bringing waste land under cultivation where it is situated in large blocks and is otherwise suitable. But after the land is reclaimed, I would not for a moment suggest that it should remain permanently under mechanical cultivation. The bullock is in every way economical for the Indian peasant. The bullock is fed from the products of the land, and gives in return valuable cowdung which is used for plastering of walls and floors, for fuel and for manure. The bullock can also be used for all kinds of work — carting, water-lifting and the like, whereas the tractor has to have expensive oil purchased for it from the bazar and it gives nothing back from its belly. At the same time the only kind of haulage it can do, is field cultivation on a broad outlay.

When we have developed village groves for fuel-wood, we do not want to find that cow-dung has been greatly reduced owing to the removal of the bullock from village cultivation. On the contrary, we want to find masses of cow-dung released for the impoverished Indian soil. Anyone who is familiar with Indian village life knows the part

which cow-dung plays. Without it the whole village dwelling structure and economic life would become broken down.

So it comes to this, that tractors be used for big scale reclamation and, during the years that these lands are being brought into a good cultivated condition, every effort must be made to control and improve the breeding of the present herds of cattle in the province, so that ever-increasing quantities of good bullocks become available for cultivation purposes (see Note on Cattle Wealth).

Before closing this note, I would like to express a word of warning regarding tractors. At present the tractors are being obtained from abroad. This means that spare parts, extra to those supplied, will be difficult to get and very expensive. At the same time expert engineers and mechanics are very difficult to find in India today. This means that before any big scheme is handled, men must be thoroughly trained for taking up the job, and local workshops must be provided at the spots where the reclamation work is to be taken up.

The implements are the most troublesome part of tractor cultivation, as they frequently break or get out of order, and if we are to look to foreign countries for both the implements and their parts, tractor cultivation is bound to be a failure. Anyway, it would be a blot on our own Swadeshi zeal as a Province if we fail to turn out tractor implements, which can be manufactured in India.

MIRABEHN

## Cattle Wealth

No scheme of land and village development in India can be successful, unless the cattle problem is vigorously tackled. Cows and bullocks have suffered very heavy casualties during the war, having been ruthlessly butchered for feeding foreign armies and prisoners of war. This has reduced to a most critical condition the already pitiable state of the country's cattle.

Cattle cannot be bred in a day, and four to five years must elapse before we can expect any visible result. It behoves us, therefore, to take up the matter without delay. But unfortunately delay is the order of the day in the country.

Government servants have, therefore, to take up this cattle development in a new spirit, if it is to succeed. And, if it fails, then all other rural development fails with it.

A project has been passed by the Central and Provincial Governments to be financed on a half and half basis, which envisages the organization of the *goshalas* in the Provinces for improved cattle breeding. If this scheme is properly worked, great strides can be made in the right direction.

MIRABEHN

## THE GOSPEL OF SELFLESS ACTION OR THE GITA ACCORDING TO GANDHI

By Mahadev Desai

With Gandhiji's Foreword

Price Rs. Four, Postage Nine Annas



# HARIJAN

September 29

1946

## FOOD SHORTAGE

(By M. K. Gandhi)

There is nothing so depressing as when fear pervades the atmosphere. I remember an occasion when the waters of the Sabarmati were rising fairly high and a message said to be from Sardar Patel was received after midnight to the effect that inside of an hour the Ashram would be covered with the rising waters and that we were likely to be drowned in them if we did not vacate. It was a most anxious time for all of us men, women and children. A sigh of relief went up to heaven when it was discovered that after causing some loss to property, the angry waters had begun to subside and that no loss of life need be feared.

Precisely in the same manner the danger of shortage reported from authoritative quarters bids fair to demoralize us into a panic which would be more fatal than real starvation. Such was my plight when a paragraph in the papers was read to me that of all the places in the world its intrepid Diwan had seriously contended that Travancore had a storage of food grains only for a fortnight. Knowing Travancore so well, I imagined all sorts of calamities, not merely for Travancore but for all India. Travancore with its luxuriant growth of edible tubers, coconut and fish had no need to starve for a single day, even though it might have no other supply from the other parts of India. My faith in Travancore kept me whole. And to my joy I discovered that the shortage was not of food but of wheat and rice only. Travancore can grow rice, not wheat. So far as the cereals are concerned the inhabitants of Travancore are rice eaters. They take to wheat with difficulty and under stress. Would that the present distress could make us shed our provincialisms and induce all India habits so as to make us feel fully at home, no matter which part of India we happened to find ourselves in. For the moment, however, my object would be fully served if all responsible men in India would definitely tell the people in their respective provinces, districts and states, not to look beyond India for supply of food but to grow what they can themselves and learn to eke out a living from their own produce. And, if the numerous authentic letters I receive are an indication of things as they are or should be, we need fear no starvation for want of life-giving vegetables plus a little milk for vegetarians and fish, flesh or fowl for non-vegetarians.

Let India realize that as yet we have no appreciable quantity of food from outside our shores. Many are willing to help but they are themselves for the most part sufferers or have more calls on them than they are able to cope with. The transport difficulty is very real for all of them and our own will commence when the foodstuff reaches our

shores. Internal transport and distribution constitute a problem by themselves. It is, therefore, practical wisdom to brace ourselves for the struggle and declare with one voice our resolve that we shall grow our eatables for ourselves and perish bravely in the attempt if we must.

This is the only way and no other.

New Delhi, 21-9-'46

## QUESTION BOX

(By M. K. Gandhi)

### WHAT USE AHIMSA?

Q. Wherever in the world today one casts one's eye, there is nothing but violence and power politics to be seen. And this obtains even in democratic countries like England and America. Have you pondered as to what your *ahimsa* can do under such circumstances?

A. It is true that power politics exist everywhere; but you are very much mistaken if you imagine that true democracy obtains either in America or England. The voice of the people may be said to be God's voice, the voice of the *Panchayat*. But how can there be the voice of God where the people themselves are the exploiters as England and America are? They live on the coloured races by exploiting them. If the voice of the people is the voice of God, they will be above party. His scales will ever be evenly weighted with truth and non-violence. This statement embraces my reply. My *ahimsa* is neither maimed nor weak. It is all-powerful. Where there is *ahimsa*, there is Truth and Truth is God. How He manifests Himself, I cannot say. All I know is that He is all-pervading and where He is, all is well. There is, therefore, one law for all. Wherever in the world Truth and Non-violence reign supreme, there is peace and bliss. That these exist nowhere shows that they are hidden from man for the time being. But they cannot disappear for ever. That faith must sustain the faithful.

### SHOULD FOREIGNERS BE WELCOME?

Q. You say that Independent India will not fear foreigners who decide to live here as Indians. But has this happened in any country? Where nationalism has been predominant, will you not admit that a certain amount of racial arrogance will remain? Can even an Independent India escape from it?

A. My faith that we need have no fear is unshakable. I can give strong evidence in support of it, but I do not think there is any need here for me to do so. This much only must be remembered that all foreigners will be welcome to stay here, only if they look upon themselves as one with the people. India cannot tolerate foreigners who wish to remain here with safeguards for their rights. This would mean that they want to live here as superior persons and such a position must lead to friction. It is inconceivable that the present friction between Britain and India should exist, if India became free. There is no freedom for India while the friction subsists. New Delhi, 19-9-'46

(From the original in Gujarati)



## DO NOT ELIMINATE TRUTH AND NON-VIOLENCE

(By M. K. Gandhi)

A correspondent who sends his name and describes himself as devoted to service writes:

"I read your *Harijanbandhu* regularly. Recently in your reply to Shri Shankarrao Dev you have said: 'I have been saying for some time that the words "truth and non-violence" should be removed from the Congress constitution.'

"If this happens in the existing circumstances, people will lose their faith in Congress because they will feel that so long as it was not in power it was thought best to adhere to truth and non-violence but now that power has come it contemplates removing these words from the constitution. They might even infer that the removal is being resorted to in order to counter the Muslim League's threat of direct action.

"If these words are eliminated from the constitution, Congress will fall from the high pedestal which these means alone have secured for it. It will lose in prestige. You have always said that you yourself cannot go forward one step without truth and non-violence and is it not their adherence to these that makes the public think of Congressmen as trustworthy, merciful, full of the spirit of service and bravery? The tree must perish if its roots are destroyed. You must see to it that the roots go deeper and deeper and are not eradicated.

"Therefore, I feel that you should compel every Congressman to follow these principles and if he refuses, he must leave the Congress."

How can I, the champion of *ahimsa*, compel anyone to perform even a good act? Has not a well-known Englishman said that to make mistakes as a free man is better than being in bondage in order to avoid them? I believe in the truth of this. The reason is obvious. The mind of a man who remains good under compulsion cannot improve, in fact it worsens. And when compulsion is removed all the defects well up to the surface with even greater force.

Moreover, no one should be a dictator. Even the Congress cannot force its members to follow truth and non-violence. These have to be accepted willingly from the heart.

I have been recommending the elimination of these words from the constitution for over a year, long before the Muslim League contemplated direct action which makes no bones about *himsa* or *ahimsa*. Thus my recommendation has no connection with the League's resolution. But I have no help for those who invariably attribute sinister motives to my words.

I have strong grounds for my recommendation. Congress may not cover untruth and violence under the guise of truth and non-violence. Is not this an all-sufficing reason? If Congressmen were no hypocrites, nothing could be better than that Congress should adhere to these two pillars.

I could never wish the Congress, the moment it comes into power, to discard the very ladder by

which it has climbed so high. I believe that if Congressmen, while in power, renounce truth and non-violence, the lustre surrounding the Congress will grow dim.

We must all guard against one mistake. There is no rule against following what is not in the constitution. Indeed my hope is that when these words are removed all, or a large majority of Congressmen will heartily follow truth and non-violence even to the point of death.

The writer has forgotten to mention one thing which I should like to clarify. The words in the constitution are 'peaceful and legitimate'. I have no right to interpret them as truthful and non-violent, if they don't bear that meaning. Congress has adopted them as a policy, not as a creed. The question of my right to retain or eliminate them does not arise. But whilst it lasts, policy is tantamount to creed and hence becomes obligatory. Of course, my recommendation has no meaning if 'peaceful' can be interpreted as violent and 'legitimate' as untruthful.

New Delhi, 21-9-'46

(From the original in Gujarati)

## Notes

### Congress Ministers, not Sahib Log

A Congress worker asks:

"Should the Congress Ministers live in great state like their English predecessors? Will it be right for them to use Government cars for private work?"

From my point of view there can be only one reply to both the questions. If the Congress wants to continue as a people's organization, the Ministers cannot live as *sahib log* nor use for private work facilities provided by Government for official duties.

New Delhi, 20-9-'46

(From the original in Hindustani)

### Not Sentiment but Reason

Prof. Brij Narain has devoted two columns of the *Lahore Tribune* in support of the Salt Tax. I dare not combat his arguments though they make little appeal to my lay mind. He has come to the gratuitous conclusion that I ask for repeal on grounds of sentiment rather than reason. He reminds me of armchair politics and philosophy. Salt Tax hits not only men, women and children, but also fish and cattle. Reason demands its immediate repeal. It is not the amount of the tax that kills, it is the monopoly and all it means that kills the poor villager and his cattle. Imagine what would happen if the poor were prohibited from breathing air or drinking water without permission of the Government. The condition as to salt is not radically different. The scientist has not taken the trouble to study what this prohibition to prepare salt even for one's own consumption has cost India.

Prof. Brij Narain will not allow the Congress to be nationalistic enough even to warrant its abolishing a monopoly which presses heavily upon all the poor people without distinction, unless the Professor ignorantly imagines that the Muslims have no poor to think of.

New Delhi, 22-9-'46

M. K. G.



### About Khadi Bhandars

Since I wrote on happenings in the Karachi Khadi Bhandar, I have received several letters about other Bhandars also. The gist of these is given below :

1. Khadi in Bhandars is available only to friends of those in charge or to those who have influence.

2. Even if the Bhandar is replete with Khadi, the reply the ordinary customer often gets is that there is none.

3. Some Bhandars have no facilities for having yarn woven into Khadi, while others cannot supply Charkhas and their accessories.

4. In the circumstances Khadi workers in many Bhandars earn wages for doing no work. Time and again one's yarn is not accepted on the plea that it is too coarse.

It would not be right to console oneself by saying that all these complaints are untrue. Such conduct as described is unwise, callous and disloyal. None of these defects should obtain in any Bhandar, much less in Khadi Bhandars. How can Khadi command respect, if its servants behave in the manner described? It is to be hoped that every Khadi Bhandar will become a model of service and thereby not only raise itself but also maintain the honour that Khadi carries.

New Delhi, 22-9-'46

M. K. G.

(From the original in Gujarati)

### Superfluous Rations

An acquaintance in Delhi tells me that she and her husband are both wage earners and their joint income is in the neighbourhood of Rs. 500 p. m. They happen to have no children. She is able to save enough from their wheat ration to entertain a number of people every week without any difficulty. The woman in question suggested that a survey of families in Delhi—and this really should apply to all towns—might be taken and those persons who can afford to reduce their cereal rations should cede their quota.

Much can be done by voluntary endeavour if the will is there. During this crisis all entertainment should cease, whether public or private and, in any case, no foodstuff made out of cereals should be allowed to be served.

New Delhi, 22-9-'46

A. K.

### FOR AGENTS

Agents are requested to take note of the following:

1. Please remember that agents have to deposit with us an amount covering the price of their demand for two months. A month's deposit will be treated as fixed and the other as current. Every week the cost of the copies sent to them would be deducted from the current deposit.

2. The amounts for the deposits are usually sent by the agents by cheques. Please note that we do not accept cheques. The amount should be remitted either by M. O., Postal Order or by a bank draft.

MANAGER

## WEEKLY LETTER

### WITH AN ENGLISH JOURNALIST

"India is on the march to Independence, it is coming whether there is an agreement between the Muslim League and the Congress or not. No one can stop it. It is her destiny. She has bled enough for it." In these words, Gandhiji who avoids giving press interviews these days reiterated his faith in India's destiny to a foreign press correspondent who was lucky enough to break through his (Gandhiji's) self-imposed cordon of silence and had a talk with him in the course of his morning walk in the yard of the Sweepers' Colony. The correspondent's question was whether co-operation between the Congress and the League would not help the attainment of Indian Independence and was not therefore desirable. "Of course, if there is heart-cooperation between the two, the progress will be quicker and smoother," added Gandhiji. "But it must be real heart unity—not a make-believe."

Gandhiji, who claims kinship with pressmen and therefore their friendship, began by telling this friend what he considered to be the function of journalism. "There are occasions when a journalist serves his profession best by his silence," he observed.

"But it is a journalist's job to purvey facts and let the public judge for itself," the friend argued. Did not Gandhiji believe in the capacity of the average man to judge correctly provided he had enough knowledge of facts? But Gandhiji demurred. "Not knowledge of facts. What passes for facts is only impressions or estimates of things and estimates vary. Hence one gets different versions of the same event." As an illustration he mentioned the parable of the seven blind men of Hindustan, each one describing the elephant differently and each one believing himself to be right. "What is really needed to make democracy function is not knowledge of facts but right education. And the true function of journalism is to educate the public mind, not to stock the public mind with wanted and unwanted impressions. A journalist has, therefore, to use his discretion as to what to report and when. As it is, journalists are not content to stick to facts alone. Journalism has become the art of 'intelligent anticipation of events.'"

"As a public man and a social reformer," continued Gandhiji, "it is for me to judge when to say something and when to hold my tongue." The best contribution that he could make to world peace, he added, speaking of himself, was to be forgotten. "What the world needs is not words but action. Actions and thoughts tell far more than speech. And this applies to all men both great and small."

### A HEAVY BROADSIDE

The friend poured in his broadside. What did he think of Russia? "Russia is an enigma to me," replied Gandhiji. "It hurts me to think (if the reports are true) that a country which stood for the people has turned into an imperialist power."



But I may not pass judgment on a great people and a great man like Stalin. I lack the data."

"Was the world progressing? Had the making of life and struggle for existence easier in the modern world resulted in the dulling of man's instincts and sensibilities?"

"If that is your comment, I will subscribe to it," replied Gandhiji.

"And the atom bomb?"

"O, on that point you can proclaim to the whole world without hesitation," exclaimed Gandhiji, "that I am beyond repair. I regard the employment of the atom bomb for the wholesale destruction of men, women and children as the most diabolical use of science."

What was the antidote? Had it antiquated non-violence? "No," was Gandhiji's reply. On the contrary, non-violence was the only thing that was now left in the field. "It is the only thing that the atom bomb cannot destroy. I did not move a muscle when I first heard that the atom bomb had wiped out Hiroshima. On the contrary, I said to myself, 'Unless now the world adopts non-violence, it will spell certain suicide for mankind.'"

"What would be your fatherly advice to a young man about to launch into the world," Gandhiji's interviewer asked next.

"To hold his tongue," replied Gandhiji and added, "was it not Shakespeare who said, 'Lend everybody thine ear, thy voice to none?'"

"You followed that policy fairly in your own case," put in the friend.

"Yes," replied Gandhiji. "I used to think in my early days that I was a dunce and an idiot, that I should never be able to speak. Now I feel thankful for that disability."

"You have been a fighter all your life. What has fighting done for you?" next asked the friend.

"It has braced me for the next struggle," replied Gandhiji. "Fighting has done me good. What it has done to others, I do not know."

"Considering that the difference between the Muslim League and the Congress has narrowed down to one or two basic issues," remarked the friend, reverting to the earlier topic, "would it not be better to make a little sacrifice to secure agreement?"

"You cannot sacrifice a principle to gain a doubtful advantage," replied Gandhiji.

"After hearing both sides of the controversy," finally remarked the friend, "an outsider feels at sea. The only course, it seems, is to suspend judgment under the circumstances."

"When two parties cannot agree and both are sincere in their convictions it is clear one of them must be wrong," replied Gandhiji. "Both cannot be right. The world must be the arbiter in that case. It dare not withhold judgment. It has often been found in the progress of non-violence that even people who want to be perfectly just come to wrong judgment."

Before taking leave the friend tendered Gandhiji congratulations in advance on his coming birthday.

"I attach no importance to it," replied Gandhiji. "Every day one is reborn. I, at any rate, am."

#### THE SEVENTYEIGHTH BIRTHDAY

Without being aware of it, it seems he was uttering a prophesy. A little incident in connection with the birthday celebration on the 22nd instant dramatized it for all. The anniversary programme in the Sweepers' Colony consisted mostly of spinning activities in one form or another — spinning being so close to his heart and that of the late Kasturba Gandhi, the date of whose demise by chance coincided with the 78th birthday anniversary of Gandhiji according to the Indian calendar this year.

The day's programme was to open with a flag hoisting and salutation ceremony which was to be performed by Dr. Rajendra Prasad. A local friend who was in charge of the day's programme had planned to have refreshments served to Harijan children and the volunteers after the ceremony. Gandhiji came to know of it just by chance early in the morning. It gave him a shock. As is his wont he turned the searchlight inward to look for the cause. It seemed to him that the inwardness of the Charkha had been forgotten by his comrades. "The music of the Charkha murmurs sweetly," he explained at the evening prayer gathering, "that we were all one, born to be equal sharers in the goods of the earth with no one higher or wealthier than the other. Yet the world is today full of inequalities of wealth and invidious distinctions of high and low. This is folly. In our arrogance we forget that we are all one day going to be levelled with the dust by death that knows no distinctions." The second lesson was that we are to earn our bread by the sweat of our brow — what a Russian savant has called "bread labour" and the third was that if we are one of and with the people, we should refuse to give food to those who are not in need or to take more than we need for health. If we all did that there would be no scarcity of food in this land and we would refuse to look across the seas for food stuffs. Yet his nearest comrades were about to make the mistake of serving refreshments after the *jhanda-vandan* by Dr. Rajendra Prasad to volunteers and Harijans who were not in need of such. Was it not criminal to fritter away foodstuffs that would serve to keep alive twenty men, to provide titbits to Harijans and volunteers who were certainly not suffering pangs of hunger? They were deceiving themselves if they thought that thereby they served the Harijans. The real hunger of the Harijans which needed to be satisfied was not for morsels of food but for decent living as self-respecting, equal citizens for a square deal as human beings, for freedom from fear, inculcation of clean and sanitary habits, thrift, industry, education. That required perseverance, self-sacrifice and patient intelligent labouring on our part. If they gave him money to feed Harijans he would refuse to accept it, he remarked. For, he did not want to make beggars and idlers of them. He pointedly referred to the fact that Dr. Rajendra Prasad was



their Food Member who wanted to save for the famishing every morsel of food. In the circumstances he very much questioned whether the oversight of his comrades was not due to his being lax with himself. Was he not allowing himself to partake rather too freely of the fruits that were placed before him? The lesson of yesterday, he concludingly remarked was a grave warning for all, if we are to learn truly the lesson of the Charkha.

#### HEART SEARCHING

Gandhiji is in the habit of giving menu instructions separately for each meal—the menu being strictly regulated according to his physical condition, conditions of rest and work in prospect, mental strain and such other factors. That evening he scribbled out instructions that the juice of sour limes instead of the usual orange juice was to be served with his milk. What right had he to use oranges when he could possibly do with sour limes and jaggery?

His diary that night contained the following significant entry: "The inwardness of the spinning wheel seems to have been forgotten. I was angry. I have to consider what my duty under the circumstances is. It seems to be so very hard to maintain detachment of mind in the midst of this raging fire. My heart searching continues." "I am filled with agitation," he remarked to a close comrade in the course of a talk. "Why could not I suffer this inner anguish with unruffled calmness of spirit? I am afraid I have not the detachment required for living up to 125 years. That also explains why Charkha and Khadi are making such slow progress. Success of Khadi is impossible without infinite patience. A burning passion coupled with absolute detachment is the key to all success."

New Delhi, 24-9-'46

PYARELAL

#### CRIMINAL WASTE

The following is the gist of a long letter from one who writes from personal knowledge. The writer gives five instances of the mismanagement and inefficiency of those concerned which result in a colossal loss of foodgrains.

1. Entire lack of suitable storage for foodgrains which are thus exposed to destruction by rats, insects, etc.

2. Exposure of foodgrains to rain in *mandis*, railway goods, platforms and in front of retail shops.

3. Exposure of grain in uncovered heaps in *mandis* and in front of retail shops, so that millions of birds etc. feed on it all the year round.

4. Use of old, worn-out bags as containers for foodgrains with resultant loss in transport by spilt grain and pilfering.

5. The prevalent practice of marketing grain in an uncleaned state whereby not only the producer and consumer lose but there is unnecessary loss in transport.

The loss caused through lack of suitable storage alone is reckoned at 3½ million tons and from the other four causes at 1½ million, making a total of 50,00,000 tons every year. Lack of proper storage, apart from causing loss of 5 to 10% in weight of the foodgrains because of rats and insects eating the best portion, is responsible also for deterioration in the quality due to exposure. Grain merchants

are apathetic, while authority is dilatory and inefficient, if not unconcerned.

The writer recommends that grain merchants must be compelled by law to provide themselves with suitable storage accommodation for foodgrains. No trading license should be granted or renewed unless proper storage is in existence. 50% of the loss could be stopped at once by plastering floors and walls, whitewashing, cleaning and disinfecting ceilings, making doors rat-proof and in some cases lining the walls with burnt brick of existing stores in *mandis*. Government should be the first to set an example in the matter of erecting permanent storage units and letting the people see the accruing benefit.

Between Lahore and Lyallpur the writer recently saw thousands of bags of wheat lying uncovered in open trucks or between rail tracks in heavy rain and not a single one of the Government officials on the spot responsible for the safety of the grain, took the trouble to raise a finger to prevent the perishing on that particular day only of 40,000 maunds of wheat. The same applies to other places all over the country. Waste of spilt grain could be stopped by making compulsory the use of double new bags as containers for grain.

It would be desirable to have the grain cleaned at the place of production. This would enable the producer to receive full value for his grain and use the small grain and screening for cattle and chicken as well as constitute a large saving in road and rail transport.

The Government is spending Rs. 150 crores for the purchase of food and allowing the equivalent of that sum in foodgrains to be destroyed in our own country.

In addition the writer refers to what has already been commented on more than once in these columns in regard to the wanton waste of food in our homes, the necessity for growing more food on every available scrap of land, of surveying what cultivable land can be tilled forthwith and water whether by wells or other means provided. He also recommends the stoppage forthwith of the use of cowdung as fuel in cities and proper use of all kinds of refuse for manure.

New Delhi, 19-9-'46

A. K.

[All the suggestions made by the writer can and should be adopted at once, if a major disaster is to be averted.

M. K. G.]

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TWO ANNAS

## THOU TOO BIHAR!

(By M. K. Gandhi)

It is a grim irony of fate that Bihar, which did so well during the golden days of Satyagraha, should now disgrace itself by criminal lawlessness. If the news published is authentic, chain-pulling and stopping trains without cause has become a common occurrence in Bihar with the result that the trains rarely run to time. Passengers consider it superfluous to buy tickets for train journeys. Under a national government, they argue, payment should be unnecessary. *Jai Hind* is regarded as a cry for loot and murder.

I do not know what truth there is in these charges which are as wild as they well can be. I know some parts of Bihar where persons do not distinguish between things lawful and unlawful. I have even heard the argument that I am largely responsible for the prevailing lawlessness, not only in Bihar, but throughout India. I need hardly say that it is a thoughtless charge. The lawlessness, if it can be so described, that I have advocated is like prescribing wholesome and necessary food for the body. Behind my 'lawlessness' there is discipline, construction and well-being of society. It is an effective protest against unjust and injurious law or act. It can never take the form of selfish evasion of a duty. It is a duty never to pull the alarm chain except in well-defined and rare emergencies and never to travel without due payment for the class in which we travel. Loot, arson and murder have never been part of my programme of so-called lawlessness. The answer to the argument that whilst my programme may be good enough for a select few, it can never be for the masses, lies in the question whether I am expected to starve the masses of good food for fear of their taking bad or poisonous food.

I have purposely entered upon what appears to be a personal note, not at all in self-defence, but in order to drive the point home that what is said to be going on in Bihar is administration of rank poison. That way lies not self-rule but licentiousness, not independence but helpless dependence, not life but suicide. Is Bihar of Brijkishoreprasad and Rajendraprasad that I have known and lived in come to the pass described above? Let the public workers of Bihar not permit the senseless destruction of the fair work of construction done with patient toil. Bihar, beware!

New Delhi, 29-9-'46

## SOME POSERS

The Secretaries of the National Congress took advantage of the recent A. I. C. C. session to arrange a meeting of the presidents and secretaries of the various Provincial Congress Committees with Gandhiji. The meeting was held in the building of the D. A. V. School, Delhi. Gandhiji spoke in Hindustani. Instead of delivering an address he invited questions. The following are the more important questions and their replies:

**Q.** Wrangling and corrupt practices have today become a common feature of our elections. What should be the attitude of Congressmen with regard to the elections?

**A.** What you say only shows that we seek leadership instead of being servants of the nation. There can be no room for wrangles, when service is the ideal. Congressmen should realize that only a few can become leaders, the goal for all Congressmen to set before themselves can only be to qualify as true servants of the nation. An institution that suffers from a plethora of leaders is surely in a bad way. For instance, if every Khudai Khidmatga aspired to become the chief, it would make the life of Badshah Khan hell besides disrupting the Khudai Khidmatgar organization itself.

If Congressmen lived up to the creed which they professed, viz. the attainment of Swaraj through truthful and non-violent means, paraphrased in the Congress constitution by the words "peaceful and legitimate", there should be no wrangling and no corruption. The existence of election wrangles and irregular practices is thus only a proof that the Congress policy of "attainment of Swaraj through 'peaceful and legitimate' means" is honoured more in the breach than in the observance. I have, therefore, suggested that it should be dropped in the amended constitution that is to come into being. Pending the setting up of the new constitution I have suggested a plan of work which does away with further elections for the time being and which requires all Congressmen to be active servants. If it is adopted it should cut across all our difficulties and troubles.

**Q.** Very few minorities' representatives have been returned at the elections. What remedy do you suggest?

**A.** Minorities being a minority, their representation in the Congress organization will naturally be proportionately less. If they feel dissatisfied, they can keep out of the Congress without ceasing



to be Congressmen as I have done. It is my claim that I am not less a Congressman but more by reason of my ceasing to be even a four-anna member of the Congress. At Faizpur Congress the question was raised by Mrs. Anasuyabai Kale at a gathering at which I was present. On interrogation it was found that the number of those who were four-anna members was very small. But in reply to the question as to how many in the gathering were not four-anna members, a forest of hands went up. These are real Congressmen seeking no reward but seeking ever to serve it. Bereft of them it would dwindle into a parlour show. The only worthy aim of a Congressman can be to belong wholly to the Congress, never to capture and dominate the Congress. If everybody took up the correct attitude there would be no minorities and majorities. To try to 'capture' the Congress would be to kill the Congress. And a Congressman who is worthy of his salt would die rather than be guilty of the murder.

**Q.** The policy of the Interim Government is to keep down the prices of food grains. Would it not adversely affect the production of food grains?

**A.** I want to reduce the prices of food grains still further. I claim to be a peasant myself and I know that only a fraction of the price paid by the consumer actually reaches the grower of food. It should be the business of the Interim Government to see that the tiller of the soil gets full value of his produce and that every pie paid by the consumer reaches the peasant's pocket or else it should get out. The Interim Government can never be guilty of wishing to provide cheap grains to the consumer at the expense of the grower of food. The trouble with the cultivator is not low prices but the middleman.

Even in Khadi production I set the target of 8 as. a day for the spinners. We actually reached the rate of 4 as. in spite of the objection that dear Khadi would spell the ruin of Khadi production. That illustrates my attitude towards the producer. I would eliminate the middleman altogether. It is he who today sponges upon the agriculturist. Otherwise, there is no reason why the peasant should starve. At the same time a peasant who profiteers or exploits the black market belies his calling. He is no less an exploiter than the Zamindar.

**Q.** The growth of parties in the Congress is having a very adverse effect on the Congress organization. What is the remedy?

**A.** There can be only one party in the Congress, i. e. that of Congressmen and no other. That is not to say that there is no room in the Congress for individuals or groups holding different opinions. I do not believe in dead uniformity. "All men are born equal and free" is not Nature's law in the literal sense. All men are not born equal in intellect, for instance, but the doctrine of equality will be vindicated if those who have superior intellect will use it not for self-advancement at the expense of others, but for the service of those who are less favoured in that respect than they. Today there are all sorts

in the Congress. That is why I have suggested the removal of the words "peaceful and legitimate" from the Congress objective. That need not mean abandonment of truth and non-violence by Congressmen. The object is only to purge out hypocrisy. It jars. Let those who believe in the doctrine of the sword openly avow it. To take the name of non-violence when there is sword in your heart, is not only hypocritical and dishonest but cowardly. Our non-violence vis-a-vis the British Government has been the non-violence of the weak. Otherwise, why should there be all these wrangles among ourselves? We try to justify the disorganization and chaos in our midst by pointing to the example of "squatters" in England, forgetting that blind imitation would not help us. There is nothing more demoralizing than fake non-violence of the weak and impotent. If we had the requisite non-violence in us, our public life would be characterized by utmost toleration. There will then be room for as many parties as there are opinions. Differences of opinion would be an indication of healthy independence of mind which is the law of life, not party intrigues and party strife. The latter are incompatible with independence.

**Q.** How should the Hindu-Muslim question be tackled?

**A.** I must own defeat on that point. I know that mine is today a voice in the wilderness and yet I claim that mine is the only practicable solution. I can never subscribe to the view that because certain members of a particular community have indulged in inhuman acts, therefore the whole community may be condemned outright and put beyond the pale. The Muslim League may call Hindus names and declare India to be *Dar-ul-Harb*, where the law of *jihad* operates and all Muslims who co-operate with the Congress as Quislings fit only to be exterminated. But we must not cease to aspire, in spite of this wild talk, to befriend all Mussalmans and hold them fast as prisoners of our love. It would be a present possibility if Hindus in their lakhs offered themselves to be cut to pieces without retaliation or anger in their hearts. Non-violence is today rightly laughed out of court as Utopian. Nevertheless, I maintain that it is the only way to keep Hinduism alive and India undivided. The history of the Congress non-violence for the last twentyfive years has taught us nothing, if it has not taught us that.

**Q.** How can we counteract the activities of the Communists, who are openly opposing the Congress?

**A.** The principle which I have laid down vis-a-vis the Hindu-Muslim question also holds good in respect of the Communists. By "Muslim" I mean the Muslim League. For, not all the Muslims are Muslim Leaguers. The Muslim Leaguers have today raised the slogan that ten crores of Indian Muslims are in danger of being submerged and swept out of existence, unless they constitute themselves into a separate State. I call that slogan scare-mongering pure and simple. It is nonsense to say that any people can permanently crush or swamp out of



existence one fourth of its population, which the Mussalmans are in India. But I would have no hesitation in conceding the demand of Pakistan if I could be convinced of its righteousness or that it is good for Islam. But I am firmly convinced that the Pakistan demand as put forth by the Muslim League is un-Islamic and I have not hesitated to call it sinful. Islam stands for the unity and brotherhood of mankind, not for disrupting the oneness of the human family. Therefore, those who want to divide India into possibly warring groups are enemies alike of India and Islam. They may cut me to pieces but they cannot make me subscribe to something which I consider to be wrong.

The question of the Communists stands on a slightly different footing. They seem to have made trouble-shooting their profession. I have friends among them. Some of them are like sons to me. But it seems they do not make any distinction between fair and foul, truth and falsehood. They deny the charge. But their reported acts seem to sustain it. Moreover, they seem to take their instructions from Russia, whom they regard as their spiritual home rather than India. I cannot countenance this dependence on an outside power. I have even said that we should not depend even on Russian wheat in our present food crisis. We must have the ability and courage to subsist on what our soil can give us rather than depend on foreign charity. Otherwise, we shall not deserve to exist as an independent country. The same applies to foreign ideologies. I would accept them only to the extent that I can assimilate them and adapt them to the Indian scene. But I must refuse to go under them.

My formula for the Communists, therefore, is that I would prefer to die at their hands, but I will not retaliate.

New Delhi, 30-9-'46

PYARELAL

#### Example to Follow

Shri Parikshitlal Majumdar, Secretary, Gujarat Branch of Harijan Sevak Sangh has opened since June last a hostel for college boys in the building of the Gujarat Vidyapith with 16 boys, out of whom 12 are Harijans — Vankars, Chamars, Garadas and Nadias, and 4 Savarna Hindus — Patidars, Patanwadias and Baniyas. They live and dine together on full equal terms having a common mess and common life. They study in different colleges in Ahmedabad — Arts, Science and Law. The Harijan boys are paid a stipend by the Government at Rs. 25 p. m. and the non-Harijan boys pay for their own boarding expenses. The Gujarat Sangh will have to pay for the house rent and sanitation charge and for the initial expenses and has provided Rs. 1,000 per annum for the same. This is an excellent example of the removal of untouchability by inter-dining and by having a common life. It is to be hoped that other provinces will follow suit and open many such hostels.

Delhi, 15-8-'46

A. V. THAKKAR

#### 'GANDHI VICHAR DOHAN'

This book has become almost a standard work for those organizations and individuals who believe in the constructive programme and are desirous of understanding the essence of Gandhiji's thought. The original in Gujarati has been through four editions and translations of it in Hindustani and other Indian languages have also been printed more than once. One publishing house has asked my permission to do an English translation.

It is necessary to clarify some points in this regard. I have been unable since 1939-40 to look through again and amend the book. Gandhiji's thought has progressed much during the last six or seven years. It will, therefore, be necessary, in the light of this progress, to rewrite certain portions of the book. It may even be necessary to add some chapters.

In my opinion, there would even be a risk of misinterpreting Gandhiji's thought, if the *Vichar Dohan* were to be reprinted as it is. It will, therefore, be best to have neither a reprint nor a translation. I feel I ought to say something about an English translation of the book. At my request Rajkumari Amrit Kaur did translate the whole book and Gandhiji even read the beginning portions of it. Rajkumari is known to be able to write English well. Nevertheless Gandhiji was of opinion that a literal translation of the book in English would not be fitting and he suggested that it would be better if a free English rendering embodying all the essence of the book could be presented to the public. Such a rendering can only be done by Rajkumari or others like her who can express themselves in the English language. Those who wish to publish the book in English will realize that a mere translation will not satisfy Gandhiji.

The question as to who should re-edit the book now remains to be considered. I am afraid I may not be able to do the work. I requested my co-worker, Shri Narhari Parikh to do so. He has agreed but he also is full of work and his health is not good. If some one well versed in Gandhian thought would help him, only then would the task be finished well in time. It should be remembered that up till now the book has been perused by Gandhiji before publication. It is hoped that this may be done in future also. Therefore, it is not possible to say when the next edition can be brought out. It is enough for the time being to realize that no reprints or translations are possible before revision.

One thing more. It is absolutely necessary to get the permission of the Navajivan Karyalaya for publishing this book in any language.

Sevagram, 28-9-'46

K. G. MASHRUWALA

(From the original in Hindustani)

#### THE GOSPEL OF SELFLESS ACTION OR THE GITA ACCORDING TO GANDHI

By Mahadev Desai

With Gandhiji's Foreword

Price Rs Four, Postage Nine Annas



# HARIJAN

October 6

1946

## HAND-SPINNING v. MILL-SPINNING

(By M. K. Gandhi)

Sometime before the Provincial Ministries throughout India were formed, I had heard that quotas of spindles were offered to the Provinces on pain—if a particular province did not take its quota—of the refused quota being transferred to the other Provinces. Now that the Provincial administrations are in full swing, the question has arisen as to whether these Governments can admit new mills and, at the same time, promote hand-spinning on a national scale. My answer is emphatically in the negative, if the encouragement of hand-spinning is meant to be sincere. Behind the India-wide quota is the fundamental belief that mills alone can and must supply India's needs for cloth and that hand-spun may be permitted to exist for the fastidious few. That was not how hand-spinning was conceived in Congress resolutions and that certainly is not the way that the A.I.S.A. has progressed. If the national Governments have come to the conclusion that hand-spinning has and should have no future, they should not waste a single rupee along the lines followed by the A. I. S. A. If, on the other hand, they share the belief of the A.I.S.A., they should forego their quota even if the foregoing should involve some initial loss. The loss will be demonstrably for the future gain of the masses.

Another question has arisen as to why the Working Committee should not, at any rate, declare a uniform policy to be followed by all the Congress Provinces. There is nothing to prevent the Committee from doing so. But it is open to them to say that the Congress policy has been enunciated times without number. Each Province has to measure its own belief in the Congress scales. The Working Committee might not go into details.

Then why may not the Central Government lay down a policy? The answer is obvious. The Central Government represents all India and all parties. It may not, therefore, lay down any exclusively Congress policy, much less a policy in a matter wholly within the jurisdiction of the Provinces. It would be an unwarranted interference with the rights of Provinces.

Looked at from all points of view, in the matter of Khadi as of prohibition and other subjects allotted to the Provinces, the Provinces must evolve along their own lines. They will miserably fail, if they look to the Working Committee to guide them. The Central Government simply has not the right, even if it had the unholy wish.

New Delhi, 30-9-'46

## THE RIGHTS OF HARIJANS

(By M. K. Gandhi)

I have received letters from Harijan friends and some have been to see me too. Now that power has come into the nation's hands, they feel that there should be more than one Harijan minister. Their population ratio demands at least three. Moreover, they claim representation in every department on this basis. It would be wrong, they say, to hold that there are not enough able persons among them. They maintain that the rule of capability is by no means applied to non-Harijans. They can cite instances of nepotism.

I am not ready to admit the correctness of all they say. My mind works quite differently. Man is master as far as performance of his duty is concerned and I hold that his rights really spring from duties properly performed. Such rights alone are befitting as also lasting. If every non-Harijan who had ability was able to exercise his rights, society would be disrupted. Performance of duty was open to every one. The field of service is immense. Few can become masters and he fails who seeks to become master. I know, however, that people do not act as I have suggested. Hence there is a general scramble for power. And many are turned away disappointed. Holding the views I do, I have tried to act on them for the last fifty years. I am uninterested in the unbecoming struggle for power. My sole advice to Harijans is that they should think only in terms of their duties and rights will follow as surely as day follows night.

New Delhi, 27-9-'46

(From the original in Gujarati)

## SCAVENGERS' LOT

(By M. K. Gandhi)

Q. You have doubtless written on this subject before but I would like you to say a word again in regard to the duty of municipal and other authority as well as private employers in the matter of providing *Bhangis* with the proper means of scavenging. Unless water-tight iron pails are provided, for example, the drippings during the rainy season, through baskets or gunny bags, fall on the unfortunate workers. All scavenging should really be able to be done without soiling the hands or any part of the body. If this were so, the work would assume a dignity which it does not carry at the moment. Along with the supply of proper means of scavenging, sweeping etc. the *Bhangi* needs instruction. It is a matter which local and provincial authority should take up in the cause of cleanliness.

A. I would advocate bye-laws requiring authorized receptacles, brooms, etc. which would avoid physical handling of dirt and would also prescribe simple working costume. Inspectors or overseers will be trained for this humane and sanitary work instead of being expected to exact work anyhow. The result of the present system is maximum of insanitation and minimum of work plus bribery, corruption and bad manners.

New Delhi, 30-9-'46



## HOW ?

(By M. K. Gandhi)

A correspondent writes :

"You are aware of the backward States of the Simla Hills. The Raja Saheb of Rampur Bushahr is a man of orthodox views. Recently a young man of a high caste Hindu family married a *Koli* girl. The Lambardar of the village (Mandhol) brought the matter to the notice of the ruler. The Raja Saheb has sentenced both husband and wife to six months' imprisonment and a fine of Rs. 100 each. Such action is intolerable and retards progress. Some others who were contemplating inter-caste marriages have been deterred.

"Must we wait till autocracy is wiped out?"

The rule of one man over many is intolerable. It must end. "How" is the question. The way is for the many to begin to live. To cut off the head of one ruler is easy enough. Remember the legend of Ravana. He had ten heads. As soon as one was cut off, another popped up in its place. The moral is that no cutting off of heads becomes necessary in the presence of a living demos. The one will respond and submit. In the given instance the couple will cheerfully undergo the sentence. Only many should follow their example, if the tie is not lustful bondage but a bond of love born out of the zeal for reform. If the reformers do not wish to suffer imprisonment, they should migrate to a free place where they can live without let or hindrance.

New Delhi, 30-9-'46

## WEEKLY LETTER

## AN AMERICAN INTERLUDE

Of a more intimate and personal nature than the conversation with an English journalist which I recorded last week were the questions put to Gandhiji by an American journalist who saw Gandhiji at about the same time. The talk covered a wide range of subjects from Gandhiji's personal philosophy and his views on predestination to the future of Congress Ministers in the Interim Government and the prevention of third world war.

"Are you full of the joy of life? Why do you want to live for 125 years?" was the first question asked by this friend. He was surprised when Gandhiji told him that his desire to live up to 125 years was not for "enjoyment" but service. "Both are not the same," he explained and proceeded to expound to the puzzled interviewer the doctrine of "enjoyment through renunciation" as set forth in the *Ishopanishad*.

"When did your real enjoyment of life begin," asked the friend next.

"When I was born."

"No. I mean when did that pattern of life begin, when service became a joy for ever."

"When I understood the inner meaning of life."

"Is that India's speciality?"

"The only speciality of India is her poverty as America's is her glamour of riches," replied Gandhiji.

"May not there be occasions when one may have to compromise ideals with expediency?" next asked the friend.

"No, never. I do not believe that end justifies the means."

"Is it possible that your activities may some day be removed from the political field?"

"Perhaps you do not know," replied Gandhiji, "that I felt compelled to come into the political field because I found that I could not do even social work without touching politics. I feel that political work must be looked upon in terms of social and moral progress. In democracy no part of life is untouched by politics. Under the British you cannot escape politics in the good sense. It embraces the whole life. All who breathe must pay a tax. That is British rule in India. Take the salt tax for instance. It concerns everybody. The collector of revenue and the policeman are the only symbols by which millions in India's villages know British rule. One cannot sit still while the people are being ravaged."

"Then your job will never be finished," remarked the friend.

"It will be finished only with my death. I must be watchful, whether it is the foreign government that is in power or indigenous, if I am a social reformer in the true sense of the term. This is applicable to all."

"When people attain power they grow away from the people. What about here?"

"Let us hope and pray that this will never happen here. I have likened our people's office-acceptance to wearing a crown of thorns and pretty sharp thorns at that."

## AN ASSORTMENT

The friend then passed on to a variety of subjects.

What did Gandhiji think of the students' strikes?

"It seems to be a universal malady, an epidemic," replied Gandhiji.

Did Gandhiji ever feel depressed?

That word was not to be found in Gandhiji's dictionary. "I believe in an over-ruling power as I believe I am talking to you just now. This may be unreal, but that is real. It dominates me and enables me to remain calm even in the midst of storm."

Gandhiji's questioner next asked his opinion about predestination.

"It is a much-abused word," replied Gandhiji. "It is true that we are not quite as free as we imagine. Our past holds us. But like all other doctrines this may well be ridden to death."

This provoked the question as to how one could overcome the unpleasant effects of one's predestination since predestination was a reality. "By taking the pleasant with the unpleasant in perfect detachment and thereby sterilizing the unpleasant of its sting, even as you have tackled the problem of the prickly pear by removing its thorn through judicious selection and cultivation and converting it into edible fodder for cattle," replied Gandhiji.

"How to prevent the next war?" was the friend's last question.

"By doing the right thing," replied Gandhiji, "irrespective of what the world will do. Each individual must act according to his ability without



waiting for others if he wants to move them to act. There comes a time when an individual becomes irresistible and his action becomes all-pervasive in its effect. This comes when he reduces himself to zero."

"If the third war comes," added Gandhiji, "it will be the end of the world. The world cannot stand a third war. For me the second war has not stopped, it still goes on."

#### THE DARKENING SHADOW

Reports of killings and stabbings everywhere continued to darken the horizon during the week. "We are passing through trying times," observed Gandhiji in the course of one of his prayer addresses. "There is news of stabbings in Calcutta, Dacca, Allahabad, Bombay and so on. What is more, all this is done in the name of religion. How stabbing and murder of the innocents, whether aggressive or retaliatory, can help the cause of religion, I fail to understand. The spirit of religion requires us to make Him witness of our littlest of little acts. In Mira's song that has just been sung at the prayer, the devotee prays to God to come to his aid and deliver him from distress. For He alone can do so, none else. Let us pray to God then to deliver us from our distress. If our prayer is sincere, we will rely on Him entirely and put away the sword. And if even one party did so, violence would cease."

An esteemed Bengali friend, continued Gandhiji, had put him some questions as to how they should act at such times as Calcutta had recently been through. His reply was that the Hindus and Muslims should both cease to rely on the use of the knife and the stick for their protection and make suffering without retaliation their shield and they will be safe. Gandhiji said that he was daily receiving letters from friends to say that some relative or other had died. He wrote to all that they should not mourn nor should they expect him to mourn with them. "If we have a living faith in God, we will realize that it is the mortal body that perishes, never the immortal spirit within. Man is born to die. Death is the natural corollary to birth." So whether God sent them natural death or whether they were killed by the assassin's knife, they must go smiling to their end. There would not then be knives or sticks in evidence everywhere as they were today. Gandhiji, therefore, asked all to pray to God to vouchsafe to them the living faith that enables one to put oneself entirely under His protection without reliance on any outside help and to remember that He never fails His devotees.

#### HINDUSTAN BOY SCOUTS' ASSOCIATION

He reiterated his faith before the members of the Hindustan Scouts' Association, who with Pandit Hridayanath Kunzru their National Commissioner and Pandit Shri Ram Bajpai their National Organizing Commissioner, had a brief meeting with him after the evening prayer on the 29th of September. His last meeting with them was in 1940, when they held a rally at Sevagram. They told him that their present strength was nearly three lakhs. "Why are

there stabbings and rioting in the country then?" Gandhiji asked, twitting them. It was up to them, he told them, to interpose a living wall of flesh between the infuriated groups and individuals and stop the bloodshed by shedding their own, if necessary.

#### WILL THEY DO IT?

Khadi, prohibition and the abolition of untouchability have for many years been part and parcel of the Congress programme. To carry them into effect requires not intelligence so much as faith and determination and utmost purity of purpose. It gave Gandhiji particular satisfaction to announce in the course of one of his evening prayer addresses that Shri T. Prakasam, the Premier of Madras, and his Ministry had undertaken to carry out big schemes in regard to all the three in the Madras Presidency. Before giving his final approval to the scheme about Khadi, Gandhiji had asked for an assurance that no more mills would be created. It appears that before the National Government had been set up at the Centre, the old Executive Council had allocated quotas of spindles to the various provinces. If a province failed to utilize its quota, they were informed, it would be apportioned to other provinces that might apply for it. In fact there was quite a scramble for obtaining licences. But Gandhiji warned the Congress Ministries that their Khadi schemes would be a sham and an eyewash if at the same time they went on planting fresh textile mills in their respective provinces. If they invested crores of rupees in setting up new textile mills the latter would naturally be the first charge on their attention and the public would refuse to take their schemes about Khadi seriously.

Congress leaders have to be true to their word and pure of heart. They may not be tempted by crores. They must be willing to go smiling to the gallows, if need be, for the sake of principles. Textile mills had been started everywhere even before the last war. The Provinces were being asked to start new ones. The machinery for them would be costly but the money that was supposed to follow in their wake was the lure. Gandhiji explained how he thought textile mills were as poison for village India and therefore to be avoided. People might wonder how he lived as a guest of a millowner—but these millowners had, in spite of his views, taken him in as one of their family, and non-violence demanded tolerance and love for all even if they differed from one. Shri Prakasam had promised Gandhiji that he would not be tempted with new textile mills for Madras and he would even hope to eliminate the existing ones as soon as the Khadi spirit prevailed.

At the same prayer gathering Gandhiji spoke about the food situation owing to the unexpected failure of arrangements for the import of food grains from abroad. Dr. Rajendra Prasad had the heart of gold. He would share his last crust of bread with the poor. The moment he heard a cry of distress from the South he got rice from wherever he could in India and promised them supplies. Gandhiji asked



Shri Prakasam how his province could ever starve. He knew well the people of South India. His first introduction to the latter was in South Africa through a poor indentured labourer Balasundaram whose case he had sponsored. During the historic march into the Transvaal they only got a pound and a quarter of bread and an ounce of sugar and during the resistance march he heard them singing and cooking edible shrubs picked up from the grass around them. There was a land which produced the banana, the cocoanut, the yam, the tamarind and chillies. What more did they want? They, with their intelligence and resourcefulness, could easily learn to do without rice, if they were asked to do so. Gandhiji had asked Shri Prakasam not to worry Shri Rajen Babu and he had promised he would not. It behoved everyone today, wherever they were, to be self-reliant and resourceful, brave and willing with intelligence and determination to face the food crisis. If all joined forces it would be well with India.

#### A TEST OF FAITH

Wherever Gandhiji goes, he has the knack of surrounding himself by an atmosphere of spinning and Khadi. In response to eager and persistent demand, Kanu Gandhi has opened another spinning class for one week as from the 30th September. This time, thanks to the experience of the previous venture, the teachers are better prepared and all implements for teaching too are available. The entrance fee as before is Re. 1 with an additional rupee as safe deposit to insure continuity and steadiness of attendance.

It was intended not to admit more than 30 persons at a time to the classes. But 38 came on the very first morning and 34 in the afternoon. There were 21 men and 17 women in the morning and 14 and 20 respectively in the afternoon. "This shows," remarked Gandhiji in the course of his Monday written message, "that there is enough faith and enthusiasm in a certain part of the public. Is the fault then of the teachers or that of the times that spinning has not become universal? To put the blame on the times in which we live is a mark of defeatism. Faith and diligence should rise above circumstances. If all work were to be carried out on this basis and in this spirit, God would surely reward our labours."

#### SOME HIGHLIGHTS

It was a privilege during the week to be visited by Shri Nandlal Bose and Shri Gurudayal Mullick from Shantiniketan. The latter treated the prayer gathering to soulful singing of one of his favourite Sindhi songs. A free rendering of it is given below:

"Thy house is very beautiful. Thou art omnipresent.

"If I look at the starlit sky Thou art there.

"Thou art the moon in the firmament.

"The market place is full of human beings.

"Thou art the life within them.

"Thou art in the idols of the temples. Man perceives Thee even in stones.

"Thou art in the surging waves of the ocean.

"Thou art the pilot of the ship's pilot.

"Seeing Thee everywhere man worships Thee.

"And in worshipping Thee all wants are fulfilled."

There was also, during the week, a meeting with the presidents and secretaries of the various Provincial Congress Committees when Gandhiji answered some important questions that were put to him. The more important of these questions with Gandhiji's answers will be found given elsewhere in this issue.

I must not here omit to take note of the spate of visitors to foreign countries at the various conferences that has occurred of late. Some of them have even been asking for Gandhiji's blessings. I cannot do better than reproduce the reply sent by Gandhiji to one of them:

"I dislike this craze for the West. What this army of men and women will bring I shall watch. Only do not seek my blessings for what I dislike. My opinion you know."

New Delhi, 1-10-'46

PYARELAL

#### A GOOD WAY

The following is the gist of a correspondent's letter from Dalhousie:

"I want to bring to your notice a recent happening in a village in Chamba State because I do not think any magistrate has ever acted in this way before. A certain number of *goondas* got drunk one day. They looted shops, beat some people and threatened to burn the shops when remonstrated with. The shopkeepers got frightened and closed their shops and asked for protection from State authority. A special magistrate was sent to the village to round up the culprits. He instructed the police to take every precaution to see that only the actual miscreants were caught and no innocent persons involved. The shopkeepers refused to open their shops until the *goondas* were arrested thus causing great inconvenience to the village folk and this they did in spite of assurances from the magistrate that their property would be properly protected. All persuasion having failed the magistrate, instead of resorting to the law and forcibly having the shops opened, undertook to fast for the sake of the villagers. This action had a magical effect. All the shops opened on the next day, the culprits were rounded up and calm prevailed."

New Delhi, 27-9-'46

A. K.

[If this story is true, it just shows what a mighty weapon fasting can be in the armoury of the official class. — M. K. G.]

(From the original in *Hindustani*)

#### FOR AGENTS

Agents are requested to take note of the following:

1. Please remember that agents have to deposit with us an amount covering the price of their demand for two months. A month's deposit will be treated as fixed and the other as current. Every week the cost of the copies sent to them would be deducted from the current deposit.

2. The amounts for the deposits are usually sent by the agents by cheques. Please note that we do not accept cheques. The amount should be remitted either by M. O., Postal Order or by a bank draft.

MANAGER



## Notes

## Co-operatives in Kerala

Sjt. Kelappan came to see me two days ago and informed me that co-operative movement was going strong and had become very popular in Kerala. If the societies are sound, it was heartening news that Sjt. Kelappan gave me. I, however, expressed my serious doubts. The secret of successful co-operative effort is that the members must be honest and know the great merit of co-operation and it must have a definite progressive goal. Thus holding a certain sum of money in co-operation for the sake of making more money by charging exorbitant rates of interest is a bad goal. But co-operative farming or dairying is undoubtedly a good goal promoting national interests. Such instances can be multiplied. I wonder what these numerous Kerala societies are. Have they honest inspectors who know their work? It may be mentioned that such movements have often proved disastrous when management has been dishonest and the goal questionable.

New Delhi, 29-9-'46

## Guruvayur

Who does not know this historic struggle? Sjt. Kelappan had threatened to fast for the opening of this temple to Harijans. He suspended it on my strong advice and assurance that I would fight for it. Then followed a successfully carried out referendum which resulted in an overwhelming vote of caste Hindus in favour of the opening. But the Zamorin protested helplessness. Later, I went to Guruvayur and a great public meeting signified its decided opinion in favour. I had the pleasure too of meeting the Zamorin who courteously reiterated his helplessness. Other Kerala temples have been opened. Travancore has set a brilliant example by its great State proclamation. The Meenakshi and Palni temples are open. Why should Guruvayur yet remain closed? Surely no Satyagraha should now be necessary? It is up to the Provincial National Government to see that the opinion of the great bulk of the temple-going public is not defeated by legal technicalities. It is a thousand pities that even at this time of the day there are temples in India which shut out Hindus, mis-called Untouchables.

New Delhi, 29-9-'46 .

## A Deed of Mercy

A Pathan, an ex-I. N. A. man, now employed by a firm, tried to defend a lad of 10 years. His entreaty was in vain. The assailants stabbed both the boy and the Pathan. The boy died. The Pathan lives. The deceased boy's father offered Rs. 4,000 as a reward for his bravery. He refused saying he tried to do his duty and would not take the reward offered. Would that such instances were multiplied!

New Delhi, 28-9-'46

M. K. G.

## RIDING TWO HORSES

(By M. K. Gandhi)

There are a fair number of members of the *Tanti* caste in Utkal. Legally they are looked upon as Harijans. They are well known as *Pan-Tantis*. Many of them have gone to Kolhan in Singbhum District for earning a livelihood. They do not look upon themselves as Harijans with the result that they are not included among the Harijans of Bihar. They do not get themselves enlisted in Government records as Harijans. It is right that they do not. Why should there be any desire to be classed as Harijans? What benefit can accrue therefrom except that they would get the right of voting as also some help from the Government and the Harijan Sevak Sangh in the matter of education etc.? Is it proper to be classed Untouchables for selfish ends? The very idea should sicken one. One may not stoop so low even for the sake of a livelihood.

A *Tanti* need not be a *Pan-Tanti*. Today we have popular governments whose duty it is to help all backward classes in the matter of education etc. as they do in the case of Harijans.

It was the British Government that created a separate class called Scheduled Castes. In the eyes of popular governments there can be no distinction between rich and poor, literate or illiterate, high or low. All are one and there can be no distinctions on the score of religion either. All are Indians.

The *Tantis* should not try to count themselves as Harijans, they should not hanker after Government service. Whatever is possible for the crores must also be possible for the *Tantis* and all others. My advice to the *Tantis* of Kolhan is that they should reform and raise themselves by means of honest work and the more fortunate should help them to do so.

New Delhi, 28-9-'46 .

(From the original in *Hindustani*)

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# HARIJAN

16 Pages

Editor: PYARELAL

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TWO ANNAS

## WEEKLY LETTER

### TESTING TIME

A friend, who has just returned from England after several months' stay there, was describing to Gandhiji the other day the splendid spirit which the British people are showing in tiding over the food crisis. Everybody is tightening his belt, no one complains. The rich are proud to share equally with the poor the hardships which are the price of victory. It is a testing time for all and everybody is trying to rise equal to the occasion.

It is no less a testing time for us, Gandhiji has been reminding his prayer gatherings during the week. After half a century of ceaseless struggle we seem to be at the threshold of the Promised Land. The excitement of struggle keeps one going while it is on. But the real test comes when the din and dust of battle have subsided and we are brought face to face with the great tasks that lie ahead. What is the equipment that we shall need to realize the contents of Swaraj for which we have striven so arduously and long? Uttermost humility and shedding of self is what we require at this juncture, says Gandhiji.

### THE SPINNING WHEEL

"In the song that has just been sung," he remarked, "the poet says that he who loses 'self' finds God." If we understand its significance, we really do not need anything more. This is what the spinning wheel teaches us. You might ask how it is possible to find God through the spinning wheel. As I have told you before, the spinning wheel enables us to identify ourselves with the crores. The millionaires imagine that money can bring them anything in the world. But it is not so. At any moment death might come and snuff them out. Some are being stabbed daily but losing one's life that way is not the same thing as shedding 'self'. One has to learn to efface self or the ego voluntarily and as a sacrifice in order to find God. The spinning wheel rules out exclusiveness. It stands for all, including the poorest. It, therefore, requires us to be humble and to cast away pride completely.

It holds the key to Swaraj. But can one spin for Swaraj and yet not be filled with subtle pride? If pride is there, spinning won't bring one the Swaraj of the spirit or the realization of God.

"When self is shed the change will be reflected in our outward behaviour. It will show in the littlest of our little acts. The whole outlook on

life will be changed. Everything we do will be undertaken not for little self but for all."

"The hymn goes on to say," concluded Gandhiji, "that to find God one need not go out anywhere. He resides in our hearts. But if we instal self or ego there we dethrone 'poor' God. I have here used the epithet 'poor' advisedly. For, although He is the King of Kings, Most High, Almighty, yet He is at the beck and call of anyone who has reduced himself to zero and turns to Him in uttermost humility of spirit. Let us then become poor in spirit and find Him within ourselves."

### "COME THOU IN A SHOWER OF MERCY"

When will this orgy of madness end? Killings in Calcutta, stabbings in Dacca, Agra, Ahmedabad and Bombay. To it must now be added the technique of poisoning. Must India go in for this crowning infamy? Or, is India's destiny to illustrate to the world the truth of the old Indian saying that greatest corruption leads to greatest pessimism and crime? Gandhiji poured out his soul's anguish over these dark happenings in the course of his address at the evening prayer gathering on the 2nd October, his birthday according to the English Calendar. Mrs. Nandita Kripalani, the grand-niece of the Poet, had just sung in her melodious voice the Poet's song:

When the heart is hard and parched up, come upon me with a shower of mercy.

When grace is lost from life, come with a burst of song.

When tumultuous work raises its din on all sides shutting me out, come to me, my lord of silence with thy peace and rest.

When my beggarly heart sits crouched, shut up in a corner, break open the door, my king and come with thy regalities.

When desire blinds the mind with delusion and dust, O thou holy one, thou wakeful, come with thy light and thy thunder.

"It is almost as if God has sent a special message to me and to us in this hymn today," he commented. "The springs of life in India appear to be dry today. We would be foolish to imagine that all is well because we have a Congress ministry at the Centre." It was, he proceeded, as if God has come to us with His awful light and His thunder to awaken us at a time when our minds are blinded with delusion and dust.



## GOA

He, however, did not wish to harp on the mutual stabbings, bad as they were. To illustrate how dry the fountain of life had gone, he took the audience's mind to the little island of Goa, which was part and parcel of India. News had come that Dr. Ram Manohar Lohia had been arrested on arrival there and put in solitary confinement. Shri Kakodkar had a little while ago been tried for pleading for civil liberty and sentenced to 9 years' imprisonment with the prospect of being sent across the seas. Dr. Lohia was a scholar and while he might not be of the same way of thinking as Gandhiji, that did not mean that he, the speaker, had nothing to do with his case. His arrest and the happenings in Goa must affect his hearers as they did him. He had had some correspondence with authority but to no avail. Their Chief Minister, Pandit Jawaharlalji, was trying in his own way. It was humiliating for any Indian to be told he could not go to Goa as he was a foreigner. Goa was just as much a part of India as Kashmir or any other State and it was intolerable that a man like Dr. Ram Manohar Lohia should be treated as a foreigner having no right to enter Goa or any other part of India not directly under British rule.

## INNER MEANING OF DUSSEHRA

In the face of such indignities and with the spiritual bankruptcy staring them in the face, what right had they to celebrate Dussehra with feasting and processions and other marks of jubilation, he asked his audience the next day. Could there be rejoicing in a country where daily stabbings were taking place and brother hated brother? Dussehra was the celebration of Rama's victory over Ravana but his victory was not achieved by violence. When Vibhishana asked Shri Ramachandra how unarmed, unshod, without any armour, he was going to defeat the heavily armed and mighty Ravana with his chariots, Rama's reply was that it was faith and purity that were going to win the battle. His bow was his self-control. His victory was the victory of good over evil. Gandhiji advised them to spend Dussehra quietly at home in prayer if they had understood the real meaning of religion and Dussehra.

He was receiving, Gandhiji went on to say, letters of abuse saying that his doctrine of non-violence was emasculating the Hindus, that he was no Mahatma, that he was injuring them and leading them astray. The speaker said, he never laid claim to being a Mahatma. He was an ordinary mortal as any one of them. He hoped he had never injured anyone. What he told them he told them for their own and the universal good. He had said that if they could not act non-violently they should defend themselves violently rather than be cowards. But the ability to die smiling at the hands of a brother without retaliation, physical or mental, was the highest bravery. In no case was it right to spoil for a fight. That was no self-defence. It was bad for them, bad for the country and utter disloyalty

to their leaders. It was hindering them in their march towards Swaraj. Gandhiji reiterated that today no one had a right to feast and eat one morsel more than necessary. If they behaved in a disciplined manner India would live. If they did not, then India would die and they would be unable to hold their heads high.

## OUR NEIGHBOURS THE AFGHANS

It was a seer who in an inspired moment envisaged the sending out of armies not of occupation but of non-violence for service to other countries, to take to them the fruits of culture and the arts of peace. Like many other countries Afghanistan is in the grip of economic shortages, particularly of cloth. An S.O.S. was received the other day through the Afghan Agent-General by Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru enquiring whether India could not do a friendly turn to Afghanistan by providing them with cloth. Jawaharlalji referred the Afghan request to Gandhiji. Luckily Gandhiji had received an intimation only a few days ago from the Punjab that they had for disposal a stock of Rs. 2½ lakhs worth of Khadi. Gandhiji mentioned the fact to the Afghan Consul who saw him on Sunday the 6th of October. Later the Afghan friends examined some samples of printed and dyed Khadi and said they would be immensely pleased to have what could be spared. They also enthusiastically welcomed Pandit Jawaharlalji's suggestion that India might send a batch of organizers and technical experts to teach them to organize hand-spinning and the manufacture of Khadi in Afghanistan itself. They visited Kanu Gandhi's spinning class and were agreeably surprised to learn that little boys and girls could pick up the art within a week's time. Afghanistan had two cotton mills with an output of nearly 6 million yards. A sort of Khadi was produced there but it was very coarse. Weaving was still a live art but cotton spinning has fallen into desuetude. American long staple cotton was grown in Afghanistan in quantities above and beyond their present-day textile requirements and part of it was exported to India. Wool spinning was fairly universal. And in the long winter months everybody had enough enforced leisure which, if properly utilized, could enable Afghanistan to become self-sufficient in the matter of clothing.

Panditji is the first Minister in the land, remarked Gandhiji in his prayer address. He cannot turn a deaf ear to anyone's need. Today they had to confess with shame that they had gone mad and were fighting with each other. People from all over the world were wiring to congratulate India on having come thus far towards independence through non-violence. How then could they be enemies of anyone? Their Badshah Khan was a Pathan. His brother Pathans across the border had come to ask for cloth. It was India's duty to help them. This river of love could and should flow from India. Time was when India not only clothed herself but her muslins were famed throughout the world for their exquisite texture. Today they were naked in their own country and all through their own laziness. Money



could buy neither grain nor cloth in a country which should feed and clothe herself with ease. Gandhiji claimed that if they put their shoulders to the task and took to spinning they could fulfil not only their own but the needs of the world in the matter of cloth.

#### BIRTHDAY GREETINGS

Birthday greetings have a significance all their own, not for what they say about the persons concerned but the comment they provide on the ideals, hopes and aspirations of the time one is living in. Is not an age known by the way in which it honours its heroes? The following excerpts from some of the birthday greetings received by Gandhiji will serve as an index of what the world of today is aching for:

"You have dedicated so many years to the cause of Indian freedom that I hope you may live long (to 125 at least) to see the results of your labours come to a full fruition of happiness for your people.

"These are difficult days but nevertheless we are progressing in the right direction.

"A few short steps and the final act will have been completed and then we can all rejoice together in the accomplishment of Indian freedom."

Here is another:

"Gandhiji! The month of October brings the anniversary of your birth into this world of conflict—conflict between the powers of good and evil. I send you my salutations and my heartfelt good wishes. May you see during the coming year, still further fulfilment of your prophetic vision. May it bring a further advance of Freedom and of Peace to your beloved country. Our inspired poet, William Blake wrote:

"I give you the end of a golden string  
Only wind it into a ball  
It will lead you in at Heaven's Gate  
Built in Jerusalem's wall.

"Jerusalem was the symbol used by Blake of his vision of the Kingdom of Heaven which he believed would be finally established on earth. And his golden thread was the practice of forgiveness.

"In this faith you and the poet Blake are kindred souls, and you also have put this thread into our hands, which is for each of us to unwind in our day-to-day practice—the thread which will bring us safely through the intricate maze of circumstance, and release us into the 'Kingdom of Heaven'.

"Your life and being have enriched the human race and will always remain as part of the Light which shines in the darkness. May all faith and joy be yours at this time of the celebration of your Birthday."

But one of the most touching is from distant America:

"Today at lunch I got the urge to write and tell you that small towns, like Forty Fort where I

live, all over the world have been made better because of your life.

"Perhaps it is not so strange after all that you, Hindu leader, should remind the world and Palestine to adopt the methods of Jesus, our Christ. Jesus lives today and perhaps he speaks through you.

"To me it is one of my great blessings that I have lived in the same generation with you.

"You feel and know, I am sure, that the world is getting better and, that we are drawing closer to the people of India and China."

#### AT LAST?

It is darkest before dawn. Things have a knack of growing worse before they become better. It would almost seem as if in answer to the prayers and good wishes of an aching world, dark clouds that have so long darkened the Indian sky are going to lift after all. As this is being written there are indications that the last gap in the National Interim Government is going to be filled up by the Muslim League coming into the Cabinet. Conversations were going on, remarked Gandhiji at today's evening prayer in his written Monday message in Hindustani, which led one to hope that the Muslim League would join the Cabinet. He wanted all to pray that this time the union between the Congress and the Muslim League would be even deeper and more lasting than in 1916 and during the Khilafat movement and brother would no longer abuse or kill brother and all would live at peace.

New Delhi, 7-10-'46

PYARELAL

#### ROWDYISM RUN RIOT

(By M. K. Gandhi)

A correspondent from Jubbulpore describes the rowdyism exhibited by a section of the Hindus at a benefit performance in aid of the local convent school for girls. A Hindu friend actually organized the show. The actors in the little drama were all girls from the convent. Towards the end there was a scene in which an orphaned girl, tired of the world, was praying to God. Angels appeared and advised her to have faith in her Christ and the play ended with a hymn in praise of Jesus. This was the signal for pandemonium. The Hindus who created the disturbance raised a hue and cry against Christianity, the organizer who tried to speak was unable to make himself heard and money for the tickets was demanded back. The writer asks whether this scene could have taken place if the hymn sung had been in praise of Shri Krishna instead of Jesus.

If what the correspondent says is true, the behaviour described was wholly unworthy. It betrayed extreme intolerance. Those who do not like things that do not coincide with their notions need not patronize them but it is ungentlemanly to behave like less than men when things are not to their taste.

New Delhi, 5-10-'46



# HARIJAN

October 13

1946

## THE DANGER OF 'VANASPATI'

(By M. K. Gandhi)

"In *Harijan* of 14-4-'46 you supported Sardar Datar Singh's plea regarding a ban on 'Vanaspati'. There were several suggestions in that article which, had they been acted upon, would have checked the evil. But unfortunately no action has been taken. In the Punjab, in Akola, Shegaon and Kurnool, permission has actually been given for starting new factories. At any rate, this should be stopped. In the Punjab the Government has not even ordered the colouring of 'Vanaspati'."

The above is the substance of a letter to me. I have advisedly put 'Vanaspati' in inverted commas. It ought really to be Vanaspati Ghee. No one can have any quarrel with Vanaspati which means the leaves of flowers, fruits and vegetables. But when it presumes to pass as something else, it becomes a poison. Vanaspati is not and can never be ghee. If ever it were to become ghee, I would be the first loudly to proclaim that there is no further need for real ghee. Ghee or butter are the fat contents of milk drawn from an animal. To sell vegetable oil or butter in the form and name of ghee is to deceive the Indian public. It is thoroughly dishonest. It is the clear duty of tradesmen not to sell any product of this nature in the guise of ghee and no government should countenance such sale. The crores of India today get neither milk nor ghee nor butter, nor even buttermilk. No wonder that mortality figures are on the increase and there is lack of energy in the people. It would appear as if man is really unable to sustain life without either meat or milk and milk products. Anyone who deceives people in this regard or countenances the fraud is an enemy of India.

New Delhi, 6-10-'46

(From the original in *Hindustani*)

### Dolapalki (Bridal Conveyance)

The Hindus of Garhwal District are so ignorant that they do not allow Harijan bridegrooms to ride or sit in any conveyance and pass in front of temples, public squares or the residential quarters of high caste Hindus. An evil custom like this should not really be tolerated today. One friend suggests that perhaps the best way to dispel ignorance would be to have a law enacted. This should be done. And, in any case, whenever a Harijan bridal procession is taken out, these unfortunate people should be afforded police protection. The district authorities should issue notices that no interference with the same shall be permitted. Anyone who tries to stop or causes to have stopped any such procession will be liable to punishment.

New Delhi, 6-10-'46

(From the original in *Hindustani*)

M. K. G.

## A WORD TO PUNJAB

A knowledgeable person from the Punjab writes that the control on export of cattle from that province which had been imposed in 1944 expires on the 30th September and Government has no intention of reimposing it. Pure milk, butter, ghee, etc. are difficult to procure in the market, the quantity and quality of the cattle wealth of the province is rapidly deteriorating. While in 1940 the proportion of cattle stock to that of the population was 55 per hundred, it had reduced in 1945 to 51 per hundred. The matter of export is, therefore, of vital concern.

Export generally takes place to the larger cities like Calcutta and Bombay. Traders sell cattle to milkmen at enormous profits. The latter, as soon as the cows are dry, pass them on to the butcher's knife. Drs. Smith and Wright, both experts, have expressed themselves against export in the clearest terms. Dr. Pepperall who came to advise the Government of India on the question of milk wrote as follows:

"It would be far better for the Punjab to retain its cattle and arrange instead to send evaporated milk in time to Bombay or Calcutta rather than export cattle that are usually slaughtered within a few months and replaced at great cost. The economic advantage to the country would be great. Animals could be retained in surroundings where they would be well fed and cared for and their milk when delivered in time ought to be much cheaper than locally produced milk apart from being quite safe from a health point of view. It is recommended that this development be pursued with the utmost energy as it is considered to be the most practicable method of supplementing city supplies, saving valuable cattle from premature slaughter, reducing the price of milk, preventing adulteration and bringing to an end the maintenance of cattle in city stables."

The correspondent hopes that the Provincial Government, the members of the Assembly and the general public will take up this matter which is of common interest. Not only should the export be restricted but full advantage should be taken of the facilities which the Railway Board, according to the correspondent, are willing to offer in the matter of bringing back dry cattle to the Punjab. The eastern districts of the Province have, perhaps, the best stock in the whole of India, but unless a sensible policy is adopted the province stands in danger of losing its cattle wealth. The disastrous effect of this on both health and agriculture needs no comment.

New Delhi, 30-9-'46

A. K.

### Wells Thrown Open

Gandhiji refers in *Harijanbandhu* to a letter from Shri Kalyanji Mehta saying that many wells were thrown open to Harijans in the Surat District. He remarks that while this news is good so far as it goes, it is also an exhibition of our shame that so many thousands still remain to be thrown open. It has delighted him to have the news that prohibition and other constructive work has been started in the provinces.

New Delhi, 8-10-'46

S. N.



## DECIMALIZATION OF WEIGHTS AND MEASURES

My opinion on this subject is as follows :

1. I entirely agree that there should be a uniform standard of measurements of various types throughout the country. The chaos complained of in the letter of the Government of India is indefensible.

2. At the same time it is also necessary that two standards of measurements should not be allowed to prevail side by side, as it does at present in respect of the pound and the *seer*. This is even more confusing and provides better opportunity for sharp practice than the prevalence of a different local scale.

3. It is true that the decimal system has some advantages in large-scale calculations, and allows mechanical reckoners to be used. It is used for all types of calculations in the domain of science, except those relating to measurement of time and angles. The metric system has been adopted internationally and is also widely used in ordinary affairs in several parts of Europe. If decimalization is to be uniformly resorted to in India, I think we should adopt the metric system totally. I do not consider it desirable to have decimalization of an independent Indian style.

4. But I definitely hold that the use of decimals presupposes wide literacy and the use of paper and pen. To the illiterate, the *chauthai* (quarternal) system is much simpler and has several advantages over the decimal one. I am of opinion that all subdivisions of an upper unit should be made on the quarternal system for our country. As  $\frac{1}{2}$ ,  $\frac{1}{4}$  and  $\frac{1}{8}$  are perfect decimals, it does not clash with the decimal system. May be, after a decade or two, it may be possible to make a change over to the decimal system completely.

5. But, at present, there does not exist any regularized application even of the *chauthai* system in the several standards of measures. Thus the rupee is sub-divided into 64 parts (not to mention the pie), the *seer* into 80, the *tola* into 32 or 96 in different patterns, and so on. The Indian system of lineal measurements has been completely supplanted by the British system of a thoroughly irregular pattern. As its square and cubical measurements have also an importance on the system of weights, its irregularity is a very great handicap. It is, therefore, necessary that the *chauthai* system should be applied in a regular manner in standardizing various tables.

6. Accordingly, my suggestions are :

(i) Indian tables should be re-arranged on the *chauthai* system in a uniform and regular manner for all tables of measurements, its scope being limited to the sub-divisions of its standard unit.

(ii) The standard unit of every measurement should be linked to the International Metric system, instead of the British system.

It is possible to achieve this in more ways than one. One important point requiring to be settled

in this connection is whether the new standards might be allowed to depart considerably from the prevailing ones; for instance, whether we might fix upon a *seer* of say 800 or 960 or even 312 grams, in place of the present one, which is approximately 933 grams. So also in respect of the *gaj*. The importance of the C. G. S. lies in the fact that the gram is linked with volume (being the weight of 1 cc. of water). If this is to be achieved in the Indian system also (which is quite possible), some measurements would have to be radically altered. The question is, how far is the Government prepared to favour radical alterations? If the policy is to depart as little as possible in respect of important current-units, the basis of equalizing Indian measures to the metric system will be of one type. It might involve the reckoning of more decimal places than what might be regarded comfortable. If a radical departure is made the basis might be simpler. After working at it in a number of ways, I find that it would be worthwhile pursuing this work only if the Government is agreed on the two principles mentioned above and indicates in a general manner its policy on the question set forth in this paragraph. Sevagram, 22-9-'46

K. G. MASHRUWALA

## GROW MORE PALMS

Fifteen years ago, the prohibition campaign sponsored by the Indian National Congress included destruction of palm trees utilized for drawing intoxicant toddy. It was not then realized that the fault was not of the palms which really yield a sweet, non-intoxicant, healthy beverage called *nira*. The fault was of the owner who converted it into intoxicating toddy. Therefore, the rational remedy will be to reform the owner rather than kill the palms. The palm trees play a double function. Besides the benefit they give as trees, they give also *gur* and sugar from palms. Good many articles of everyday use like baskets, brooms, brushes, fans, caneware, etc. are made from the different parts of the palm tree. Edible fruit is yielded by the date and palmyra palm. Annually one maund of *gur* is yielded by a palmyra tree and  $\frac{1}{5}$  maund by a date palm in alternate years. The trees unlike sugarcane need no irrigation, manuring or protection from wild animals. When once planted the palms live for more than fifty years and continue yielding *gur*. The palms can be raised on non-agricultural waste land and need no fertile fields like sugar-cane. When newly planted, it takes nearly 10 years for a date and 15 years for a palmyra palm to begin yielding *nira* — sweet sap.

All possible effort must be made to grow more and more palm trees to produce enough palm *gur*. The planting must be done systematically. Ten feet distance ought to be left between every two trees. If the palms are grown like a jungle, the yield of *nira* will be adversely affected. The intervening space may be used for growing cereals without harm to either the trees or the crops.

Maganwadi, Wardha

GAJANAN NAIK



## NEW EDUCATION IN ENGLAND

I have been turning over the pages of a recently published volume on education in England from the pen of Mr. M. L. Jacks, Director of the Department of Education at Oxford University (*Total Education*, Kegan Paul), and find that the educationists in England are faced with problems similar to ours, and that the solutions they propose are not without interest for us in India.

It is a common complaint in India that our education is purely intellectual, and neglects body as well as character-building. Similarly Mr. Jacks says, 'On the one side is the mind, a proper subject of education. On the other side is the body, and we have not thought it proper to educate that.' But it should be our object in the school to 'synthesize all a child's capacities, physical, moral, intellectual and spiritual.' As Mr. F. C. Happold observes in *Citizens in the Making* (Christophers), 'the discovery that both children and adults can best be trained by being taught to think with their whole bodies and not with their brains, is one of the educational discoveries of our age.' But this discovery has been made by only a few, namely 'the teachers who have paid attention to Physical Education (of which Physical Training is only a part).' They have discovered that 'in the young an increase in physical alertness is always accompanied by an increase in mental alertness; that the control of the body, which is learnt from an intelligent course in Physical Education, broadens out into a control of the passions and impulses, and of the mind and the knowledge which it gains; that problems of discipline become notably fewer and tend to solve themselves; that old intellectual interests are enlarged and take on a new vividness, and that new interests are created; that an awareness of self as an undivided whole is engendered, and that with this awareness there goes a new self-respect.' This is the experience not only in England but in other countries as well, as for instance in Czechoslovakia, where 'the Sokols, using gymnastics and callisthenics as instruments of physical, moral and intellectual regeneration, developed . . . into a movement for the renewal of a whole people and became the centre and crystallization of national sentiment. All these are instances of the co-education of mind, body and spirit, and of the whole human being in action; he becomes a controlled being, with his knowledge and skill, no less than his health and strength, controlled in the interests of his whole self.' As a striking picture of the education of the whole child, Mr. Jacks cites the case of a boy intent upon a piece of carpentry: in the visualization and appreciation of an end which is both useful and beautiful, in the thinking out of the proper means for its accomplishment, in the accuracy of measurement, the manual skill, and the manipulation of a tool which are required, in the demands upon the senses of sight and of touch, in the economical and

controlled use of physical strength, and in the obvious determination of the will to exclude all distractions and concentrate the whole self upon the job—in all this, intellectual, moral and physical powers are brought into play and operate as one, and the finished article is the self-suppressive and creative act of the whole boy.'

It will not do to neglect the physique of our children. As Mr. Jacks forcibly puts it, a school should be first and foremost a health centre, where the indivisible health of body, mind and spirit may be fostered as one operation. 'Indifferently played games can never meet the necessities of the case. Every school should have a department of Physical Education, and we should in time be able to devise for the age of sixteen a physical test to correspond to the intellectual test represented by the School Certificate examination, and by dovetailing the one into the other to produce something which will approximate more closely to a test of the whole child.'

'Physical illiteracy' which afflicts most of our students will be a thing of the past when schools attend to the bodies of our children as well as to their minds.

Along with language and other subjects of the school curriculum Mr. Jacks deals with arts and suggests that the study of dress, embroidery, colour-printing, decoration, architecture and costume would be suitable for girls, and the practice of book-crafts, lino-cuts, wood-work, metal work, modelling, constructional and free drawing for boys. This may be all right in England, but in India as our ideal is the revival of the old self-sufficient, self-reliant and independent village republic, we must concentrate on food and clothes which constitute the basic necessities of man all the world over. Every child at school should 'be placed in charge of a small piece of ground where he or she can grow flowers, vegetables and the like. But this would not be possible in every place; in quite a number of places the ground required for the purpose may not be available. Spinning however does not present any such difficulty and should therefore be practised in every school along with or without gardening.

Schoolmasters no less than schoolboys should receive training in handicraft as well as physical training. Dealing with conditions in England, Mr. Jacks says, 'Man is a "skill-hungry animal", and yet this hunger is rarely satisfied: the starvation is due to the fact that a training in manual or bodily skills has been widely neglected in schools and these skills have been regarded as the Cinderellas of the curriculum. They can only be rescued from this status, if we so train our teachers that they will be competent both to practise and to foster them: and this competence is likely. . . . to be an increasingly important part of every teacher's equipment.' This competence may be important in England, but it is essential in India.

V. G. D.



## WHAT CAN POOR NATIONS DO?

### I

With increasing mechanization, an English writer wrote in 1940, the existence of the small State, and one may add the poor State too, became precarious.

"The small State might survive as an interesting relic, like the blacksmiths' shops, then disappearing slowly from our villages. The future lay with the large Powers. They could afford to have a Krupps or a Creuzot to supply their armies, to have fleets which would protect their nationals abroad . . . The smaller countries might maintain certain standards, as did the older craftsmen, but they were the earthenware pots floating in the stream as the iron pots. In times of stress they would hope to survive under the protection of the Great Powers."<sup>1</sup> . . .

"Unfortunately the development of scientific armaments has increased the relative weakness of the small, and especially of the non-industrial, countries."<sup>2</sup>

"The degree of military power," said Oswald Spengler, "is dependent on the intensity of industry. Countries industrially poor are poor all round; they, therefore, cannot support an army or wage a war; therefore, they are politically impotent; and, therefore, the workers in them, leaders and led alike, are pawns in the economic policy of their opponents."<sup>3</sup> Some people even before the outbreak of the war had begun to think in terms of a partition of the world into a few large blocks of political and economic hegemony.<sup>4</sup> Under this dispensation, can the smaller and poorer nations exist except as bond-slaves? That is what has happened to the vanquished and also the smaller nations of Central Europe. Gandhiji foresaw this when he said in 1938: "It does appear to me that small nationalities cannot exist in Europe with their heads erect. They must be absorbed by their larger neighbours. They must become vassals."<sup>5</sup>

### II

What chances have these smaller and poorer nations in violent warfare? In the first place, as Gunther has said, "only highly industrialized countries can profitably manufacture appreciable quantities of arms. These countries sell to those less industrialized. Ninetyeight per cent of the total arms

1. G. T. Garratt: *Europe's Dance of Death* (1940), p. 44.

2. *Ibid.*, p. 321.

3. *Man and Technics* (1932), p. 92.

4. "The drift of events will be in the direction of a partition of the world among a small number of gigantic imperialist States or empires, which will show much trade between their various constituent countries, but will be intense rivals of each other, both politically and economically." — P. H. Asher: *National Self-sufficiency* (1939), p. 57.

"In the modern world weak States may be a menace . . . Nations and peoples possessing laws and territories have duties and responsibilities to others as well as rights from others. In the future, any nation that becomes a menace to another through failure to protect its boundaries, will be occupied by other defenders or even lose its sovereignty." — J. O. Downer in *Current History* for July, 1942.

5. *Harijan*, Oct. 8, 1938

exports to the world comes from ten countries." Even England and Russia could not have carried on the war without a constant supply of arms from America. These have to be paid for; even Allies do not give them free. "He did not suggest on behalf of India", said the former head of the Indian Purchasing Mission in America on his return to India in 1942, "that these supplies be made as a gift; no country to his knowledge was receiving such material as a gift." And arms have to be purchased in a ceaseless flow, and have to be continually replaced by newer designs if they have to be effective. Arms which were new yesterday are obsolete and out of date today. For example, the rifle with which soldiers of many poorer nations are armed at present, is today no better than the *lathi* or the bow and arrow before the ultra-modern weapons, and is fast being relegated to the limbo. As Calvin Goddard says.

"Another definite trend was toward an increased allotment of heavy weapons (machine guns, anti-tank guns and light mortars) to both infantry and cavalry organizations. One result, rather startling in its implications, was that the infantryman who, ever since the supersession in centuries past of the pike by the firearm, had been first musketeer and later rifleman, relinquished probably for all time his traditional weapon. For, by the end of 1940 two-thirds (during the world war, only one-fourth) of the enlisted personnel of a United States army infantry organization had been deprived of their rifles and assigned to the service of the newer agents of mass destruction. Not only was the old order changing; it was all but unrecognizable in the new."<sup>6</sup>

An idea of how huge the cost of constant replacement of arms would be can be gained from just one instance of what the United States did during the war to meet air-bombing on battleships. "The U. S. Navy, taking stock of happenings overseas, came to the conclusion that its fleet was decidedly lacking in anti-aircrafts arms and armour, and requested a special appropriation of \$300,000,000 to remedy deficiencies."<sup>7</sup> What small or poor country could ever think, or possessed the means, of undertaking such expenses before which even big, militarized nations like England and France quailed?

### III

And the skill to use these arms? It is not acquired in a day. To quote but one instance of the results of unskilled and clumsy handling of modern weapons:

"Compared to the loss of 700 Japanese planes, the Chinese have sacrificed 1,100 bombers and pursuit ships according to American airplane salesmen.

6. *Encyclopaedia Britannica Book of the year 1941.*

7. "Where only a few years back two and three machine guns per aeroplane were considered ample, six, eight and twelve guns, at least half of them 50-calibre supplemented by at least one automatic quick-firing cannon, were considered indispensable." — C. Paul Johnstone. *Ibid.*



At least 40 per cent of the losses were due to crack-ups by incompetent pilots. One batch of eighteen American bombers assembled by Curtis-Wright mechanics in Hankow was safely flown by Chinese pilots to Chengtu, but the pilots forgot to lower their retraceable landing gear. Every plane had its belly bashed in."<sup>8</sup>

## IV

Nor must we forget that weaker nations cannot always get arms even on payment of money. Abyssinia could not import them during the Italian invasion. Republican Spain could not purchase them from England and France, while her opponents got them from Germany and Italy. China could not, for three years before America's entry into the war, get them from Britain and the U. S. A., while to quote an American journal, "the U. S. A. furnished 56.8 per cent (in value) of all war goods shipped to Japan; and the British Empire chipped in with 22.1 per cent."<sup>9</sup> These Powers would not offend the stronger among the combatants; their so-called neutrality worked to the detriment of the weaker party. As a result, Abyssinia and Republican Spain went under; and Madame Chiang Kai-shek wrote in an agony of disappointment and despair:

"If unhappily for the democracies as well as for China, we were defeated in the end, at least the world ought to know that we were beaten not because of lack of courage—either moral or physical courage—but because, by the concerted action of the democracies, China was strangled to death by an economic noose fashioned by Japan out of British appeasement, American profiteering and French fear."<sup>10</sup>

## V

Again, there is a greater price than money to be paid for the purchase of armaments and armed assistance. The case of the Balkans before the war is an apt illustration of it. The tale may be briefly told. After the world depression, British and American credits and markets that were available to the Balkan countries contracted, and the latter had to sell their food grains to Germany, who paid them a part of the money in cash and kept the balance in credit. Later on, arms were offered for sale to the creditors at much cheaper rates than other goods, and the latter could not resist the temptation, also fearing the loss of the German market if they did not take the armaments. "The Nazis calculate," said an English writer, "that

Dr. Schacht's technique of forced sale of arms to the small countries of South East Europe will have important political and military results." "(These countries) armed by Germany will be dependent on further supplies of arms from there in the event of war. Having bought Nazi cannon, they will be dependent on Nazi goodwill for spare parts from Germany, and the four submarines and destroyers which Greece is contemplating buying from Germany will depend on Nazi training to man them," and thus "political dependence will follow inevitably." "In fact these countries had been virtually reduced to the position of Germany's vassals before they succumbed to her superior prowess. Here is a lesson which no nation lacking arms can overlook except at its own peril."

## VI

Look from any angle as we may, it is obvious that in violent warfare, the smaller and physically weaker nations have no chance to survive except as vassals, or on the sufferance, of Powers which are larger and more skilled in scientific destruction. All honour to the heroic peoples who, counting no cost too great for the preservation of their freedom, challenged the might of the aggressors in an armed combat, and fell fighting against overwhelming odds. But their bravery and valour did not avail them. Smaller and weaker nations may retain their freedom on account of fortuitous circumstances—their peculiar geographical situation, the mutual jealousies of bigger Powers or their inability to gulp down large chunks of territory at a time, etc.—but least of all on the strength of the meagre arms that they may possess. For in an armed conflict, it is Might that will triumph and not Right.<sup>12</sup>

Baroda, 14-6-'46

C. S.

12. "As a tribunal for ascertaining the rights and wrongs of a dispute, war is crude, uncertain and costly. It is true that the world war ended, as I still believe, in a victory for Right. But it was won not on the merits of the case, but on a balance of resources and of blunders . . . chance is the supreme judge in war and not Right. There are other judges on the bench, but Chance presides. . . . But let all who trust justice to the arbitrament of war bear in mind that the issue may depend less on the righteousness of the cause than on the cunning and craft of the contestants. It is the teaching of history, and this war enforces the lesson. And the cost is prohibitive. It cripples all the litigants."—David Lloyd George: *War Memoirs Vol. VI* (1936), pp. xiii—xv.

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8. Haldore Hanson: *Humane Endeavour* (1939), p. 156.

9. *Fortune* (New York) for February 1942. cf.: "The Japanese airplanes that did the killing were manufactured in the United States." — Edgar Mowrer, *Mowrer in China* (1938), p. 94. "It was indeed sad for an American to realize that this daily slaughter of innocent non-combatants with the single purpose of terrorism was largely being accomplished with materials furnished by American companies for a price." — *Ibid.* p. 44. "Anyone with a flair for statistics can compute how many dollars of profit the U. S. received for the death of each Chinese." — Haldore Hanson: *Op. cit.*, p. 369. See also Edgar Snow: *Scorched Earth* (1941), p. 43.

10. *China Shall Rise Again* (1940), p. 335-6.



## QUESTION BOX

(By M. K. Gandhi)

## IS NOT SERVICE WORSHIP?

*Q.* Would it not be better for a man to give the time he spends on the worship of God to the service of the poor? And should not true service make devotional worship unnecessary for such a man?

*A.* I sense mental laziness as also agnosticism in this question. The biggest of Karmayogis never give up devotional song or worship. Idealistically it may be said that true service of others is itself worship and that such devotees do not need to spend any time in songs etc. As a matter of fact, *bhajans* etc. are a help to true service and keep the remembrance of God fresh in the heart of the devotee.

## HOW TO REMOVE UNTOUCHABILITY?

*Q.* A Madras Harijan writes that while removing the ban on temple entry and on use of public wells, giving scholarships for education etc. are all good in their own way, the real way to remove all traces of the curse of untouchability is to abolish *cheris* and separate living quarters for Harijans.

*A.* It sounds well to say that untouchability will go by the board if Harijans are allowed to live wherever they choose. So far as I am aware there is no general law in existence which relegates Harijans to living in special quarters. It is an evil custom that forces them to do so. The custom is breaking down but very very slowly. Meantime it is the duty of everyone to get rid of it. It is a question of moving the hearts of people. Supreme sacrifice, can achieve the desired result. Has not Tulsidas said:

"Through sacrifice Brahma created the world,

"Through sacrifice Vishnu protects,

"Through sacrifice the whole of creation is sustained,

"Therefore, Bhavani, go and perform sacrifices."

When one with that supreme gift is forthcoming, the taint will disappear and religion will be purified and saved.

## IS RAMANAMA ANOTHER NAME FOR CHARMS?

*Q.* My nephew was ill. His relations did not resort to medicines but to spells and charms for his cure. It cannot be said that these did any good. Your mother too must have indulged in these things. Now you talk of *Ramanama*. Is it not the same as spells and charms?

*A.* I have, in one form or another, answered this question before now. But it is as well to do so again. My mother gave me medicines so far as I remember. But she did believe in spells and charms. Learned friends have faith in them. I have not. And because I have no belief in such things, I can say fearlessly that there is no connection between *Ramanama* of my conception and *jantar mantar*. I have said that to take *Ramanama* from the heart means deriving help from an incomparable power. The atom bomb is as nothing compared with it. This power is capable of removing all pain. It must, however, be admitted that it is

easy to say that *Ramanama* must come from the heart, but to attain the reality is very difficult. Nevertheless, it is the biggest thing man can possess.

New Delhi, 5-10-'46

(From the original in *Hindustani*)

## RURALIZING UNIVERSITY EDUCATION

We often regret that educated people are loath to remain in villages and that rural folk, once they get any education, hanker after urban life. This hankering after town life is there, mainly because the present education, imparted especially in the Universities, leads to urban vocation, trades and industries and has little relation to rural occupations. When graduates set the fashion of migrating from the villages to the towns, other lesser educated persons follow their example, and would rather starve in the towns than live happily in the villages. *If the leading educated people, the graduates, should be enabled to look to decent living in rural parts, the whole system of University education should be ruralized.* Of course, it will be almost an impossible task to ruralize our present Universities because of their too well-established traditions and vested interests. But it should not be difficult for the State as well as private benefactors, to establish new universities in the villages with the avowed object of enabling intelligent village young men and women to pursue higher studies in subjects, which are intimately connected with their immediate living and to conduct research in these subjects, so as to enhance their knowledge of rural occupations and increase their efficiency in carrying them on.

Till recently, we were importing mainly manufactured articles from foreign countries. In recent years we have been importing even the barest necessities of subsistence, namely, rice, wheat and various other grains from abroad. We are depending upon America for dried potatoes too. In a country which produced the celestial cow, we are short of milk and have to depend upon foreign people, to export to our country powdered milk. Is it really impossible for us to grow even enough food in our country with which we can subsist? If we change our institutions of higher learning, so as to subserve rural interests, or rather, start and maintain such institutions in villages, for studying and investigating village occupations and industries and for enabling the graduates produced, to follow these rural occupations and industries throughout their life and thus be leaders of thought and action in villages, a great revolution in our methods of life and work, can be produced in less than a decade. The State should hereafter spend large sums of money towards these ends. Our philanthropists and temples and *maths* should devote their munificence and surplus funds for the same objective. If the temples will not voluntarily part with their surpluses for such humanitarian purposes, legislation should be resorted to compel them to do so. While culture should not be sacri-



ficed, rural colleges and universities should embark upon a rich programme of education in rural vocations.

After the High School (which also should be ruralized), the rural pupils should be given opportunities of studying in rural junior colleges of two years' duration, at the end of which successful students should be granted a degree which may be called the 'Associate in Science' or 'Associate in Arts' (A. Sc. or A. A.), depending upon the optional subjects they study. The medium of instruction should be the chief regional language. Compulsory subjects will be the chief regional language and one foreign language (modern prose only) which, in our present circumstances, will be English. Optional subjects could be any three from either Group A (for A. Sc.) or Group B (for A. A.). Two-thirds of the time should be devoted to the study of the optional group.

#### GROUP A—SUBJECTS FOR A. SC.

1. Agriculture.
2. Horticulture.
3. Sericulture.
4. Dairy Farming.
5. Poultry Farming.
6. Sheep-breeding.
7. Bee-keeping.
8. Fisheries.
9. Rural Textiles.
10. Rural Sanitation and Hygiene.
11. Rural Home Economics including Nursing.
12. Rural Electrical Engineering.
13. Rural Communications including Civil and Mechanical Engineering.
14. Rural Building Trade and Architecture.
15. Rural Manufactures like Pottery, Utensils, Paper, etc.

#### GROUP B—SUBJECTS FOR A. A.

1. Rural Sociology.
2. Rural Economics.
3. Rural Reconstruction.
4. Rural Education.
5. Statistics with reference to rural subjects.
6. Retail Selling and Distribution.
7. Rural Banking and Co-operation.

Wherever possible and necessary, instruction in the designing and construction of the machinery needed for the particular occupations or trades should be arranged for. As far as possible, the machinery needed should be produced in the region itself. In the India of the future, there will be need for a 'lingua franca'. Hindustani should be expected to be this language, which should, therefore, be taught compulsorily, though it may not be an examination subject.

After the two-year junior college course, a two-year senior college course should be set up, the successful completion of which should be marked by the award of the B. Sc. or B. A. degree. Studies on a higher level than for the A. Sc. or A. A. will be pursued here in the very

subjects or in allied subjects of direct utility to the village folk.

Research degrees, M. Sc. and Ph. D., should also be instituted. Particular topics of importance to rural betterment should be taken up for investigation by the graduates, and the results should be published in the form of theses written in the regional language for the immediate benefit of the people engaged in the respective pursuits. Then only will university work be purposive; and *no education is worth much if it is not meaningful and useful to the nation at large.*

*The main object of the preparation of the Associates and Graduates in these rural universities should be to enable them to follow the occupations or trades to eke out a livelihood.* If, however, services of experts are required by the State, for promoting nation-building activities, the alumni of the rural universities should be preferred, because they, having been bred up and educated in rural areas, will be better fitted for the service of the ninety per cent of the population of the country, who reside in villages.

It is estimated that, out of a million people, about 23,000 are of very superior intelligence, who will profit by university education. Assuming that another 27,000 people out of a million could be expected to profit by the higher studies, 50,000 persons can be reckoned to be for higher intellectual work. A tenth of this number, namely, 5,000 may be expected to be in the university classes. A rural university, therefore, for a million population, should not be regarded as extravagant. There are countries like Canada and U. S. A., where there is a university for a much smaller number of people. That is one of the reasons, why people of those countries are economically more advanced than we are.

These rural universities should be open to adults of all ages. Passing by individual subjects, as and when the students desire, should be encouraged. Special classes to suit the time of the village folk before or after their daily work should be organized. No fees should be charged in the rural universities, and the cost incurred should be defrayed from State funds and private benefactions. The expenditure should be regarded as an insurance against famine, pestilence and disease. These colleges and universities should be real community centres. Then and only then, will our rural life be culturally rich and economically efficient.

K. N. KINI

M. A., Ph. D. (Columbia), Bangalore

[There is much truth in what Dr. Kini says. He should put himself in touch with Dr. Zakir Hussain and the Aryanayakams and devote his energies to evolving a workable scheme. I see no difficulty in existing universities conforming to the requirements of the villagers, who are India, instead of turning out indifferent imitators of the West.

— M. K. G.]



## MUD HUTS.

India lives behind mud walls and earth is by far the most common structural material in this country. It is bound to remain so for at least several generations, if not for ever. The problems of food and clothing are being tackled strenuously while the problem of housing is left in abeyance, because it seems to be less urgent. It is much more baffling too.

Yet the health of the people requires a radical solution of the housing problem and the stupendous task of rebuilding the seven lakhs of Indian villages has to be undertaken. The country is not rich enough to think in terms of brick and stone, cement and plywood, asbestos and metal. Commonsense points to earth as the universal building material. But the existing mud houses are not what we would like India to live in. Houses are required to be tall and spacious, bright, harmonious and salubrious. Can such houses be built out of mud?

Fortunately the reply is in the affirmative. Improved methods of mud house construction exist. There is a very ancient way of building mud walls known all over the world. By this method the Spanish peasants were building their villages at the time of Hannibal and the Colorado settlers are building their houses even now. France has many such houses, built centuries ago and still going strong and so has China and even in India the ancient kings built fortresses on the same principle, although by a different method.

To understand well the advantages of the method described, let us first examine the ordinary method of mud wall construction.

Mud is dug up and after breaking the clods is properly wetted with water and sometimes straw is added. The mixture of mud and water is usually allowed to rest overnight and the walls are erected by adding wet mud layer after layer. The walls are usually made thinner at the top. The quantity of water being very considerable, the water, as it dries, causes innumerable small cracks to appear throughout the thickness of the wall, which reduces very considerably the strength of the wall and facilitates insect penetration.

A slightly improved way of building mud walls is to prepare sun-baked bricks before and build the walls out of such bricks.

In both cases the wall is weak and porous. It is usually left as it is or just plastered with cowdung or whitewashed.

The method suggested radically differs from the usual in the quantity of water added. Only so much water is added as is required to make the earth stick together when a handful is pressed very hard by hand. Here the minimum is the optimum, all excess of water must be avoided.

The earth is clay sand and gravel. The ordinary red loam is quite good, sandy soil can be improved by adding clay and clay requires an addition of sand and gravel. Usually the best earth is found at the foot of the hill—a mixture of silt, sand and sharp gravel. But the method is applicable to a very wide variety of soils. Organic matter in soil

should be avoided as far as possible and all pieces of roots, straw etc. removed carefully.

The principle consists in compressing the earth very hard by repeated ramming with special tools between parallel planks. The water acts only as a lubricant, and the repeated hammering with a V edged rammer results in converting the mass of earth into a kind of conglomerate similar in consistency to something between laterite and soft limestone. The conglomerate hardens with time and will last for centuries, if protected against direct impact of heavy rain and running water.

The tools are few and simple and can readily be made by the village craftsmen. They consist of a square, a plumb-rule, a set of rammers of various shapes and of a set of wall and corner forms made out of planks and held together by strips of wood or iron.

On a foundation of stone or brick (to protect the bottom of the wall against running water) the planks (10 feet long and 3 feet broad usually) are fitted up and spaced to the thickness of the wall. Softened and slightly moistened earth is thrown between the planks in layers of about 2" thick and rammed very hard till the thickness of the layer is reduced to about half. Then fresh layers are added and a portion of the wall is thus built up. When the space between the planks is filled up, they are shifted and another portion of the wall is built in the same way. Corners and partitions are built by fitting up the mould with special corner pieces.

A mixture of slaked lime with sand thrown on the wall has proved to be a good protection against rain. When the monsoon is very heavy, the walls can be waterproofed from outside with hot tar or asphalt, over which a lime finish can be applied.

The tools and moulds can build many houses. They can be owned by the village *Panchayat* and lent to the villagers who want to rebuild their houses. The work can be done entirely with one's family labour or with the help of the neighbours on the basis of mutuality. The structure is cheap, strong, lasting and can be built high, straight and square, so that after finishing with lime and sand wash it is impossible to make out that the wall is made of mud only.

The walls can take any kind of roof, including the heavy mud roof, which is an interesting subject by itself.

The conglomerate method has a drawback, which in India is a blessing in disguise; it consumes labour only. There is nothing to buy in it, as far as walls go.

Assuming the village *Panchayat* is in possession of a set of moulds and ramming tools, which are lent to the house-holders in rotation, the entire village can be rebuilt in the course of time with the least amount of cost and trouble. The various Provincial Governments may sanction to supply the villages with the necessary equipment at a quite moderate cost of about Rs. 300 per village subject to adherence to a master plan for the village in accordance with its social, economic and sanitary needs.



The conglomerate method of construction lends itself to a vast variety of designs as the same set of moulds and tools can build a house of any shape and size.

The very substantial results obtained with the conglomerate method can be further improved by adding certain substances to the water used for wetting the earth. Also the tools and the construction of moulds can be further improved. Experiments are being carried on and the results will be made known in due course.

MAURICE FRYDMAN

## CATTLE IMPROVEMENT

The following is the gist of a long article by Sardar Datar Singh. He says that inasmuch as India is primarily an agricultural country the improvement of cattle means nothing more nor less than the development of agriculture. India possesses over 29% of the world's cattle population and yet the production of milk per capita is very low. It works out at 7 ounces per head per day here as against 56 and 45 respectively in New Zealand and Australia. 20 to 30 ounces per day is the minimum required according to dietary standards so that our output would have to be more than trebled. The average quantity of milk yield per cow per year is only 750 lbs. which too is sadly below standard. The root cause of this low yield is malnutrition. Against the total estimated annual requirements of 270 million tons roughage and 50 million tons of concentrates only 175 and 3.75 million tons are available respectively. In addition there is wastage in storing, drying, harvesting and preparation of food and fodder.

I. The Sardar makes the following suggestions in regard to proper feeding :

(a) The cultivation of fodder crops must be increased by encouraging cultivators to put more acreage aside for this purpose. The most nutritious and high yielding fodders should be cultivated and in addition a number of perennial grasses can be introduced, such as Elephant, Guinea, Rhodes as also leguminous crops, e. g. Berseem and various types of beans which make good mixtures with non-leguminous crops.

(b) The conservation of fodder crops and elimination of waste through silage, also improved methods of drying fodder.

(c) The provision of good and ample grazing areas. Grazing lands having diminished greatly in area, it is imperative to adopt some system of controlled grazing on existing lands. Pastures available on canal banks can also be utilized with advantage.

In this connection the Sardar emphasizes the importance of utilization of land under forests. It has been estimated that 107 million acres of land is under forests in India as compared to 362 millions of cultivated land. Very little use has been made of this vast forest wealth. For example, out of about 33 million head of cattle in the U. P., only about one million make any use of these grazing areas. The number of cattle in the whole of India is 97 million out of which 8½ million only may be said to be using forest pasture lands. Plans

are afoot which visualize doubling of the present forest area in terms of square miles of forest in British India. The theory that opening of forest areas will have a destructive effect on plantation is quite incorrect. Experiments have shown that grazing in itself when properly regulated is not only not an evil but will even "allow the vegetation to follow out its natural progress towards an ecologically higher type of plant community." The systematic planning of forest lands for grazing on economic and scientific lines is, therefore, a vital necessity.

II. The question of judicious breeding is of very great importance. For this the Sardar suggests :

(a) The supply to each area of a requisite number of bulls of a breed suited to the locality concerned. Caretakers should be appointed to put these animals in an enclosure in the evenings and the villages concerned should be responsible for their feeding. The caretakers should preferably be trained stockmen who can render first aid to the bulls as well as assist in case of cattle epidemics.

(b) The castration of undesirable bulls.

(c) An increase in the number of stud bulls which is ridiculously below India's requirements.

The need is at least one million and if these have to be replaced every four years, as they should be, it means that a quarter of a million bulls have to be supplied every year. This would necessitate the maintenance on special breeding farms of no less than 600,000 cows and 10,000 bulls but as this is neither feasible nor economically sound the Sardar suggests making full use of the existing organizations and institutions such as *goshalas* and *pinjrapoles*. If properly reorganized this could, at a very conservative estimate, provide 25,000 stud bulls annually as well as the same number of bullocks and 50,000 improved female calves every year.

III. The control of contagious diseases is of great import. Over 30 million cattle die annually from rinder pest, haemorrhagic, septicaemia, black quarter and anthrax. Strict attention should be paid to both preventive and curative measures. The average villager should not only be educated in the care of cattle but proper medical aid should also be made available to him.

New Delhi, 27-9-'46

A. K.

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# HARIJAN

Editor: PYARELAL

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TWO ANNAS

## HINDU PANI AND MUSLIM PANI

(By M. K. Gandhi)

A stranger travelling in Indian trains may well have a painful shock when he hears at railway stations for the first time in his life 'ridiculous sounds about *pani*, tea and the like being either Hindu or Muslim. It would be repulsive now that the Government at the Centre is wholly national and a well-known Indian in the person of Asaf Ali Saheb is in charge of Transport and Railways. It is to be hoped that we shall soon have the last of the shame that is peculiarly Indian. Let no one imagine that Railways being under a Muslim, Hindus may not get justice. In the Central and Provincial Governments, there is or should be no Hindu, Muslim or any other communal distinctions. All are Indians. Religion is a personal matter. Moreover, the members of the Cabinet have set up a wholesome convention that they should always meet at the end of the day's work and take stock of what each member has done. It is team work in which the members are jointly and severally responsible for one another's work. It is not open to any member to say that a particular thing is not his work because it is no part of his portfolio. We have a right therefore to assume that this unholy practice of having separate everything for every community at railway stations will go. Scrupulous cleanliness is a desideratum for all. If taps are used for all liquids there need be no compunction felt by the most orthodox about helping themselves. A fastidious person may keep his own *lota* and cup and receive his milk, tea, coffee or water through a tap. In this there is no interference with religion. No one is compelled to buy anything at railway stations. As a matter of fact many orthodox persons fast for water and food during travel. Thanks we still breathe the same air, walk on the same mother earth.

All communal cries at least at railway stations should be unlawful.

As I have often said in these columns trains and steamers are the best media for the practical education of the millions of travellers in spotless cleanliness, hygiene, sanitation and camaraderie between the different communities of India. Let us hope that the Cabinet will have the courage to act up to their convictions and may confidently expect the hearty co-operation of the Railway staff and the public in making this much needed reform a thorough success.

New Delhi, 12-10-'46

## DR. LOHIA AGAIN

(By M. K. Gandhi)

Dr. Ram Manohar Lohia's letter to the Chief Judge of the Goa High Court deserves more than passing attention. I copy it below from the daily press:

"At the time of my arrest, I had not, so far as I know, violated any Goan law. I may have been intent on doing so but that is irrelevant. The police officer at Collem walked into my compartment, asked me no questions and put me straightaway under arrest. International law, as it stands today, probably empowers the Portuguese Government to arrest and deport anyone whom they consider an undesirable alien but they are surely not empowered to hold him in prison unless he has actually violated some law. The Portuguese Government have in the past declared me as alien and taken up their stand on a provision in International Law with regard to me. They owe me an apology and damages for illegal imprisonment or else they must give up their attempt to apply International Law as between Goa and the rest of Hindustan. Furthermore, between September 29 and October 2, they kept me in a cell, which has probably as much ventilation as just keeps a man alive. They owe me an added apology and damages for this kind of treatment.

"I continue to be held in solitary confinement, although under better conditions and I am not taken out of my cell except for bath and I am held incommunicable. These add to the illegality of my imprisonment."

Let no one laugh at Dr. Lohia's presumption in asking for damages. If he had power behind him, the Goan authorities would quickly apologize and offer to pay damages. It is not an unusual thing for big powers to ask for damages and obtain them for injury or insult done even to insignificant subjects. Dr. Lohia is not a little man. Well, India has a National Government. I am sure they are as sensitive as any can be. I should not be surprised if they have lodged their protest and asked the Goa Government to mend their manners. Anyway, let the force of public opinion be behind the National Government and the injured Dr. Ram Manohar Lohia. The injury done to him is injury done to our countrymen in Goa and through them to the whole of India.

New Delhi, 13-10-'46



## THE DAIRY INDUSTRY OF INDIA

The following points worthy of serious consideration, most of which have not already been printed in these columns, are taken from Mr. Pepperall's report last year on the dairy industry of India.

The vastness of the problem will be evident from the following figures:

Number of producers of milk in both village and urban areas is 210 and 1.8 lakhs respectively.

Milch cattle in India are one third of the world total (219 million).

Similarly, the consumer population is 400 million.

Mr. Pepperall recognizes at the outset that the question of the cow must be looked at from the point of view of village India. The requirements for India are different from Europe inasmuch as, for example, the cow must continue to be a dual purpose animal.

I. In the matter of *milk production* his conclusions are:

(a) the buffalo must be considered complementary to and not as a substitute for the cow upon whom falls the double duty of producing males for draught work as well as milk,

(b) the increase of milk must come from the better management of indigenous stock rather than by importing foreign bulls. Cross breeding with the latter has not been justified by experience. Dr. Pepperall commends the results achieved at Sevagram with the Gaolao breed. He also recommends more use of bulls bred in Government farms. Bulls must be of selected breeds and placed under competent control as far as care and use of them are concerned,

(c) on the assumption that existing village conditions will prevail with minor modifications for at least the next decade and bullocks will be required for irrigation, agriculture, transport purposes etc., the cow must continue to be a dual purpose animal.

II. Great stress is laid on *proper feeding*. Dr. Pepperall says: "Accepted standards of animal nutrition would place the bulk of India's dairy cattle in the category of acute malnutrition."

(a) The proper feeding of cattle is a science in which villagers should be educated.

(b) Berseem possesses great advantages over Lucerne grass and enough attention has not been paid to its potentialities.

(c) Fodder grown on pasture land should be cut rather than allow daily peregrination of cattle over a comparatively small area which involves much waste. When green fodder is available, oil cake, cotton seeds and other concentrates should be used sparingly.

(d) Concentrates may not be sold and a ban on export of all such needs rigid enforcement.

III. Animal management is not given due attention.

(a) "Whilst the position of actual milking animals is rarely satisfactory, the situation of dry stock is one of absolute neglect." The remedy lies in increase of grazing areas and the ban on export of cattle food. Economic means will, however, have to be found to enable owners of cattle to buy the additional food supply. Much loss of milk accrues

by the practice of preventing animals from getting in calf for a long period.

(b) Mr. Pepperall refutes the Indian claim from experience in other countries that calves cannot be weaned within a day or two after birth. As other suitable foods are available for calf-rearing, endeavours should be made to encourage the practice of early weaning.

(c) The producer of milk must get a satisfactory price for his produce. At the moment there are the widest fluctuations in price varying from Rs. 10 to Rs. 30 per maund. This must be remedied in order to inspire general confidence.

IV. *Methods of production* imply clean, airy sheds with impervious floors combined with hygienic methods of drawing, storing and handling milk. Mr. Pepperall was rightly appalled at "the squalor, filth, ignorance and indifference towards hygienic principles and revolting personal habits, allied to official apathy". Apart from no proper housing, the animals have no pure water supply provided for them. Their surroundings are horribly insanitary; the milk is brought to market in open galvanized cans; the milk market is crowded with people chewing betel nut, smoking, chewing and spitting. Milk is tested by the prospective buyer dipping his hand in it to judge the amount of fat (or added water). This applies to many large cities which were visited by Mr. Pepperall as also villages. There is no understanding of the fact that milk is a highly valuable food, subject to easy contamination. It is just as any other merchandise. Small wonder then that an official report on a test of milk in Bombay shows a bacteria count of 36 millions per c. c. These pages of the report make sad reading.

V. *Adulteration* needs no comment. It is a universal evil and needs drastic remedies. It goes hand in hand with corruption. Adulteration also bans 'pasteurization' which would enable milk to be transported some distance without injury. Since milk cannot be kept more than 5 to 6 hours in its raw state, it has to be disposed of with the minimum of delay. Suitable areas within transportable distance from cities should be explored for milk production on a large scale and a special rail service may be provided.

VI. With the exception of military dairy farms and some concerns such as that of Dayalbag and probably a few private-owned ones, dairies do not really exist in India. They should come into being. All the simpler items of equipment can easily be produced in the country.

Mr. Pepperall condemns the expansion of the military dairy farms at the expense of civilian supplies. Their activities should be fitted into a general food policy for the country.

VII. He considers that *manufacture of milk* products such as evaporated and powdered milk should be undertaken in remote rural areas. "Large irrigation projects in the Punjab and Sind Provinces represent the best location for manufacture because of the intensive cultivation and density of milk production which would result." He is wholly against the export of cattle from the Punjab. He



advocates the stimulation of manufacture of ghee in villages as a village industry and holds it wrong to deliver milk to distant centres for manufacture and thereby deprive the rural population of valuable by-products and further lower their nutritional standards. Mr. Pepperall does not, however, advocate the manufacture of butter in India as the milk thus utilized is required for liquid consumption. Cheese and butter should be imported from Australia and New Zealand.

VIII. Mr. Pepperall is in favour of *Standardization of milk* but only by responsible organizations.

IX. He advocates *cheap milk schemes* and would place the question of cost as secondary when the health and well-being of the population is a consideration. "The present cattle population, if properly fed, should be capable of providing the whole community with a daily supply of milk on the basis of 1 lb. for each nursing mother and child and 8 oz. for adults."

X. Regarding *price of milk* no uniformity exists. It is worthy of note that the retail price of milk in Bombay and Calcutta is exactly double that of England. He recommends a fixed price for the producer which need not necessarily be high, so long as it is assured and the lowest price that can be arranged for consumers.

XI. In the matter of *subsidies*, Mr. Pepperall suggests financial assistance on a large scale but in the shape of loans.

XII. Finally he stands for *research* which has been sadly neglected in India. In this sphere he would give priority to "immediate investigation into the causes of and a search for a remedy for the loss of stamina of cattle maintained in wet areas" as also to scientific study in the matter of "manufacture from some indigenous raw material of a suitable and cheap milk container to replace the imported bottle".

The result of Mr. Pepperall's investigations reveal :

- (a) stock in a state of semi-starvation,
- (b) animal management very poor,
- (c) milk production steadily decreasing,
- (d) producers mostly illiterate, indebted and poverty-stricken,
- (e) price of milk the highest in the world,
- (f) average income amongst the lowest in the world,
- (g) widespread adulteration of milk,
- (h) total ignorance of sanitation and complete indifference to hygienic standards,
- (i) corruption and a low standard of integrity, generally speaking,
- (j) apathy of the general public,
- (k) serious neglect of their duties by the public bodies, and
- (l) dairy equipment almost non-existent.

The definite and urgent need for a milk policy has been clearly demonstrated. It is up to the Governments, both Central and Provincial, to take up the matter at once if the health of the population and the cattle wealth of an agricultural country are not further to deteriorate.

New Delhi 4-10-'46

A. K.

## HOW TO MAKE THE WHEEL GO

Certain things catch the fancy of the public from time to time and become the rage. This is as applicable to the spinning wheel as to many other things. It has been sold by the lakh. But where are these *charkhas* today? Why are they not plying? That is the question we have to ask ourselves. How to make the *charkha* go is the problem. It will be a good plan to examine the main causes of why spinning has not become universal and examine the remedies for removing the apathy.

1. The *charkhas* that are for sale are not always in good working order.

2. When they go wrong there is no one to put them right.

3. After selling the *charkha* the seller loses all contact with the buyer.

4. Good slivers are not available.

5. There is no arrangement for weaving of yarn given in.

The above defects naturally damp the enthusiasm of the spinners. How can they be remedied?

1. Every sales depot should be able either to put right any defect in a spinner's *charkha* or replace it with a new one. Charges should be maintained at a minimum. At the same time every spinner should be enabled to acquire the knowledge of putting his own spinning wheel in order.

2. The *bhandar* should register in its books the name and address of every buyer.

3. A printed leaflet of instructions as to how and where to remedy defects should accompany every wheel sold.

4. Reduction in price should be made if there is any defect discovered in the *charkha* sold. Such repairs should be done without charge. Often it would be wise to give a new *charkha* for a damaged one brought to a *bhandar*.

5. *Tunai* should be taught. The sale of ready-made slivers should be stopped. Instead, cotton with the seed should be sold.

6. So long as a loom does not ply in every home the *bhandar* must be able to arrange for weaving yarn brought to it.

The upshot of it all is that *Khadi Bhandars* must give up being sales depots and instead become workshops having true servants of the nation.

KANU GANDHI

[Shri Kanu Gandhi's note is worth study. It should be borne in mind that the *charkha* is not like either the small or large machines of the West. There crores of watches are produced in a few special places. They are sold all over the world. The same tale applies to the sewing machine. These things are symbols of one civilization. The *charkha* represents the opposite. We do not want to universalize the *charkha* through mass production in one place. Our ideal is to make the *charkha* and all its accessories in the locality where the spinners live. Therein lies the value of the spinning wheel. Anything that goes wrong with it should be put right on the spot and the spinners should be taught how



to do so. To teach them is the duty of the Charkha Sangh. Unless we proceed in this manner Khadi will not be able to replace mill cloth. M. K. G.]  
New Delhi, 12-10-'46

(From the original in Hindustani)

## HARIJAN

October 20

1946

### REAL INDIA

(By M. K. Gandhi)

If my frequent wanderings throughout India of the villages have not deceived me, it can be confidently asserted that the 700,000 villages get and want no police protection. The solitary Patel to a village is a terrorist lording it over the villages and is designed for helping the petty revenue collector to collect revenue due to the *Ma-Bap*. I am not aware of the policeman having aided the villagers in protecting their goods or cattle against depredations of man and beast. The Police Patel is not to be blamed for what he is. He has been chosen for his task which he does well. He has not been taught to regard himself as the servant of the people. He represents his master the Viceroy. The change at the top has not yet permeated the most distant village. How can it? It has not come from the bottom. The Viceroy still retains legal and military powers to remove and even to imprison his ministers. The latter have no power, legal or other, to imprison the Viceroy. Even the Civil Service is still under his control. It is not suggested that the Viceroy does not mean to shed all power nor that he does not wish the most distant village to realize that he is determined under instructions from Whitehall to shed every vestige of British control in the quickest time possible.

The relevance of all this writing is for showing that we do not yet learn from the village in which India lives that every Indian, man or woman, is his or her own policeman. This he or she can only do when neither harbours mischief against his or her neighbour, no matter what religion he professes or denies. If unfortunately the politically minded will not or cannot go as far as suggested here, he must at least shed all fear and resolutely deny himself all protection whether from the military or the police. I am positive that India will not come into her own unless every home becomes its own castle not in the sense of the ages known as dark but in the very ancient true sense that everyone has learnt the art of dying without ill will, or even wishing that since he cannot someone else will do away with the would-be assassin. How nice; therefore it would be if every one of us had this lesson burnt into us. There is much proof in support of the lesson, if we will take the trouble to examine the proof.

New Delhi, 12-10-'46

## FIFTH FREEDOM

To four freedoms promulgated by President Roosevelt during the World War II, the Rt. Hon'ble J. H. Hofmeyer, in his address as the Chancellor at the Graduation Ceremony of the University of Witwatersrand added a fifth, viz., freedom from racial and colour prejudice. Said the Rt. Hon'ble Hofmeyer:

"It is a mockery for us to talk of ourselves as a free people, to acclaim ourselves as the inheritors of a tradition of freedom, while we are as a nation to so large an extent the slaves of prejudice, *while we allow our sense of dislike of the colour of some of our fellow South Africans to stand in the way of dealing fairly with them, while we let ourselves become the victims of the anti-Semitic doctrines which were a most important part of the Nazi ideology that we have fought to destroy.* By way of illustration of what prejudice means in South Africa, I cannot do better than refer to the growing tendency to describe as a Communist—and therefore one who should be condemned by bell, book and candle—anyone who asks for fair play for all races, or who suggests that non-Europeans really should be treated as the equals of Europeans before the law.

"The plain truth, whether we like it or not, is that the dominant mentality of South Africa is a Herrenvolk mentality—the essential feature of our race problems is to be found in that fact. The true solution of those problems must be sought in the changing of that mentality. Ten years ago it was announced with a great flourish of trumpets that we had found a solution of our native problem—but there was no change of our Herrenvolk mentality. I said then, in an address delivered at this University, that it was futile to make such a claim. Today there are few people who would not agree that I was right. At this time when we are dealing with the Indian problem, though we may be able to settle certain aspects of it, it would be just as futile to claim that we can solve it, while in relation to it also that mentality continues to prevail to so great an extent as is obviously the case today.

"Freedom from prejudice—that is not the least of the freedom for which we must fight. We are paying a heavy price for our sub-servience to it today. *Part of that price is material—undoubtedly we are the poorer as a nation because of our unwillingness to make full use of all our human resources. Part of it is being paid in the form of loss of international esteem and goodwill. We cannot hide our prejudices away in a cupboard from inspection by others.* More and more the searchlight of the nations is being directed at us. More and more South Africa is suffering because its policies and dominant attitudes of mind do not measure up to what are coming to be accepted internationally as standards of values. But our chief loss is moral loss.

"As long as we continue to apply a dual standard in South Africa, to determine our attitude towards, and our relationships with, European and non-European on different ethical bases, to assign to Christian doctrine a significance which varies



with the colour of men's skins, we shall suffer as a nation from what Plato would have called the lie in the soul—and the curse of the Iscariot may yet be our fate for our betrayal of the Christian doctrine which we profess!"

He ended with the exhortation: "May you be prepared to say with Thomas Jefferson: 'I have sworn upon the altar of God eternal hostility against every form of tyranny over the mind of man'."

One only hopes these sentiments will not be forgotten by the speaker and his Chief General Smuts when the case of Indians in South Africa comes up before the U. N. O.

New Delhi, 13-10-46

PYARELAL

## WEEKLY LETTER

### STATE OWNERSHIP V. CONTROL

The annual meeting of the A. I. S. A. which was held on the 8th, 9th and 10th inst. at Harijan Colony, Kingsway, brought home the fact that with the advent of the National Government several things that were so far regarded from a theoretical plane have entered the realm of practical possibility. About 80 members participated in the proceedings. One of the questions discussed was about the exclusion of mill cloth from certain areas and laying an embargo on the erection of new textile mills in order that mill cloth should not compete with and kill Khadi. Gandhiji had suggested that in certain areas where the people are prepared to try out the experiment of self-sufficiency in cloth, the Government should prohibit the entry of mill cloth. He had also advised the Provincial Governments that if they were serious about making Khadi universal, they should not erect new textile mills nor permit them to be erected. They could not spend crores on new mills and yet expect the villagers to take their Khadi schemes seriously. The villager was a shrewd person. He would at once begin to suspect their *bona fides*, if they talked to him of self-sufficiency in cloth and at the same time allowed new textile mills in their province.

A member suggested that the A. I. S. A. might pass a resolution requesting the Government to nationalize all new textile mills and the existing ones also as soon as practicable. Gandhiji demurring to the suggestion explained that they could not ask the Government to nationalize new textile mills when they were telling them that Khadi and the erection of new mills could not go together. Shri T. Prakasam the Premier of Madras had already made an announcement to the effect that no new textile mills would be erected in the Madras Presidency. They might ask for the nationalization of the existing mills but he himself preferred putting them under strict State control to taking charge of and running them as a State concern. As a believer in non-violence he believed in trusteeship. He wanted a peaceful conversion of mill owners, so that the mill owners and their employees would all come under social control voluntarily. That meant that though, for instance, X might continue to be the legal owner, he would only take such commission out of the profits for himself as was

warranted by his services and sanctioned by the people. The real owners would be the labourers in the mills. In one of the Tata concerns the labourers were reported to have become profit-sharers. Shri J. R. D. Tata's speech in that connection was worthy of perusal. He (Gandhiji) considered such solution to be the best. Several mill-owners had assured him that they were ready to co-operate in any such scheme, if required, and would prevent further expansion of their textile mills. He deprecated the idea of joint control of the mill industry by the Government, the A. I. S. A. and the mill owners. "Our job is not to run mills but to ply the little wheel by the hand. Why should we spend time in discussing a thing which lies outside our sphere of action. I would not shed a single tear if all the mills were to close. If mills flourish, Khadi must die. It might still function as a supplementary occupation for the relief of the poor. But for that you do not need a big organization like the Charkha Sangh." He would, he concluded, be perfectly satisfied if the State exercised control over the textile mills in consultation with them and so far as possible according to their advice.

### QUESTION OF SUBSIDY

The question of giving subsidy to Khadi also came up for discussion. The weaving of hand-spun yarn is becoming more and more difficult. The handloom weavers prefer to weave mill yarn. The weaving charges are so high as to render even self-sufficiency Khadi too expensive. "Would it not be advisable," asked Shri Jajuji, "to ask the Government to give those who spin for themselves a subsidy so as to reduce the charges of weaving for self-spinners?" Gandhiji's reply was that they should not ask for subsidy but ask the Government to help in supplying cotton, the necessary implements and the services of teachers and technical experts to those who would take to spinning for their own cloth requirements. He did not want to have it said that the Charkha Sangh was cashing its influence to make the Government squander money on the whims of cranks and faddists. He wanted no favour for the Charkha Sangh which must stand or fall on its merits. He wanted everybody to feel that nothing had been given, at the instance of the Charkha Sangh, which had not been paid back tenfold.

### NO COMPULSION

Another member suggested that the weavers should be required to weave a certain amount of hand-spun yarn and unless they did that the quota of mill yarn should not be given to them. Any kind of compulsion, replied Gandhiji, would only create a revulsion against Khadi. It would then cease to be 'the livery of freedom'. "The spirit of independence is in the air. The weaver might well refuse to be compelled."

"There is control in everything—food, cloth, etc.," argued Jajuji. Why cannot joint control be introduced with regard to weavers?"

"I do not like the idea," replied Gandhiji. "We do not use compulsion with regard to spinners."



We cannot use it for weavers. Let us go to the root of the difficulty. Our initial mistake was that we took to spinning, but neglected weaving. If we had adopted universal weaving along with spinning, all these difficulties would not have arisen. The remedy is to improve the yarn so that the weavers have as little difficulty in weaving as possible. We should reason with the weavers and explain to them that dependence on mill yarn must kill their avocation in the end. Mill owners are no philanthropists. They would draw the noose tight round the handloom weaver's neck the moment they come within effective range of competition with mill cloth.

"If we have faith in the *charkha*, we must forge ahead undismayed by these temporary bottlenecks. The number of handlooms weaving hand-spun will increase in due course. We have got enough artisans and indigenous skill in our country to produce all the cloth that we require for ourselves."

#### SNAIL'S PACE?

Jajuji: "This means that the work must go on as before at snail's pace. Our scheme of making 4 lakhs of people self-sufficient in cloth in a short time in this way will not succeed."

Gandhiji: "If it does not, the fault will be ours."

Jajuji: "That is right in the ultimate sense. But circumstances also count."

Gandhiji: "It is man's privilege to overcome adverse circumstances. Is not conquest of nature the slogan of the age we are living in? If circumstances alone had counted, Germany and Japan would have won the war. Let us in this respect take a leaf out of the book of the English people who do not know what it is to admit defeat. We have to cultivate austerity and penance in our life. There is nothing that the power of penance cannot achieve."

#### UNCERTIFIED KHADI V. MILL CLOTH

"You have taught us to be straight and above board in everything," asked another member. "Is it not dishonest to wear uncertified Khadi and be known as a Khadiwala when one does not fulfil the conditions of wearing Khadi? Is it not better to be honest and use mill cloth instead?"

Gandhiji replied that he did not approve of uncertified Khadi, but he was of opinion that Khadi, so long as it was genuine stuff, was preferable to mill cloth. All uncertified Khadi was not dishonest. For instance, people who spin for themselves or their family and have their yarn woven do not use certified Khadi. Yet such Khadi is of the highest merit. Certified Khadi carries the guarantee that the rules of the A. I. S. A. have been observed, as for instance paying to the spinners a certain minimum wage. Khadi, even when the spinners were not paid the standard A. I. S. A. wage, was preferable to mill cloth. The higher wages paid to labourers in the spinning mills were more apparent than real. Mill cloth was  $2\frac{1}{2}$  times cheaper than Khadi today. Experts had told him that if the mill industry did not receive special privileges and concessions in several ways, which it today enjoyed,

mill cloth would not sell cheaper than Khadi. For instance, we provide cheap transport facilities to the mills to enable raw materials and mass produced finished goods to be taken from one place to another. Again, enormous sums have been spent on growing long-staple cotton or on starting technical institutes and on research work. No one had bothered to do anything for any of the seven lakhs of India's villages. So the mills were today actually being subsidized in some shape or other. "Remove all that and then see whether mill cloth is cheaper than Khadi."

He could not possibly encourage uncertified Khadi, continued Gandhiji, but mill cloth should be absolutely taboo. "A day might come when the A. I. S. A. might stop issuing certificates. Anybody would then be free to sell Khadi. That would be inevitable when Khadi becomes universal. The Charkha Sangh will then function as the custodian of the ethics and the general policy of Khadi. Its business activities will cease. People must become honest by habit and insist upon meticulous honesty on the part of the producers of and dealers in Khadi so that only genuine stuff is sold and bought."

"I have called Khadi and the *charkha* the symbols of non-violence. But it is said there is dishonesty even in certified *bhandars*. I wish it were not so. But there is no denying the fact that it is true of some."

"I have objected to the term vegetable ghee because it is not ghee. It should be labelled as vegetable oil. Similarly, I cannot tolerate that cloth which is not Khadi, i. e. is not hand-spun and hand-woven, should pass as such. The ultimate remedy lies in the buyer's hands. "Buyer beware" is a sound legal maxim for all to remember."

#### A HARD TESTING GROUND

In one of his public addresses, Gandhiji once described public life of his conception as a testing ground and probation for the cultivation of the highest spiritual qualities in man. How hard a testing ground it can prove was brought home to him and us all the other day when in the course of his delicate mission during the week he found himself nodding. His nod consisted in being over-hasty, in reading a paragraph hurriedly though there was no occasion for hurry. He fancied it was alright when it was not. Luckily the mistake was detected in time and no harm came out of it. But it shook him to his depths. It was the first experience of its kind in his long life, he remarked. Was it a sign of creeping senility in his 78th year? Then he had no business to be in public life. He arraigned himself before the tribunal of his conscience and accused himself of gross negligence "which is criminal in a public man." Not satisfied with it he made a confession of his error before the evening prayer gathering when he explained to them the anatomy of his error through a befittingly high-powered lens.

#### IMPORTANCE OF CONFESSION

"I have ever followed the maxim," he began, "that one should not let the sun to go down upon one's error without confessing it. No mortal is proof against error. Danger consists in concealing one's



error, in adding untruth to it in order to gloss it over. When a boil becomes septic you press out the poison and it subsides. But should the poison spread inwards, it would spell certain death. Years ago, in Sabarmati Ashram, we had several cases of small-pox. All those in which the eruption came out escaped. But in one case it did not come out, the whole body became red and inflamed and the poor patient died. Even so it is with error and sin. To confess an error or sin as soon as it is discovered is to purge it out."

According to his life's practice, proceeded Gandhiji, as soon as he had discovered his mistake in the present case he had admitted it to his friends. But he could not rest till he had blazoned it to the whole world by speaking to them. "Friends may say that it was no sin but mere oversight—a trivial mistake. I draw no distinction between error and sin. If a man commits a *bona fide* mistake and confesses it with a contrite heart before his Maker, the merciful Maker sterilizes it of all harm. Throughout my long life I do not remember a single instance of anybody having suffered harm as a result of my *bona fide* mistakes."

"What penance shall I make for it?" asked Gandhiji of himself and replied: "To resolve never to let it happen again. This is the only way to really expiate for an error."

#### DEATH-BED REPENTANCE

"There is a saying in English that there is none so fallen but can redeem himself, if only he has the will. We have the promise that no matter how far gone in sin the sinner may be, God will forgive him, if he confesses his sin and repents of it even with his last breath. I believe in future life and in the continuity of *Karma* through successive births. What we sow here we must reap elsewhere—there is no escape. But if one repents, even on one's death-bed the repentance will burn away sin and sterilize it of consequences. Pray for me, therefore, that I may never commit such a mistake again in my life."

He ended by expressing the hope that they would all learn a lesson from his example and never be hasty or careless in their actions. Whilst the confession had relieved his mind of a burden, it had badly shaken his confidence in his ability to live up to 125 years and it might be a long time before his self-confidence would return. As an aid to introspection and in order to conserve his energy he has since taken to indefinite silence for all normal purposes and breaks it only to address the evening prayer gatherings or whenever it may be necessary for his present mission to Delhi.

#### HIS SILENT PRAYER

What fills the depth of his silence? A fleeting glimpse was afforded today when he scribbled out a short Monday message to be read out at the evening prayer gathering. "Man should earnestly desire the well-being of all God's creation and pray that he may have the strength to do so. In desiring the well-being of all, lies his own welfare; he who desires only his own or his community's welfare is selfish and it can never be well with him." Gandhiji

said that it is essential for man to discriminate between what he may consider to be good and what is really good for him.

#### PLENTIFUL HARVEST

If the results of Shri Kanu Gandhi's third spinning class which concluded after six days on Saturday last is an indication, the harvest is verily plentiful, the lack is only one of labourers.

22 women and 28 men attended as it was decided not to admit a larger number. The speciality about the examination this time was that entrants came from two other classes that were held in other places. One of these was for Harijan women, twenty of whom attended. Seven of these went in for the examination. 12 women were taught in another centre, 3 of whom came for the examination which was conducted for 1½ hours and included all the processes up to spinning. The results were as follows:

22 persons span over 50 rounds including all the processes, 9 span over 80 rounds, 4 span over 100 rounds. The count was from 12 to 30.

Among those who took the full course were Mr. Norman Cliff of the News Chronicle, London, and Mr. Andrew Freeman of the New York Post. Both of them resolutely learnt to squat on the ground and to draw a fairly even thread from slivers of their own making. Both of them have purchased *charkhas* and hope to keep up their spinning.

No more classes will be held in the Bhangi Colony. But some of those who have learnt the art are opening classes in their own localities. The District Committee of Ward No. 9 is opening a Charkha Club and a class from the 16th October.

New Delhi, 15-10-'46

PYARELAL

## Notes

### English-Hindustani Dictionary

A friend asked me the other day as to why the above-named glossary does not appear in the *Harijan Sevak*. I told him it appeared only in the *Harijan* and he was very disappointed. I explained to him that it was meant for the English-knowing public and, therefore, was not published in either the Gujarati or Hindustani editions. But anyone who wished to, could buy the glossary page by remitting postage stamps worth one and a half annas. They could buy the back numbers too.

New Delhi, 12-10-'46

M. K. G.

(From the original in Hindustani)

### Wrong

A correspondent from Madras writes that Congressmen in many places collected funds for Gandhi Jayanti celebrations. People subscribed largely. But the accounts of the money collected have not been audited and the public are not aware how the money has been spent.

If this is true, it is wholly wrong. Money given for charity belongs to the public. Gandhiji has again and again said that such money is a public trust. It should be carefully guarded and spent for the public good. It goes without saying that accounts of every pie should be kept.

New Delhi, 11-10-'46

A. K.

(From the original in Hindustani)



## QUESTION BOX

(By M. K. Gandhi)

## ONENESS OF COSTUME A CURE?

*Q.* "In these last four weeks, I have seen so much bloodshed and firing that it has left a bitter taste in my mouth. Every day since the riots started, I have been on duty as a magistrate trying to maintain the peace. Now, more than ever before, I am convinced of the necessity that we should insist on every Indian wearing the same nationalist dress—as you remember I had broached the subject before but at the time you had not approved of the idea. Why is it that none of the stabbings have been of people wearing a shirt and pant? This should be conclusive proof that the dress causes the difference in religion to be accentuated. Your reply to this through the *Harijan* for others like me who think that communal riots would disappear within a short time on our wearing the same kind of dress would be most appreciated."

*A.* I publish this as from a well-versed, well-meaning friend. These three qualities combined do not necessarily make for clearness of thought. What is wanted is not oneness of costume but oneness of hearts. We have only to look at Europe to demonstrate the emptiness of the idea that oneness of costume will enable us to get out of the mess we are in. Ill will is like an ill wind. It must go and be replaced by the fresh and bracing wind of good will.

## THE SMOKING EVIL

*Q.* While you have all along written very strongly in favour of prohibition, you have not spoken either often enough or with equal emphasis in the matter of smoking. This evil is increasing with alarming rapidity and even children are increasingly getting addicted to it. The crores that are literally burnt by smoking could be so well utilized in wise ways in our poor land.

*A.* The taunt is true but not new. The reason for want of equal emphasis is to be sought in the fact that smoking has attained alarming respectability. When a vice reaches that state it becomes difficult to eradicate. This admission does not mean that we should not agitate for abatement of the nuisance. How to do so and when is the question. I am sorry to have to confess my inability to answer it.

## THE CURSE OF DOWRY

*Q.* The demand for dowries in the marriage market is growing. None is immune from this injustice. The richer the parent of the prospective bridegroom, the heavier is the demand of the dowry. The problem, now is such that many marriageable girls cannot be married and the state of their parents can better be imagined than described. Popular Governments should help to check the evil through the law.

*A.* It is a curious phenomenon the questioner notices. Education not only does not improve the situation but makes it worse. The affected class has to wake up before the curse destroys the class which in its terrible weakness shamelessly betakes

to it. Let them ceaselessly and restlessly agitate. I know no other way.

## WHY THIS SECRECY?

*Q.* Can you say why, when mutual slaughter between brother and brother is going on, the names of the respective communities should be withheld?

*A.* I confess that the question has often occurred to me. There seems to me to be no reason for this hush hush policy save that it is a legacy from the autocracy which, let us hope, the national Governments have displaced. Those who ought not to know, know who stabs whom. And those who should know are kept in the dark. I am sure there are many Hindus and Muslims and even members of other communities taking pride in being Indians first and last without ceasing to be devoted followers of their own religions and who love to do their best to dissuade blind fanatics from making mischief. I know many such. They have no means of ascertaining facts except through the press. Let darkness be exposed to light. It will be dispelled quicker.

New Delhi, 12-10-'46

## DEADLY EMBRACE

(By M. K. Gandhi)

In Bombay a Hindu gave shelter to a Muslim friend the other day. This infuriated a Hindu mob who demanded the head of the Muslim friend. The Hindu would not surrender his friend. So both went down literally in deadly embrace. This was how it was described to me authentically. Nor is this the first instance of chivalry in the midst of frenzy. During the recent blood bath in Calcutta, stories of Muslims having, at the peril of their lives, sheltered their Hindu friends and *vice versa* were recorded. Mankind would die if there were no exhibition any time and anywhere of the divine in man.

Shri Balasaheb Kher, the Premier of Bombay, has described in glowing terms the instance of two youths rushing to still the wrath of a Muslim mob and meeting what they knew was certain death. They met Death as their true friend. Let no scoffer deny the inestimable value of such sacrifice—sacred deed. It would be mock sacrifice, if every such act ended in success, so-called. The certain moral is that, if such instances are sufficiently multiplied, the senseless slaughter on either side in the name of religion will stop. One indispensable condition is that there should be no hypocrisy, no mock heroism. Let us appear as we are.

New Delhi, 15-10-'46

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# HARIJAN

12 Pages

Editor: PYARELAL

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TWO ANNAS

## BRIJKISHORE BABU

The death of Brijkishore Babu after a prolonged illness removes a seasoned and war-worn fighter from Gandhiji's Old Guard of *Satyagrahis*. His name recalls one of the most glorious chapters in the history of *Satyagraha* in India. It was during the Champaran mass *Satyagraha* struggle that Gandhiji first contacted him. As yet comparatively an obscure figure in Indian politics, he had gone to Champaran at the importunity of an equally obscure man — Rajkumar Shukla. There was a general outcry against the tyranny of the notorious compulsory indigo plantation which reduced the cultivator to a virtual serf of the European indigo planter. It was a century-old evil, well entrenched behind powerful vested interests and the false tradition of White prestige. Before entering into the fray Gandhiji consulted the local leaders connected with the movement. Besides the late Brijkishore Babu there was Rajendra Babu, who had already won his laurels at the Bar and was tipped for a High Court Judgeship, and a band of half a dozen lawyers. Brijkishore Babu was regarded by them all as their chief.

After a night's full discussion Brijkishore Babu and his followers threw in their lot with Gandhiji.

"But you will have to cease to regard yourselves as lawyers or leaders," Gandhiji told them. "You will have to become copyists and translators. Your main job will be to interpret and translate."

"We shall take time to consider," replied Brijkishore Babu, speaking for them.

The next day he communicated their decision to Gandhiji. They never wavered. Paying a glowing tribute to his memory in his after-prayer discourse the other day, Gandhiji told his audience how instead of sending a message of condolence, he had said in his wire to the deceased's relatives that they should rejoice that Brijkishore Babu had been relieved of his suffering by merciful death. He referred to his firm, unwavering faith and iron will. "Once his mind was made up, he never changed or looked back." He had strong, saving common sense. A shrewd politician, the shrewdest perhaps in Bihar, he had earned the reputation of being a skilful manager of the party machine before he came into contact with Gandhiji. His devotion to Gandhiji was boundless. He sent his daughter Prabhavati even before she became the wife of Shri Jaiprakash Narain to the Sabarmati Ashram. She became as

Gandhiji's own daughter. Brijkishore Babu was a star of no mean lustre in the firmament of Bihar and his memory would ever be cherished.

New Delhi, 18-10-'46

PYARELAL

## Notes

### How to Combat Unholy Boycott

A correspondent from Mercara (Coorg) writes to say that many youthful reformers do not believe in animal sacrifice offered to the village gods. Therefore, he says, the villagers have threatened to boycott them. What are the reformers to do?

Reformers all over the world have no easy task. The threatened boycott should have no meaning for the reformers. They must be ready and willing to submit to the hardships entailed by the boycott. They should on no account be angry with the villagers who honestly believe in superstitious practices. It is a question of the real education of the people. These village gods have no existence except in the villagers' imagination. Unmindful of the boycott, they should calmly persevere in their reasoning with the villagers, rendering them all the time such services that the villagers may be in need of. Patience and perseverance will overcome the mountains of difficulties that may face the reformers. The reformers may not summon police assistance against the villagers.

New Delhi, 18-10-'46

### Ways of Violence

A straight line is one. Non-violence is a straight line. Lines that are not straight are many. A child who has learnt how to handle a pen can draw as many lines as he wishes. He won't draw a straight line except perhaps by chance. Several readers ask me whether in the violence "permitted" by me several things mentioned by them could be included. Strange to say all the letters received are in English! The writers should re-read my article and they will at once know why I cannot answer those questions. I am unfit probably for the simple reason that I have never practised violence. Above all I have never permitted violence. I have simply stated two grades of bravery and cowardice. The only thing lawful is non-violence. Violence can never be lawful in the sense meant here, i. e. not according to man-made law but according to the law made by Nature for man. Though violence is not lawful, when it is offered in self-defence or for the defence of the defenceless, it is an act of bravery far better than cowardly submission. The latter befits



neither man nor woman. Under violence, there are many stages and varieties of bravery. Every man must judge this for himself. No other person can or has the right.

New Delhi, 18-10-'46

### The Coming Congress Session

A basketful of letters are before me in connection with the Mccrut Congress session to be held shortly. The correspondents complain of the 'lavish' expenditure that is advertised to be incurred in connection with it. I must refuse to sit in judgment upon the doings of the Reception Committee. I have neither the wish nor the required leisure for study in facts. The following however, I can say without the necessity of studying facts and figures. It may be of some use to the Committee.

There should be no *tamashas*. The Congress session is any day a serious business to be tackled seriously. There can be no side-shows. Crowds should not be attracted. The fact of the Congress session being held is by itself enough attraction.

All illuminations should be strictly avoided. Food to be provided should be of the simplest kind requiring little or no fat and sugar in its preparation. Uninvited guests should bring their own provisions or refrain from coming.

Sanitary arrangements should be perfect and serve as a lesson to all comers. Sight-seers should be discouraged.

New Delhi, 19-10-'46

### Why These Tears ?

In his letter of birthday greetings to me, Principal Kalelkar relates an interesting and instructive Chinese story, of which I give below the following translation for the benefit of the readers of the *Harijan* :

"Dr. Wellington Koo, at one of his meetings in London, once narrated a sweet story about a Chinese family. The eldest member of the family was considered, as with us, the head of the family. As such he had the right to use an ancient family stick by way of punishment whenever necessary. Once a hundred-years-old man used the stick on the back of his seventyfive-years-old son. Tears ran down the withered cheeks of the son. The father asked the cause of the tears which he had never before seen him shed on a similar occasion. The son replied, "Father, your stick has lost its original force. Your feebleness hurts me. Hence the tears."

Kakasaheb was present when the letter was received. I gave it to him to read and he gave me the following story as having been told to him by a Tamil friend :

"One day a High Court judge of Madras is said to have gone out with a friend at the end of the day's work instead of going home as usual. When, therefore, he reached home late in the evening he met his mother standing in the doorway waiting for him. "Why have you come late ?" asked the old lady with a slap on his face. Tears rolled down the son's cheeks.

The friend remarked that it was but natural that a grown-up learned man like him should feel

insulted on being slapped like that. It was strange on the mother's part to have slapped him.

"No, there was no insult in that slap," promptly replied the judge. "It is my proud privilege to receive a slap from my revered mother now and then. My eyes became wet only because I missed this time the strength that used to be in her slap. Evidently she has grown old and weak. Should not that hurt a dutiful son ?"

New Delhi, 18-10-'46

(From the original in Gujarati)

### Fireworks during Diwali Days

I have received several letters complaining of the use of fireworks to celebrate *Diwali*. The complaints are justified. I wrote against this practice in the columns of the now extinct *Navajivan*. I do not know whether the writing had any effect. At present when fire surrounds us, surely there can be no *Diwali*. It is sinful to have fireworks of joy or illuminations or parties consuming sweets and the like while millions are starving.

New Delhi, 18-10-'46

(From the original in Gujarati)

### What About Dakore ?

A friend from the Kheda District, who keeps *bhangi* men and women in his house as his own brothers and sisters, writes : "Big temples in Madras are being thrown open to Harijans. Is it not strange that the deluded Gujarat should not throw open the Dakore temple ?" If the deluded Gujaratis become sane, Dakore temple can be thrown open today. But if Gujarat must find joy in hugging a shameful custom, who can prevent her ?

On the Trustees of the Dakore temple rests a heavy responsibility.

New Delhi, 18-10-'46

(From the original in Gujarati)

M. K. G.

### Errata :

In the article "Some Posers" in the *Harijan* of 6-10-'46, page 339, column 1, para 2, line 3, "trouble-shooting" should read "trouble-making."

On page 350 in the *Harijan* of 13-10-'46, column 2 line 6 for *self-suppressive* read *self-expressive*. In column 2, para 3, line 2, after 'arts' add 'and crafts.'

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## RESOLUTIONS PASSED BY THE A. I. S. A. ON 10-10-46

1. The A. I. S. A. believes out of its own experience that the means of bringing about conditions in which there will be no scarcity of cloth as is now prevailing in India and other countries of the world such as Malaya etc., lies in the utilization of the spinning wheel and the handloom. India is the only country where the manufacture of Khadi from hand-spinning and hand-weaving has been going on from ancient times and where today, in the face of the extensive existence of cotton mills, pure hand-spun and hand-woven Khadi is being produced through the A. I. S. A.. During twentyfive year's working of the A. I. S. A. nearly seven crores of rupees have been distributed as wages to the poor spinners and weavers.

2. Those Governments that realize the importance of village industries and want to do Khadi work will have to work along the following lines :

(a) A five year plan should be made in which all the students of all the primary, middle and normal schools should be taught spinning. At least one handloom should work in every school. Basic education should be introduced in these schools in the quickest possible time and on the largest possible scale.

(b) Multi-purpose co-operative societies should be started through which the Khadi programme should be executed as a part of village reconstruction work.

(c) Steps should be taken to grow cotton in those areas where it is not a cultivated crop at present. Proper arrangements should be made so that spinners may easily get *kapas*, and all spinning accessories.

(d) Khadi experts should be trained and research work should be conducted for the improvement of Khadi work.

(e) In some form or other spinning should form a part of village uplift work and therefore the employees of the Co-operative, Education and Agriculture departments as also of the District Boards, Local Boards, Village Panchayats, etc. would have to pass the preliminary examination in Khadi (Khadi Pravesh). No fresh appointments should be made unless the applicant passes the above examination.

(f) There is no control at present on hand-woven cloth made from mill yarn. This should be controlled.

(g) Only hand-spun yarn should be used in the looms of the Textile Department and in weaving schools. Spinning and weaving should be conducted in jails.

3. Provincial Governments and States are, therefore, requested to universalize the use of Khadi by the adoption of the above measures along with others. The A. I. S. A. and its branches are ready to help to the fullest extent in carrying out the above programme.

4. Mill owners are requested to help in the carrying out of this important work. The Governments and mill owners in consultation with the Charkha Sangh should so arrange that mill cloth should not be sent to those areas where spinning and hand-weaving work is possible. In addition to this, they should see that no new mills are set up and that no new spinning and weaving machinery is indented for the existing mills. The management of the cotton mills should be conducted under the advice of the Charkha Sangh and the Government. There should be no import from abroad of any cotton yarn or cloth. The Governments should make the necessary enactments to give effect to the above and carry them out.

### CULTURAL CONQUEST

For over 20 years I have seen little of fashionable Indian society or Government circles. All my life in India has been spent amongst Indian Indians. But last spring, when, in the hope of being able to bring some benefit to the peasantry, I took up the job of Honorary Special Adviser to the U. P. Government, "Grow More Food", I found myself plunged into new surroundings. Strange looking people, each trying to look more English than the other, were on all sides. I looked in despair at my office staff. Mill cloth everywhere, shirts tucked inside ugly English-cut trousers, foreign style coats on, in spite of oppressive heat, and Bata shoes tightly fitting the feet. This was bad enough, but when I began to ask their names I found they were all Misters: Mr. Sharma, Mr. Varma, Mr. Gupta and so on, and when they spoke of anyone they all said Mister so and so. Then came the peons and *chaprasis*, obsequiously saying '*Hazur, hazur*', and my discomfiture was complete!

The embarrassment was mutual. When I refused to be called "Miss" or "Madam", they groped like foreigners for Indian forms of address, and when I began to dictate letters, and, eliminating "Mister", substituted "Shri" and "Saheb", it necessitated re-typing many pages, because the foreign habit had become too deeply engrained to disappear forthwith.

After a few days I started out on a long tour of western U. P., and then a new set of troubles faced me. The Inspection Bungalows and Circuit Houses were all furnished in purely English (in India) style. Stuffy smelling sofas and chairs, quantities of tables, large fashionable beds, with rails or panels along the top, so that you could not throw your arms above your head on a hot night—and the nights were hot enough in May and June—bad smelling carpets on the floors harbouring years of dirt and dust, gauze in the windows keeping out all fresh air, and worst of all unsteady commodes (which are a nightmare for those who do not like to sit in European style) placed in every bathroom, and always in close proximity to the living rooms. As to the kitchens the less said about them the better.

Is it not time that these unsuitable customs in speech, dress and mode of living, quit India along with the *raj* they represent?

MIRABEHN



# HARIJAN

October 27

1946

## HAND-SPUN V. MILL CLOTH

(By M. K. Gandhi)

The Premier of Madras has fallen foul of the big capitalist interests such as the Chamber of Commerce and even some Congressmen. I have had cuttings sent to me from the Madras Press. I am sorry to say that the criticism seems to me to be interested and ignorant.

My name has been dragged in the controversy. That I sponsor the Premier's scheme should not affect a dispassionate discussion of the very simple problem.

The simple question is merely this: Can Khadi become universal in Madras if encouragement is given by the Madras Government to new mills being erected or old ones being so expanded as to enable them to double production? Are the villagers expected to be so simple as not to understand that it would be merely playing with Khadi, if mill cloth heavily aided is to be dumped down in their midst, probably at a rate cheaper even than cotton required to weave a particular length of Calico? This happened when Japan sent her Calico to India.

The Madras Scheme is undoubtedly meant to utilize a part of the idle hours of the villagers for spinning sufficient yarn to clothe themselves. Is it chimerical to induce and expect the people to utilize their idle hours to do useful, national, honest labour?

It will be time to declaim against the Madras Government when there is a feasible scheme to find useful and more remunerative employment for all who need work. It is hardly an honourable pastime to dismiss from consideration honest servants of the nation by dubbing them idealists, dreamers, fanatics and faddists.

Let not capitalists and other entrenched personages range themselves against the poor villagers and prevent them from bettering their hard lot by dignified labour.

The great flaw about new mills in the Madras scheme was detected by me. It was when the Textile Commissioner was convinced of the absurdity of the two things running side by side and the feasibility of the scheme as envisaged by the A. I. S. A. that he ventured to recommend it to the Madras Government. His reputation will be at stake if it is impracticable or unworkable, not the critics.

This is work for democracy by a democratic Government.

Hence the scheme must be popular at least where it is to be tried.

It must not be one man's scheme but the whole Government's.

It must have the backing of the Legislature.

In no case may it smack of compulsion.

It must be intrinsically practicable and of benefit to the masses.

These conditions of success are all reduced to writing. The Government have accepted them *in toto* after, I understand, full discussion with experts and among themselves.

Let it be remembered that the existing Madras mills will not be touched at present. That the whole mill industry will be affected, if the scheme spreads like wild fire as I expect some day such a thing must, goes without saying. Let not the largest capitalist rue the day when and if it comes.

The only question then worth considering is whether the Madras Government are honest and competent. If they are not, everything will go wrong. If they are, the scheme must be blessed by all and must succeed.

New Delhi, 17-10-'46

## THE TRAVAIL

A friend was discussing with Gandhiji the other day the recent gruesome happenings in Calcutta. His sensitive and refined spirit shrank from the very idea of narrow communalism. What filled him with anguish was not the loss of life so much, deplorable as it was, as the degradation of the human spirit that had resulted from the Calcutta happenings. "Even those who never thought in terms of communalism are now becoming communal-minded. But that was not all. The madness has spread."

As Gandhiji sat listening to the stories that came from Bengal, his mind was made up. "If I leave Delhi," he remarked, "it will not be in order to return to Sevagram, but only to go to Bengal. Else, I would stay here and stew in my own juice."

He consulted two friends from Bengal that evening about it. "Allow us to go there first and report," said they. "Give us a chance to do our bit and then, if necessary, you can come." Gandhiji agreed.

In the course of the talk, one of them asked Gandhiji whether he would recommend fasting to check the orgy of communal madness that was spreading in Bengal. Gandhiji's reply was in the negative. He narrated how a valuable colleague from Ahmedabad had invited him to immolate himself. "We believe in the non-violent way but lack the strength. Your example would steady our wavering faith and fortify us." The logic was perfect and the temptation great. "But I resisted it and said 'no'. There is no inner call. When it comes, nothing will keep me back. I have reasoned with myself too about it. But I need not set forth my reasons. Let people call me a coward if they please. I have faith that when the hour arrives God will give me the strength to face it and I won't be found unready."

## THE WAY OF THE CROSS

"Fasting cannot be undertaken mechanically," he proceeded. "It is a powerful thing but a dangerous thing if handled amateurishly. It requires complete self-purification, much more than what is required in facing death with retaliation even in mind. One such act of perfect sacrifice would suffice for the whole world. Such is held to be Jesus' example."



"The idea is," he continued, "that you appropriate to yourself and assimilate the essence of his sacrifice, symbolically represented by the bread and wine of the Eucharist. A man who was completely innocent offered himself as a sacrifice for the good of others, including his enemies and became the ransom of the world. It was a perfect act. 'It is finished' were the last words of Jesus, and we have the testimony of his four disciples as to its authenticity.

"But whether the Jesus tradition is historically true or not I do not care. To me it is truer than history because I hold it to be possible and it enshrines an eternal law—the law of vicarious and innocent suffering taken in its true sense."

He then proceeded to show how the lesson of Jesus could be applied to the present situation. "A Hindu and a Mussalman braved the fury of the maddened crowd in Bombay and went down together literally clasped in a fatal embrace but refused to desert each other. Rajab Ali and Vasant Rao Hegishte similarly fell to mob frenzy in the attempt to quell it. "What came out of it?" people might ask, "the fire still continues to rage." I do not think for a moment it has gone in vain. We may not see the effect today. Our non-violence is as yet a mixed affair. It limps. Nevertheless, it is there and it continues to work like a leaven in a silent and invisible way, least understood by most. It is the only way." As a further illustration of his remarks he recalled the history of the Champaran *Satyagraha*. There had been several bloody risings within half a century preceding it against the infamous compulsory indigo plantation. But each attempt had only resulted in fastening the rivets tighter than ever before. Then came the Champaran mass *Satyagraha*, untainted by acts of violence, and a century-old evil was overthrown in less than six months.

"Go forth, therefore," he concluded. "I have done. I won't detain you for a day longer. You have my blessings. And I tell you there will be no tears but only joy, if tomorrow I get the news that all the three of you are killed."

"It will be pure joy to be so killed," they echoed.

"But mark my words," he resumed. "Let there be no foolhardiness about it. You should go because you feel you must and not because I ask you to."

"That goes without saying," they answered together as they took leave to go forth and face the flames.

#### IN GOD'S HANDS

Remarked Gandhiji at the evening prayer gathering that day that he had received numerous messages from Bengal inviting him to go there and still the raging fury. Whilst he did not believe that he had any such capacity, he was anxious to go to Bengal. Only he thought it was his duty to wait till Pandit Nehru's return and the meeting of the Working Committee. But he was in God's hands. If he clearly felt that he should wait for nothing, he would not hesitate to anticipate the date. His heart was in Bengal.

New Delhi, 18-10-'46

PYARELAL

## ELOQUENT FIGURES

(By M. K. Gandhi)

When Shri S. Venkateswaran, the Provincial Textile Commissioner, was in Delhi specially for the purpose of the Madras Khadi scheme, I asked him to give me his own figures on the assumption that Madras had no mills and had to clothe the whole Presidency in Khadi.

Here are the figures which speak for themselves:

"Population of Madras Province	53 millions
Number of families in the Province	13-25 millions
53,000,000	
4	

Quantity of handspun yarn that each spinner can spin every day, working 1 hour per day	3/8 of a hank
Total quantity of yarn that will be produced per family per month of 30 working days	11-1/4 hanks
$\frac{3}{8} \times 30 = 90/8$	

(One spinner for each family)

Production of handspun yarn per family per annum	= 135 hanks
= $12 \times 11-1/4$	= $9-9/14 = 9-64$ lbs.
	or 10 lbs. roughly
	equal to 30 yds. of cloth
	(width 44" average)

Total production of Khadi cloth in the Province	$30 \times 13-25 = 397-5$ million yards
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Quantity of Khadi cloth required for clothing the entire population at 20 yds. per adult and 10 yds. per child	
37 millions $\times 20$	= 740 million yards
16 " $\times 10$	= 160 " "
	900 million yards

Percentage of production to the requirements of cloth	44-1%
---	-------

"It seems to follow that we cannot get enough hand-spun yarn for meeting the cloth requirements in full unless each family contributes a spinner working, in the average, for about 2-1/2 hours daily, or unless we can secure about five spinners for every two families in the Province.

"*Handlooms required*: On the assumption that an average weaver, even after due training, cannot weave more than five yards daily, or 125 yards per month (allowing five days, every month, for festivals and other days of rest), the number of looms required for the production of 900 million yards is 6,00,000. The number of handlooms weaving cotton yarn in this Province now is only a little over 5,00,000. The number of cotton yarn looms will, therefore, have to be increased by at least 75,000 to make the Province self-sufficient in terms of Khadi."

Is it extravagant to expect every five persons out of eight to spin one hour per day, say for love of the country of their birth?

New Delhi, 18-10-'46



## WEEKLY LETTER

## THE ORGY OF MADNESS

The week's events were not calculated to lift the darkness that had descended on Gandhiji's spirit and to which I referred last week. "I am trying to take my bearings, to see where I stand," he casually remarked the other day in the course of a conversation. He has since been pouring out his anguish in a series of prayer gathering addresses. There was first the flood havoc in Assam. Thousands had been rendered homeless, property worth lakhs had been destroyed and many lives lost. That was an act of God. But far worse than the news from Assam was the fact that an orgy of madness had seized a section of humanity in Bengal. Man had sunk lower than the brute. Reports were coming through that the Hindus, who are in a very small minority there, were being attacked by Mussalmans. Ever since he had heard of the happenings in Noakhali he had been furiously thinking as to what his own duty was. God would show him the way. He knew that his stock had gone down with the people so far as the teaching of non-violence was concerned. They still showered affection upon him. He appreciated their affection and felt thankful for it. But the only way in which he could express his thanks and appreciation was to place before them and through them the world the truth which God had vouchsafed to him and to the pursuit of which his whole life was devoted, even at the risk of forfeiting their affection and regard. At the moment, he felt prompted to tell them that it would be wrong on the part of the Hindus to think in terms of reprisals for what had happened in Noakhali and elsewhere in East Bengal. Non-violence was the creed of the Congress. It had brought them to their present strength. But it would be counted only as a coward's expedient if its use was to be limited only against the British power which was strong and while violence was to be freely used against our own brethren. He refused to believe that they could ever adopt that as their creed. Although the Congress had an overwhelming majority of the Hindus on its membership rolls, he maintained that it was by no means a Hindu organization and that it belonged equally to all communities. He had told Acharya Kripalani, who had succeeded Pandit Nehru in the Presidentship of the Congress, that it was going to prove no feather-bed for him. If the Chief Minister of the Cabinet had to wear a crown of thorns, the Congress President would have to lie on a bed of thorns. The late Sir Syed Ahmed had called Hindus and Mussalmans the two eyes of India. The Congress President could not possibly discriminate between the two. He was pledged to equally serve both. He, the speaker, had therefore asked him to proceed on a mission of peace to East Bengal to teach people the art of dying without killing. It should be his privilege to demonstrate it by his personal example. He was going there with his wife not to protect one party

but to stop the fratricide which threatened to overwhelm India. It was a good beginning for Acharya Kripalani and his wife. Sarat Babu, the brother of the late Subhas Babu, was going with them. He knew no barriers of caste or creed. Some years ago he was staying at Sarat Babu's house. He came to know how Subhas Babu used to look up to Sarat Babu.

The fair name of Bengal was being tarnished — Bengal that had given them so much, Bengal the home of Gurudev whose *bhajan* they had just heard sung. That hymn asked God to make the devotee wide-hearted and fearless. It was with that hymn on their lips that they were going and it was the audience's duty to wish them every success.

## A WORD TO THE MUSLIM LEAGUE

He appealed to the Muslim League too to turn the searchlight inward. They had decided to come into the Interim Government. He hoped they were coming in to work as brothers. If they did, all would be well. And just as he had exhorted Hindus not to slay Mussalmans nor harbour ill-will towards them, so he appealed to the Muslim League, even if they wanted to fight for Pakistan, to fight cleanly and as brothers. The Qaid-e-Azam had said that minorities would be fully protected and everyone would receive justice in Pakistan. It was as good as Pakistan where they were in the majority and he implored them to treat Hindus as blood brothers and not as enemies. It boded ill for Pakistan if what was happening in East Bengal was an earnest of things to come. He hoped both Hindus and Muslims respectively would stand mutually as surety and pledge themselves to see that not a hair of the head of the minority community in their midst was injured. Unless they learnt to do that, he would say that their assumption of the reins of power was a mere blind. What was going on in Bengal was not worthy of human beings. They had to learn to be human beings first.

## NOT STRAIGHT

Gandhiji's hope that the coming of the Muslim League into the Interim Government would prove to be a good augury was, however, destined soon to receive a rude shock by the inclusion of a Scheduled Caste name in the list of the Muslim League's nominees. It might be supposed, Gandhiji remarked after the evening prayer on Wednesday last, that a man like himself ought to be glad that another seat had been given to a Harijan. But he would be deceiving himself and Qaid-e-Azam Jinnah if he said so. The latter had said that the Muslims and Hindus were two nations. The League was a purely communal organization. How then could they nominate a Harijan to represent them? Gandhiji feared their whole mode of entrance into the Cabinet had not been straight. He could not sense any generosity in the nomination of a Harijan in their quota of five seats especially when he read what was happening in East Bengal. He was, therefore, forced to wonder whether they had come into the Cabinet also to fight. He hoped, neverthe-



less, that his fears would prove to be wrong and that they would work there as brothers, out to serve India as a whole. He hoped too that the Harijan member would prove a worthy son and servant of India.

#### WOMEN'S ORDEAL

"It is not death that matters but how you meet death," he remarked on another occasion. To die at the hands of one's brother is a privilege, provided you die bravely. But what about women who were being abducted and forcibly converted? That no one could be 'converted' forcibly was here beside the point. "And why should Indian women feel so helpless? Is bravery the monopoly of men only? Women of course do not generally carry swords though the Rani of Jhansi did and outdid all her contemporaries in the valour of the sword. Still all cannot become Ranis of Jhansi. But all women can emulate the example of Sita whom even the mighty Ravana dared not touch. Ranis of Jhansi could be subdued."

"Let no one dismiss the example of Sita as legendary," he proceeded and gave the example of Olive Doke who dared to go and live among the unclad primitive Negro tribes in the heart of Africa without fear of molestation. It was that higher type of valour which he wanted Indian womanhood to cultivate. The military and police might protect them from abduction but what about those who had already been abducted or who might be abducted in spite of the police and the military. They ought to learn to die before a hair of their head could be injured. He averred that it was possible for a woman to put an end to herself by choking or biting the tongue.

#### DEATH BEFORE DISHONOUR

The next evening he had to revise the technique suggested above. Dr. Sushila who had heard him the day before had told him—and Dr. B. C. Roy who saw him the next morning confirmed her statement—that one could not end his life by choking or biting one's tongue. The only way known to medicine for instant self-immolation was a strong, poisonous dose. If this was so, he, the speaker, would advise every one running the risk of dishonour to take poison before submission to dishonour. He had, however, heard from those given to yogic practices that it was possible by some yogic practice to end life. He would try to inquire. His was not an idle idea. He meant all he had said. The very fact of steeling oneself for death before dishonour braced one for the struggle. Woman in our country was brought up to think that she was well only with her husband or on the funeral pyre. He would far rather see India's women trained to wield arms, said the speaker, than that they should feel helpless. The vogue of carrying daggers and revolvers by women was on the increase. He knew, however, that arms were a poor weapon when it came to the matter of defending one's honour against odds. Arms were a symbol of one's helplessness, not strength. When one was deprived of them, generally there was nothing left but surrender.

He then referred to a letter received from a Muslim friend to the effect that he (Gandhiji) was ready to condemn atrocities by Muslims but preferred to be silent when Hindus committed them. He could only say that the charge was baseless. To him all human beings were like his blood brothers.

#### DECENTRALIZING KHADI ORGANIZATION

I wrote at length last week about the various questions that were discussed at the last meeting of the Charkha Sangh. Another question that was discussed was about the devolution of the authority of the Charkha Sangh to local Khadi organizations. It was suggested that the formulation of Khadi policy for each unit of area should be left entirely to local bodies which should be completely independent of the central organization. Gandhiji, while he was entirely in favour of the maximum decentralization of initiative and responsibility, was opposed to the creation of local committees of untrained men and women to take the place of Khadi workers. For organization of Khadi work what was needed was a body of technicians and experts, men endowed with business talent and filled with the spirit of service. There was no room in it for personal ambition or power politics. The latter had become the bane of the Congress. To get rid of corruption in the Congress organization he had suggested that it should convert itself into an organization of workers. To introduce an element of democracy into Khadi work would be to kill Khadi. The Charkha Sangh was not a democratic organization in the sense the Congress was. It was an organization created by the Congress for the building up of democracy. Like the Directorate of the Bank of England, it was a business organization first and last. Only it was motivated by an altruistic, not profit motive. A business organization of a democratic body could not be bound by the procedure of the democratic vote.

"We want to disperse in the villages," proceeded Gandhiji. "A Khadi worker can have no use for any other sanction save such as persuasion and service can command. The moment he seeks to arm himself with any other, he kills Khadi."

"To make Khadi universal," finally asked a friend, "you need to inspan the co-operation of everybody."

Gandhiji replied that since Khadi workers were expected to be full servants of the people, their worth if there was any could create public opinion in their favour. The need was not for a committee of members who may be a hindrance rather than help, whereas if service drew supporters they would be a powerful help.

"What would be the authority of the A. I. S. A. after Khadi became decentralized?" was another question.

The answer came quick. It was that the authority of the Sangh would be merely moral and, therefore, more potent than at present. Its function would not be to provide money or material but only to smoothen the way for Khadi work by the creation of a moral sanction. It would lend the Khadi workers the use of its name but not seek to impose its will upon



them. Its moral authority would be available to anybody who accepted its policy. Even its present assets would be put at the disposal of any unit that was ready and considered fit to claim autonomy, provided only that it guaranteed the right use of the assets allotted to it and bound itself to return the same after a certain period. The Charkha Sangh would have the right of inspection but even that would be at the will of the autonomous unit.

New Delhi, 18-10-'46

PYARELAL

### CHARKHA MANDAL

1. Members of the Charkha Mandal will give six hanks of yarn per year or 320 rounds per month. The condition is that the yarn should be spun on the days fixed by the Mandal and at the place fixed for community spinning. The members will have to make their own slivers by *tunai* and spin them. They will be called Associates.

2. An Associate will pay Re. 1 as admission fee and further give 320 rounds of yarn per month, spun as in clause 1. He will remain an Associate so long as he gives the monthly quota of yarn.

3. The Mandal should make rules as to the time and frequency of community spinning. Anyone who fails to give the quota of yarn for 2 months will be struck off the roll. If he wishes to become a member again, he will have to pay the admission fee a second time. No one will be able to become a member a third time in the same year.

4. Efforts should be made to open such *mandals* in every *mohalla*, village and small town. There may be a central office for each district or province.

5. It is the intention to fix a national day for every month in the whole country, when community spinning should be held at the respective *mandals* at one and the same time.

6. Efforts are being made to start spinning classes along with the *mandals* in various places. At these classes the various processes beginning with hand-ginning with a rolling pin, *tunai*, slivering and ending with spinning will be taught. The admission fee will be one rupee. Those who join the Mandal within a month of learning these processes in the Charkha class will not have to pay an additional rupee for admission to the Mandal. They will only have to give 320 rounds of yarn.

7. Although the yarn spun every month will belong to the Mandal, the spinner in question will be able to buy Khadi with that yarn. The Associates will have the first preference in getting Khadi.

KANU GANDHI

[The Charkha Mandal has evolved out of the three spinning classes held in the Bhangi Colony. How I wish such *mandals* would spring up all over the country! Before that can happen a number of *mandals* should be opened in Delhi. There are several clubs for play and enjoyment. Why not have many *mandals* for national work? —M. K. GANDHI]

New Delhi, 18-10-'46

(From the original in *Hindustani*)

### AN ATTRACTIVE PICTURE

There is a tiny national *Grama Vidyalyaya* in the village of Gambhira in Gujarat. Eight students of this school aged from 13 to 17 observed Gandhiji's birthday anniversary by spinning among themselves 36,920 rounds or 578 hanks of yarn in 1,275 man-hours from the 16th of August to the 21st of September. Generally they spin for one hour every day. Besides this, on Gandhiji's birthday, six wheels were kept plying without a break for 24 hours, turning out 43 hanks, while one spinning wheel was kept going non-stop for 77 hours producing 30 hanks. In all 651 hanks of 20 to 32 counts were spun.

The spinners have all written letters to Gandhiji giving a charming account of their school and surroundings.

The students of the *Nutan Rashtriya Grama Vidyalyaya* themselves sweep the school and clean their latrines. Off and on they do scavenging in the village itself. They are proud of it too. Writes one of them: "I have always felt that even if we can render no other service to the country, we can contribute our mite by keeping the school building and its surroundings neat and clean. It is pure joy." Another takes pride in the fact that they are all taught to be above narrow prejudices and the feeling of distinction between man and man. They wear Khadi woven from yarn of their own spinning. They have laid out a flower garden for themselves. A girl student describes how on Gandhiji's birthday they built a model of Gandhiji's hut which they decorated with yarn spun by themselves and how they swept clean the village on that day. But to their sorrow they found, while returning after the flag salutation ceremony, that the villagers had already spoiled the roads and footpaths. "They do not seem to realize the importance of cleanliness and sanitation," she bewails.

Other letters indicate a keen interest on the part of the students in the various local problems such as the Harijan question, deterioration since the last five or six years of the village land owing to floods, erosion and so on.

New Delhi, 14-10-'46

PYARELAL

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# HARIJAN

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TWO ANNAS

## WHO CAN BE A TRUSTEE ?

(By M. K. Gandhi)

The task that the A. I. S. A. has undertaken is so vast and great that it calls for a most careful consideration of the qualifications required for a trustee of the A. I. S. A. In my opinion they should be as below :

1. No one should be a trustee merely in name or for the sake of name.

A trustee should have the faith that in a country like India where crores remain unemployed for 4-6 months in the year, everybody can easily be clad in self-spun cloth and need not touch any other if all those who are physically fit spin for a reasonable time every day, say on an average an hour per day.

2. A trustee who has this unshakable faith would spin regularly to set a good example to others and for the satisfaction of contributing his or her mite to the service of the country.

3. He or she will try his or her best to attune his or her life with the life in the villages of India.

4. India is made of villages, but our intelligentsia has neglected them. A trustee of the A. I. S. A. would try his or her utmost to remedy the handicaps from which our village life suffers. In doing so he or she should remember that village life must not become a copy or appendage of city life. The cities have to adopt the pattern of village life and subsist for the villages.

5. If a trustee's husband is connected with the mill industry, she should engage a weaver out of her personal money to weave yarn spun by herself or her friends and relatives and use the cloth thus produced.

6. A trustee should read all the literature about hand-spinning and hand-weaving and understand the economic and moral significance of these crafts. He or she should further understand how they can be universalized and explain it to others.

7. A trustee should study and understand the history of the A. I. S. A. from the beginning to date and how it has revolutionized the various processes of cloth manufacture.

These are my ideas. They cannot be obligatory unless the Sangh approves them. I shall welcome all helpful suggestions by way of amendment or addition.

New Delhi, 27-10-'46

(From the original in Gujarati)

## Notes

### Abducted Girls

Q. You have called attention to the fact that girls who are forcibly abducted have not erred and that society would be wrong in penalizing them. In further exposition of your views, would you tell us, if any ceremony purporting to be one of marriage forced on unwilling victims of such outrage, should be considered binding in any way, against the will of the girls concerned? Is it not right that both society and the family should be broad-minded enough to receive them back? In the case of unmarried girls abducted or forced to undergo such mock ceremonies of marriage, should not a special effort be made by society not only to reclaim them, but to help them to contract marriage in the normal manner and thus be completely vindicated and restored to the fold?

A. You are right. All you say follows from my remarks referred to by you. I have no doubt that girls forcibly abducted have committed no crime, nor incurred any odium. They deserve the pity and active help of every right-minded man. Such girls should be received back in their homes with open arms and affection and should have no difficulty in being suitably matched.

New Delhi, 24-10-'46

### English into Hindustani

This fortnightly attempt is proving its use. Its defects are not unknown to me. It is a labour of love for the Rajkumari. Insistence on such an effort was mine. I was anxious to give to the lovers of the blend of Hindi and Urdu something ready-made. The hope then was that the vocabulary will be the joint effort of perhaps half a dozen co-workers. But it could not be. It had to be made where I was. My lot happened to be cast in Delhi. The attempt was not to be interrupted. The Rajkumari took it up with rare passion. But she is no scholar of Hindustani. She produces every fortnight what labour of love can. When and if the labour is completed and the time comes to publish the vocabulary in book form, it will undergo revision and errors and defects will be removed. Friends will therefore please continue to send their corrections and suggestions which where acceptable will be adopted at the time of revision. The chief thing to be borne in mind is that the student may have by him a ready though not scholarly companion to refer to in case of need.

New Delhi, 25-10-'46

M. K. G.



## A TIMELY INTERVIEW

[The following is the text (as published by the Associated Press of America) of an interview which Gandhiji gave to Mr. Preston Grover on October 21, 1946 at the Sweepers' Colony, New Delhi.]

### EAST BENGAL

Mahatma Gandhi declared in an interview today that the Muslim League Ministry in Bengal should be able to control the outbreak of disorders in East Bengal in which a good few thousands have been driven from their homes and an undetermined number killed or kidnapped.

"Control will depend on the Ministry," he said, referring to the Bengal Ministry of which the Muslim Leaguer H. S. Suhrawardy is head. "If the Muslim League wanted to control it, I should think that it could." He recalled that the Muslim League "has the overwhelming percentage of Muslim voters on their side."

He described the Bengal outbreak as "heartbreaking".

His comments on the outbreak of robbing, burning and looting in East Bengal were made in his small room in the Untouchable Colony where he has lived most of the time since the arrival of the British Cabinet Mission in March. He sat on a thin mat with a small sloping desk before him and I sat on the floor while he talked of many things including America, the New Government in India, South Africa and his own health.

He announced again his intention of visiting the troubled areas in Bengal after his meeting on October 23 with Pandit Nehru and the Working Committee where they will discuss problems created by the entry of the Muslim Group into the Central Ministry.

"The fact that I go there will satisfy the soul and may be of some use," he said.

"Will the Muslims listen to you?" he was asked.

"I don't know," he said. "I don't go with any expectation, but I have the right to expect it. A man who goes to do his duty only expects to be given strength by God to do his duty."

To a question as to when this type of disturbances would end in India he replied:

"You may be certain that they will end. If the British influence were withdrawn they would end much quicker. While the British influence is here, both parties, I am sorry to confess, look to the British power for assistance."

### RECONSTITUTING THE INTERIM GOVERNMENT

Turning to the affairs of the Interim Government, Mahatma Gandhi regretted the statement of Raja Ghaznafar Ali Khan, Muslim League selection for the Central Government. To Raja Ghaznafar Ali Khan's statement that the League was going into the Interim Government to fight for Pakistan, Mr. Gandhi said:

"That is an extraordinary and inconsistent attitude. The Interim Government is for the interim period only and may not last long. While it is in office it is there to deal with the problems that face the country—starvation, nakedness, disease, bad communications, corruption, illiteracy. Any one of these problems would be enough to tax the best minds of India. On these there is no question of Hindu or Muslim. Both are

naked. Both are starving. Both wished to drive out the demon of illiteracy and un-Indian education.

"There is not much time to elapse between this Government and that to be set up by the Constituent Assembly. The time will be shortened if both apply their will to the completion of the work on the Constituent Assembly.

"The Constituent Assembly is based on the State Paper. That Paper has put in cold storage the idea of Pakistan. It has recommended the device of 'grouping', which the Congress interprets in one way, the League in another and the Cabinet Mission in a third way. No law-giver can give an authoritative interpretation of his own law. If then there is a dispute as to its interpretation, a duly constituted court of law must decide it."

"But if the Muslim League do not accept the court interpretation?"

"They cannot impose theirs on others. If they do, they put themselves in the wrong box. The alternative is to come to blows. We are all savages and come to blows often when we don't agree. Yet we are all gentlemen. This is so whether in America or Europe."

### MADRAS KHADI PLAN

Asked for his reaction to the decision of the Madras Ministry which has decided against any expansion of the cotton mills industry in the Province in order to promote the Gandhian plan for home spinning and weaving, the Mahatma said:

"I think it is the finest thing going. If you want to follow this logically, then you must follow it through."

Asked whether it would then be logical to 'follow through' to the extent that mills presently in the Province would be stopped, he replied that if in time, through the progressive programme, the mills came to have no customers, then they would quit—"unless they chose to sell outside India."

He assailed the Natal Sugar Mills industry as responsible for bringing indentured Indians there to work and thus creating the segregation problem.

### FUTURE OF BRITISH CIVILIANS

To a question as to what would become of Englishmen in the service of the Government of India, Gandhi said:

"I think that India has use for every one of them who is loyal to India and to Indian traditions and conditions and who will be above temptation and corruption. I don't want to say that they should be disloyal to England. That is not the point. They should not be disloyal to India. These things should not conflict, but it has happened in history. Most have come here to serve the country of their birth by exploiting India. That is hypocrisy. It is dishonest. There is no room for dishonesty in any service or outside it."

### A MESSAGE TO AMERICA

Asked if he had any message for America, he said:

"Dislodge the money God called Mammon from the throne and find a corner for poor God. I think America has a very big future but in spite of what is said to the contrary, it has a dismal future if it swears by Mammon. Mammon has never been known to be a friend of any of us to the last. He is always a false friend."



Mahatma Gandhi, who has passed 77 years of age, said today that he was "shaken" in his belief that he would live to be 125 years, as he had so often said.

He attributed his uncertainty to loss of "equanimity" a few weeks ago because of an unwarranted use of fruits which his co-workers had contemplated during a ceremony in connection with his birthday. He said that he was feeling as well as he had a right to feel, but was uncertain of attaining his goal of 125.

"I am shaken in that belief, although not because it is illegitimate. But there are well defined limits to the fulfilment of that wish. If you do not fulfil those limits, then you may not attain the wish. For the time being, I feel dislodged. I have not attained the necessary equanimity. I don't want to live 125 years or even one year on nostrums, medicines and that kind of thing. I want to live a life of service in my present way.

"That is possible provided you have equableness under every circumstance. Nothing should irritate you. I am not able to say today that nothing irritates me, or has irritated me."

He said he had thought calmly of living until 125 "until a few days ago," when he had a "rude shock". It was on the occasion of his birthday by the Hindu calendar, which came this year ten days ahead of October 2, the day of his birthday by the ordinary calendar. Rajendra Prasad, the Food Member in the Cabinet, had come to preside at a flag raising in connection with the birthday, and on that occasion, I was told, "monkey nuts, raisins etc. were to be served to the Harijan children and volunteers in the camp."

"I flared up, madly," the Mahatma said. "I lost my balance. You can use any adverb or adjective you like to describe it."

He said he considered it an insult to the Food Minister to give food needlessly in his presence to children and others "who were not in need."

"It was then I discovered my failure. This loss of self-control has cost some years of my life—which it will be possible to regain if I regain my equanimity—or gain it. That is the humbler way to say it."

His anger flared up, he said, because "every morsel of food has to be husbanded. If we do it, there will be no shortage."

"India is the last country in the world that should be short of food if our rulers knew their business—and there was no black-marketing."

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## SINDH BANS SATYARTH PRAKASH

(By M. K. Gandhi)

One had thought that the ban on *Satyarth Prakash* had lapsed, never to be renewed. But the hope was a dupe. Here is the renewed ban:

"Whereas it appears to the Government of Sindh that Chapter XIV of the book in Sindh entitled "*Satyarth Prakash*" contains matter which promotes feelings of enmity or hatred between different classes of His Majesty's subjects—

"Now, therefore, in exercise of the powers conferred by Section 99 A of the Code of Criminal Procedure, 1898, the Government of Sindh hereby declares to be forfeited to His Majesty every copy wherever found of the book in Sindh entitled "*Satyarth Prakash*" written by Swami Dayananda Saraswati and published by Professor Tarachand D. Gajra, M. A. on behalf of the Pratinidhi Sabha, Sindh, Karachi, and all other documents containing copies, reprints or translations of, or extracts from Chapter XIV of the said book on the grounds that in the said chapter the author,

(a) ridicules some of the religious beliefs of the Muslims;

(b) misrepresents and reviles the teachings of the Quran;

(c) attacks and belittles the authority of the Prophet Mohammed; and

(d) generally contains matter calculated to hurt and which hurts, the religious susceptibilities of Muslims."

It is wider in application than before. The lapsed ban made it criminal to print or publish the book containing Chapter XIV. The renewed ban makes the possession of such a copy a crime. I cannot help feeling that the ban is senseless and is calculated to wound the susceptibilities of the Arya Samajists all the world over. *Satyarth Prakash* enjoys the same status for the Arya Samajists as the Quran for the Muslims and the Bible for the Christians. It is possible to understand a ban on contemporaneous controversial literature, though at this time of the day popular Governments are reluctant even then to use their power. But it seems to be mischievous to ban a scriptural book. I would, therefore, urge the Sindh Government to withdraw the ban in question. The Sindh translation of *Satyarth Prakash* is not a new publication. Is it to be contended that a book that has passed through so many editions and has been translated in most of the languages of the world has been now found to contain matter "which promotes feelings of enmity or hatred between different classes of His Majesty's subjects"? The virtue of toleration is never strained, especially in matters of religion. Differences of religious opinion will persist to the end of time; toleration is the only thing that will enable persons belonging to different religions to live as good neighbours and friends. Religion never suffers by reason of the criticism fair or foul of critics; it always suffers from the laxity or indifference of its followers.

New Delhi, 26-10-'46



# HARIJAN

November 3

1946

## A WISE STEP

(By M. K. Gandhi)

Shri G. D. Tapase, Minister for Backward Classes (Bombay) has sent me a copy of the Bombay Harijan (Removal of Social Disabilities) Act just passed by the Bombay Legislature. I give below the most relevant clauses :

"3. Notwithstanding anything contained in any instrument or any law, custom or usage to the contrary, no Harijan shall merely on the ground that he is a Harijan —

(a) be ineligible for office under any authority constituted under any law; or

(b) be prevented from —

(i) having access to or using any river, stream, spring, well, tank, cistern, water-tap or any bathing place, burial or cremation ground, any sanitary convenience, any road, or pathway which the members of all other castes and classes of Hindus have a right to use or have access to;

(ii) having access to or using any public conveyance licensed by the Provincial Government or any local authority to ply for hire;

(iii) having access to or using any building, well, cistern or place used for charitable or public purposes maintained wholly or partially out of the revenues of the Province or the funds of a local authority;

(iv) having access to a place of public amusement or a place of public entertainment;

(v) having access to a shop which the members of all other castes and classes of Hindus have a right to have access to;

(vi) having access to or using any place set apart or maintained for the use of Hindus generally but not for the use of any particular section or class thereof;

(vii) enjoying any benefit under a charitable trust created for the benefit of Hindus generally but not for the benefit of any particular section or class thereof.

"3A. No person in charge of any of the places referred to in sub-clauses (i), (iii), (iv), (v) and (vi) or any conveyance referred to in sub-clause (ii), or clause (b) of section 3 shall impose any restrictions on a Harijan or act in a manner as to result in discrimination against him.

"4. No court shall in adjudicating any matter or executing any order recognize any custom or usage imposing any civil disability on any Harijan merely on the ground that he is a Harijan.

"5. No local authority shall in carrying out the functions and duties entrusted to it under any law recognize any custom or usage referred to in section 4.

"6. Whoever —

(a) prevents any person, by reason of his being a Harijan, from having access to or using any of

the places referred to in sub-clauses (i), (iii), (iv), (v) and (vi) or any conveyance referred to in sub-clause (ii) of clause (b) of section 3 or from enjoying any benefit under a charitable trust referred to in sub-clause (vii) of clause (b) of the said section or abets the prevention thereof; or

(b) imposes any restriction on a Harijan or acts in a manner so as to result in discrimination against him or abets any person to impose such restriction or to act in such manner

shall, on conviction, be punished with imprisonment for a term which may extend to three months or with fine which may extend to Rs. 200 or with both.

"7. If any person who has been convicted of any offence punishable under this Act is again guilty of the same offence he shall be punished on the second conviction with imprisonment for a term which may extend to six months or with fine which may extend to Rs. 500 or with both and if he is again so guilty shall be punished on the third or any subsequent conviction with imprisonment for a term which may extend to one year and shall also be liable to fine which may extend to Rs. 1,000."

The author of the measure has kindly supplied me with the text of his speech delivered on his introducing the measure. From it I note below the most poignant passages.

"This untouchability amounts to irrationality. As soon as a Harijan is born, untouchability applies to him. . . . As a Harijan he is born, as a Harijan he lives all through his life and as a Harijan he dies. . . . However clean he may be, however wise he may be, however superior he may be, to the so-called orthodox Hindus he is not a superior being. The worst of it is that even after his death his dust and ashes are not allowed to mingle with the dust and ashes of the others. . . . The agonies of the Untouchable are further aggravated by the fact that he is treated as an Untouchable not only by the caste Hindus but even by Christians, Muslims and others. . . . To my mind the Bill gives a *sanad*, a charter, to the Harijans for the exercise of certain social, civic, fundamental rights."

It is worthy of note that the Bill was passed without opposition worth the name, from the Hindu side. That is a good augury for the successful working of the Act. And yet it would not do to be over-sanguine about it. Unfortunately for us, we know that we pass resolutions by acclamation and allow them to become dead letter. The greatest vigilance will have to be exercised by the Government and the reformers in the strict enforcement of the law.

It is no use blinking the fact that the reign of irrationality referred to by the author of the relief bill is still very much to the fore in India. It is not merely in regard to untouchability but many other things. Reformers, therefore, have to watch the demon and utilize their watchfulness, courtesy and tact in dealing with those who are possessed by the demon.

New Delhi, 25-10-'46



## PLUCKY STAND

(By M. K. Gandhi)

Papers received from Natal contain among other things a remarkable correspondence between the Mayoral Secretary of Durban and the Natal Indian Congress Secretary. A committee has been formed for making arrangements for the royal visit to Durban proposed to take place in the month of March next year. The main committee has established a sub-committee to deal with the question of joining the coloured and non-European sections of the population of Durban. For the purpose, the Committee invited the Natal Indian Congress to appoint two representatives to serve on the sub-committee so as to give their advice and assistance to enable the Indian community to see Their Majesties and the Royal Princesses.

To this invitation the Joint Hon. Secretary of the Natal Indian Congress (Meer Saheb) sent the following plucky reply on the 11th September last:

"I am directed by my Executive to state that while the Indian community has the greatest respect for Their Majesties and the Royal Princesses, it must be noted that the Indians of South Africa are at the present moment passing through the most critical period in their history. A series of colour discriminatory Acts depriving us of our elementary human rights during the last half century has culminated in the passing of the Asiatic Land Tenure and Indian Representation Act, 1946, passed in the teeth of the strongest opposition ever voiced by our community. The action of the Union Government in thus oppressing a voteless section of its population has plunged the whole Indian community in a state of grave unrest. Recent trends in colour legislation leave no room for doubt as to what is in store for people of colour in this country. The colour of a man's skin has become the sole criterion of judging human qualities.

"As a result of all this the Indian community of South Africa resolved on the 13th June 1946 to launch a campaign of passive resistance against colour discrimination in the laws of this country. This peaceful protest still goes on and 627 of our people, including National leaders like Dr. Yusuf Dadoo and Dr. G. M. Naicker have been sent to jail where they are treated like common criminals. Some of them have served their sentences and have been released after being subjected to inhuman treatment, but hundreds still remain behind prison bars and many more continue to be sent to prison daily.

"While the Indian community finds itself in such an unhappy situation in a part of His Majesty's Empire, it is most unreasonable to expect Indians to participate in any rejoicing or celebrations in honour of Royalty. In the circumstances we cannot but suggest that you advise Their Majesties to postpone their visit until such time as there is peace and goodwill in South Africa between the rulers and the ruled, the White and the non-White, the represented and the unrepresented, the privileged

and the under-privileged, so that all who constitute the South African nation can equally share, not only its burdens, but also its rewards."

The Natal Indian Congress Executive is to be congratulated on the reply. The Royal visit can evoke no feeling of joy among those who are fighting for their self-respect in South Africa in the making of which they have had no mean share. Let us hope that the Royal visit will be postponed to a more propitious time when the colour bar has become a thing of the past. Such self-denial on the part of Their Majesties will be quite in keeping with the direction which the King and Queen recently issued to substitute in the National Anthem the following new verses:

"Nor on this land, but be God's mercies known,  
from shore to shore.

"Lord make the nations see, that men should  
brothers be,

and form one family, the wide world over."

for the antiquated and indefensible verses:

"Oh, Lord our God arise, scatter his enemies,  
and make them fall.

"Confound their politics, frustrate their knavish  
tricks.

"On Thee our hopes we fix, God save us all."

New Delhi, 25-10-'46

## UN-ISLAMIC

(By M. K. Gandhi)

Sheikh Saheb Hassan-ud-Din, former President of the All India Majlis-e-Ahrar has issued the following to the Press:

"The news of awful and inhuman occurrences which are coming from East Bengal cannot be welcomed by any true Muslim nor can these deeds be considered praiseworthy or Islamic. Compare the actions of the majority of the Muslims of this territory with the injunctions given to the Chief Commander at the time of leaving Medina by the first Caliph. In these the protection of the civil population, the respect for the chastity of the non-Muslim women and the veneration of the places of worship is dwelt upon. On the other hand abundance of slaughter, arson and forcible conversion of young women and their shutting up in the harems are such shameful actions as cannot be tolerated by any civilized people. I really feel a heart-felt sorrow that this state of affairs is the consequence of political dishonesty and bungling by which, for the attainment of a particular end, the emotions of a people have been infuriated, but eyes have been shut as to the responsibility regarding their control. Certainly no Government can tolerate such a state of affairs for any length of time.

"A question arises at this stage whether the power of the army and the police is its remedy or the mutual respect, confidence and co-operation between the people living in a country. I consider that for the creation of a peaceful and tranquil atmosphere in Bengal, the Muslims of India generally and the Muslims of Bengal especially should come to the front as there is a Muslim majority in the



province. To keep the minority satisfied and to prepare them for a life free from worry and tension is the first duty of the Muslim majority.

"Unfortunately in Bengal the leadership of the Muslims has fallen to the lot of a group dissociated from moral virtues and gentlemanliness. In the light of the golden principles inculcated by Islam, other Muslims should come forward and face all the dangers to wean the misled and excited brethren in this region into good and sympathetic neighbours. It is emphasized that the work cannot be accomplished by a free use of rifles and machine guns, nor by turning the non-Muslim houses into forts for protection in self-defence. The common people must be freed from the dominance of the *goonda* element and the people made to live a peaceful and gentle life by softening their hearts by reason. This can be accomplished better by the Muslims themselves.

"For this end the All India Majlis-e-Ahrar-e-Islam is ready to send its parties of disciplined volunteers at once to the affected places so that the misguided brethren may be brought round to the right path as early as possible and the foundations of a permanent peace be laid in the province.

"I know that in this path there are various difficulties to be faced, but to true Muslims in the carrying out of the duty hardships and tribulations have never counted nor would now be any obstacles. For the accomplishment of necessary arrangements I have started talks with Maulana Ataulah Shah Bukhari, President, All India Majlis-e-Ahrar, Maulana Abul Kalam Azad and Maulana Hussain Ahmed Madni, President, All India Jamiat-ul-ulema-i-Hind. By the grace of God the first batch would be leaving Delhi very soon."

Maulana Saheb himself issued the following four days ago:

"Hopes that Bengal would be able to recover early from the tragedy of the Great Calcutta Killing have been shattered by the terrible events now taking place in Eastern Bengal. The non-official report of arson, murder, pillage and oppression makes horrible reading. The Government communique states that incidents have taken place but does not accept all the details contained in the non-official report.

"The Government account is bad enough, but if these details are proved, it constitutes a terrible indictment of the people responsible for the outrage. All civilized society is based on the protection of the life, property and faith of its members. This applies even more to the protection of the honour of women. Anybody who fails to respect women's honour condemns himself to the charge of bestiality. Minorities have a special claim in all these respects, and it is the duty of the majority so to act that all fears of the minority are allayed. There is neither bravery nor credit if a majority tyrannizes over a minority.

"What is most regrettable is that the name of religion has been dragged in for committing atrocious deeds. There are reports of forcible conversions and forced marriages. No religion, least of all Islam,

permits the use of force and violence in matters of faith. The days of the early Caliphs who represented the spirit of Islam in its pristine purity were remarkable for toleration, security and protection guaranteed to minorities like the Jews and the Christians. In fact, the Jews who were prosecuted in all the Christian countries of Europe throughout the Middle Ages, could find safety and security in the Muslim kingdom of Spain and later in Turkey.

"Calumniators of Islam have at times tried to suggest that its phenomenal expansion was due to the use of compulsion and force, but they are refuted by the unequivocal injunction of the Quran that there shall be no compulsion in the matter of faith. Those who act against that teaching are, therefore, guilty of the worst possible disservice to the cause of Islam and the Mussalmans.

"I would urge all Mussalmans and Hindus who love their country and community to ponder calmly and dispassionately on the situation. They have to live together in this land and no Government can tolerate lawlessness and disorder for long. If there are any communal riots, sooner or latter the Government would put them down by the use of the police and if necessary the army. But this would only suppress the disease, not cure it.

"The only method of eradicating these evils is for the majority in an area to guarantee the security of the minority. If, instead of waiting for the police and the army to come and forcibly suppress disorder, responsible men of the major community stand against the miscreants and protect the life, property and honour of the minority in that area, the whole atmosphere of the country will change.

"I would make a special appeal to Muslim brethren in East Bengal. Islam enjoins the protection of one's neighbour as one's religious duty. In Noakhali and other districts of Eastern Bengal, Muslims are in an overwhelming majority. Let men of goodwill in these areas unite and declare that they will protect their neighbours with their lives, and that nobody shall harm a single Hindu except over their dead bodies."

The value of these statements lies not so much in the numbers of Muslims supporting it, but in the fact that these Muslims of undoubted repute in Islam have no hesitation in condemning in unmeasured terms the nefarious deeds of the Muslims in East Bengal. It would be wrong to stigmatize the doers as *goondas*. These perpetrators of wrong are undoubtedly misled by men who should know better. There is little wonder that the atrocities have taken place when one bears in mind the poison that is instilled into the credulous minds of simple-minded Muslims.

In order to meet the evil, the sane element in Islam must not only speak out its mind, but act accordingly and promptly. It would be interesting to know whether the former President of the All India Majlis-e-Ahrar has been able to send the contemplated body of volunteers to undo the mischief.

New Delhi, 23-10-'46



## WEEKLY LETTER

## FORCIBLE MARRIAGES AND CONVERSIONS

"What about those who have been abducted or forcibly converted or married under duress against their will?"—the question has been deeply exercising Gandhiji's mind as it must have been of thousands of people. Replying to questions that had been put to him on this subject during the last 24 hours Gandhiji in his prayer address on Sunday the 20th of October said that he had no hesitation in maintaining that forcible conversion was no conversion at all nor abduction a bar to the return to her home of the abducted girl. He held that no purification or penance was necessary in such cases. Hindu society was wrong when it imposed penance on such persons. They had not erred. He had lived for years among Muslims and Christians. They had all assured him that there could be no compulsion in religion. Those who resorted to it did not deserve to be called men of religion. In one sense he and his audience who believed that God was one and that there was no other and who believed that Mohammed was one of His messengers were Muslims. But if any one forced them or him to recite the *Kalma* they would flatly refuse to obey and take the consequences.

It was his fervent hope that all good Muslims would stand up against the practices reported from the affected area in East Bengal.

## A HYSTERICAL DEMONSTRATION

Excitement is natural when passion runs high. But let not our indignation, however righteous, get the better of our logic and reason and lead us into self-contradictory courses. Just before the evening prayer on Thursday last, a crowd of excited youngmen carrying placards and shouting slogans, came to demand redress for East Bengal and invaded the prayer ground in the Sweepers' Colony. They wished their voice to reach the members of the Working Committee which was meeting in his room. Gandhiji told them that it had already reached them. His own place, he knew, was in Bengal. He assured them that the heart of every man and woman who believed in God was bleeding for Bengal. He admonished them for creating a disturbance at prayer-time and asked them to be clam and join in the prayers.

Somebody shouted that they could not pray when their house was burning. Gandhiji made that the subject of his prayer address.

The regular prayer was not recited. Gandhiji said their minds were not calm enough for it. *Ramadhuna* was sung and as usual had a calming effect on the gathering. Although the regular prayer had to be given up it was in his heart, said Gandhiji, and he was sure it would reach God.

Referring to the remark of the young man who had used the metaphor of a house on fire, Gandhiji said that the duty of the owner of the house or his servant was that when the house was burning he should concentrate on putting out the fire and not lose his head. He alluded to the legend about King Janaka who remained calm and unperturbed

when the report was brought to him that his capital was burning, because he had done all he possibly could before and after the accident and therefore could rest secure in his faith in God. If he had lost his head and run to the place of accident he would only have assisted the flames by distracting attention. They were pained at the news of women's suffering in East Bengal, said Gandhiji. But they had so lost their heads that they had themselves failed to be considerate towards the women in the audience. They had scared them away from the prayer ground. They had occupied the place where women sat every day. It was a strange way of demonstrating their sympathy with the outraged womanhood of East Bengal. He hoped that they would see the irony and inconsistency of it.

Our women were easily scared away. It was so more or less all the world over. He wanted our women to learn to be brave. His advice to them to commit suicide rather than allow themselves to be dishonoured had been much misunderstood. They could keep a dagger for self-defence if they wished to. But a dagger was no use against overwhelming odds. He had advised them to take poison and end their lives rather than submit to dishonour. Their very preparedness should make them brave. No one could dishonour a woman who was fearless of death. They had two ways of self-defence—to kill and be killed or to die without killing. He could teach them the latter, not the former. Above all he wanted them to be fearless. There was no sin like cowardice.

But there was a moral code even for those who believed in violence. He did not wish them to copy the methods said to have been adopted in East Bengal. They must have read Maulana Saheb's statement and the statement issued by the ex-President of the All India Majlis-e-Ahrar. They had said that Islam did not permit forcible conversions or abduction and molestation of women.

## A SERMON ON FAKIRI

Thakkar Bapa, the near octogenarian, and Shri Balasaheb Kher, the Premier of Bombay, have more than one thing in common. Both have dedicated themselves to the service of lost causes—Harijans, *Bhils*, *Dublas* and other *Adivasis* and so on. Few people are perhaps aware that even while he was practising as a solicitor Shri Balasaheb Kher was rendering yeoman service to the tanners and leather-workers in the suburbs of Bombay. He is also associated with the activities of the *Adivasi Seva Mandal* in Bombay. Both of them attended Gandhiji's prayer gatherings and at Gandhiji's request sang hymns after the prayer. Shri Thakkar Bapa who seems to have stolen the secret of perennial youth and refuses to allow years to dry up the "genial current of his soul", sang a *bhajan* whose refrain was: "My mind is set on *fakiri*." Using that as text of his after-prayer address Gandhiji remarked that if they were to follow out what he had been saying during the two previous evenings and prefer death to dishonour, they had



to have the heart of a *fakir*, not the *fakir* of old who went about with a staff and a beggar's bowl. That was a time when there were rich and poor. Then there was room for beggars. Society's thought had advanced since, though practice had not kept pace with the thought. The society of the future was to be a society in which there was to be no distinction between rich and poor, or colour and colour, or country and country. In that society what was needed was purity of heart and purity of the spirit. Thakkar Bapa was such a *fakir* who had dedicated his life to the 'down-trodden classes, Harijans and Adivasis such as *Bhils*, *Santhals*, *Khasis* and those who were described as aboriginals. If the audience could imbibe that spirit, they would never be found guilty of suffering dishonour. He did not have in mind merely the dishonour of women. He would want them to regard black-marketing and cheating the poor also as a species of dishonour and would like them to prefer suicide to dishonour. He knew he horrified some people by expressing these views. But he would be guilty of wrong-doing if he suppressed from them what he believed implicitly. They could not defend their honour, if they had not the purity and austerity of which Bapa had sung so soulfully and of which he was an incarnation.

Equally characteristic of the singer was Tukaram's hymn sung by Shri Balasaheb Kher the evening following. In it the devotee says that he would prefer blindness to vision which could enable him to harbour evil thoughts. Similarly, he would prefer deafness to hearing evil speech. The devotee winds up by saying that his soul yearns only for one thing namely, the name of God.

#### A DARK DIWALI

The festival of *Diwali* has come upon a people in mourning. Thousands of homes in Bengal have been darkened by arson, pillage, death of near and dear ones and worse. Fratricide has degenerated to a sub-human level. Things have been done in the name of religion which make one hang down one's head in shame and lose faith in human nature itself. How could there be feasting or illuminations when the atmosphere is rent with wailing, lamentation and woe of helpless and martyred innocence? Starvation and nakedness stalked the land, Gandhiji grimly remarked, in his written message to the prayer gathering on Monday last. On top of that they were quarrelling amongst themselves. He had written and said enough on the subject. Yet he could not help repeating that in these days those who were pure should become purer, those who were sinners should wash off their sins. All should save as much food as possible and spin as much as they could, so that there might be more cloth. To save food was as good as producing it. To spin was to help reduce the nakedness of India. He who was truthful took the world a step forward. "Let these things engage all our energies," he concluded. "It should

be clear to us that these are not days of festivity or merry-making."

#### A NEW YEAR'S MESSAGE

He followed it up with New Year's message on Friday following. "India is passing through a difficult time," he remarked. "As a matter of fact the whole world is passing through a crisis and India is no exception.

"What help do we need to meet this crisis?" he asked. According to the teaching of the Gita the first requisite for spiritual conduct was fearlessness. On New Year Day people made some good resolve. He wanted them to make a firm resolve to shed all fear. Without fearlessness all other virtues were turned into dust. Attainment of truth, or non-violence was impossible without fearlessness.

Fearlessness did not mean arrogance or aggressiveness. That in itself was a sign of fear. Fearlessness presupposed calmness and peace of mind. For that it was necessary to have a living faith in God.

In the song that had been sung before them, Gandhiji concluded, the devotee says that divorced from God, he is a most worthless creature. God is his refuge all along. He who takes refuge in God has no fear.

#### "EKLA CHALO"

He again emphasized that moral after the evening prayer yesterday, the text for his discourse being provided by Mrs. Nandita Kripalani who tunefully sang Gurudev's celebrated song "*Ekla Chalo Re*." The burden of that hymn, commented Gandhiji, was that the devotee should have the strength to walk alone in the face of difficulties however great. If he realized that God was ever with him, he would not feel lonely. The *bhajan* was not meant for evil-doers. They could not walk alone.

The League members, he continued, had come into the Cabinet. He hoped that they had come with the firm resolve to make a success of their business. The Government of the country lay in the hands of these fourteen men. They had to find food and clothing, provide for the education of the crores and fair transport facilities for them and be responsible for peace and order in the country. "Let us all pray that they will be able to work as one team, all their dealings will be above board and corruption and jobbery will be things of the past."

New Delhi, 27-10-'46

PYARELAL

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# HARIJAN

Editor: PYARELAL

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TWO ANNAS

## WEEKLY LETTER

### A DILEMMA

Four more days were to elapse before Gandhiji could actually leave for Noakhali. As harrowing details of the happenings in Noakhali trickled through, they added to the existing tension. *Bakr Id* was close at hand and it was the wish of the Chief Minister of Bengal and his colleagues that Gandhiji should prolong his stay in the city at least till the *Id* festival was safely over. The root of the trouble, it was represented to him, lay in Calcutta. If the peace could be stabilized in the Metropolis, it would have a salutary effect all over. Gandhiji acquiesced. The whole of India was faced with a difficult situation, that of Bengal was still more so, he remarked in his after-prayer address on Friday last. He had been asked as to what their duty was under the circumstances. According to the scriptures, that was *dharma* which was enjoined by the holy books, followed by the sages, interpreted by the learned and which appealed to the heart. The first three conditions must be fulfilled before the fourth came into operation. Thus one had no right to follow the precepts of an ignorant man or a rascal even though they commended themselves to one. Rigorous observance of harmlessness, non-enmity and renunciation were the first requisites for a person to entitle him to lay down the law, i. e. *dharma*.

He had told them what he considered to be his duty. But they had to judge for themselves what their duty was. He did not ask them to follow him but he pointed out to them the way to discover what their duty was in the difficult position they found themselves in. The Gita had told them that if they only waited on God, they would know the way.

### A HAPPY INSPIRATION

The visit of the four Ministers of the Interim Government to Calcutta to help further the peace efforts was a happy inspiration. It had a salutary effect and for the time being at least an impending crisis was averted. As their visit coincided with that of the Viceroy it gave rise to all kinds of speculation. Would they ask the Viceroy to intervene or would they exert pressure on the Bengal Governor to make the Bengal Ministry take more effective measures? In a series of after-prayer addresses Gandhiji impressed upon the people how the desire of retaliation and the tendency to look to the Viceroy or the Governor, the military and the police, for protection were incompatible with Independence to which they were all pledged. The

Viceroy's powers vested in the Cabinet, the Governor's in the Bengal Ministers. If they wanted lasting peace, it must come from the people's hearts. He had been proclaiming from the housetops that no one could protect them except their own stout hearts. No one could ever dishonour the brave. Retaliation was a vicious circle. If they wanted retaliation they could not have Independence. "Supposing someone kills me, you will gain nothing by killing someone else in retaliation. And, if you only think over it, who can kill Gandhi except Gandhi himself? No one can destroy the soul. So let us dismiss all thought of revenge from our hearts. If we see this clearly we shall have taken a big stride towards Independence."

### A PLEA FOR SANITY

The warning came none too early. Already there were rumblings of a storm in Bihar. The cry for reprisals had gone forth. Gandhiji devoted his next address to show the illogicality and irrationality of that cry.

From his earliest childhood he had learnt to dislike the wrong, never the wrong-doer. Therefore, even if the Muslims had done any wrong, they still remained his friends, but it was his duty to tell them that they had done wrong. He had always applied that rule in life with regard to his nearest and dearest. He held that to be the test of true friendship. He had told them on the previous day that revenge was not the way of peace, it was not humanity. The Hindu scriptures taught forgiveness as the highest virtue. Forgiveness became a brave man. A learned Muslim friend had come to see him on the day before. He had told the speaker that the teaching of the *Quran* was also similar. If a man kills one innocent person he brings upon his head the sin, as it were, of murdering the entire humanity. Islam never approves of but condemns murder, arson, forcible conversions, abductions and the like.

If they could not be generous enough to forgive a person who gave them a slap, remarked Gandhiji, they could give him one in return. He could understand that. But if the miscreant ran away and the injured party slapped his relation or co-religionist by way of retaliation, it was below human dignity.

If someone abducted his daughter, the speaker continued, was he to abduct the abductor's or the abductor's friend's daughter? He held it to be infamous. Muslim friends had condemned such acts in Noakhali. But what was he to say of Bihar, if what he was told was true? He was pained beyond



measure to hear of the reported happenings in Bihar. He knew the Biharis well. The cry of blood for blood was barbarous. They could not take revenge in Bihar for the happenings in Noakhali. He was told that some Muslims, who were running away from Bihar in panic, were murdered by Bihari Hindus. He was shocked to hear it. He hoped that the report was not true. It was contended that the Mahabharata advocated the way of retaliation. He did not agree with that interpretation. The lesson of the Mahabharata was that the victory of the sword was no victory. That great book taught that the victory of the Pandavas was an empty nothing.

He told them of the talk he had with Saheed Saheb, their Prime Minister. Years ago he had met him at Faridpur. Saheed Saheb then took pride in calling himself the speaker's son. He knew they had many grievances against their Prime Minister. But the latter had given him his assurance that he wanted peace. It had grieved him to alienate his Hindu friends. He the speaker, could not disbelieve that assurance till it was found to be untrue. He had by giving that assurance put himself to test. The golden way was to be friends with the world and to regard the whole human family like members of one family. He who distinguished between one's own family and another's, miseducated the members of his own and opened the way for discord and irreligion.

#### RUMLINGS FROM BIHAR

Immediately on seeing the report of the conflagration in Bihar in the Press, Gandhiji sent a wire through the Chief Minister to Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru who with his three colleagues had proceeded to Patna from Calcutta. The latter wired in reply that the situation was tense and grave in many parts but Government were doing their utmost to bring it under control. He himself with his colleague Sardar Abdur Rab Nishtar had decided to stay on in Bihar as long as it might be necessary. "The Congress belongs to the people," commented Gandhiji in his silent day's written message to the prayer congregation. "The Muslim League belongs to our Muslim brothers and sisters. If Congressmen fail to protect Mussalmans where the Congress is in power, then what is the use of a Congress Premier? Similarly, if in a League Province the League Premier cannot afford protection to the Hindus, then why is the League Premier there at all? If either of them have to take the aid of the military in order to protect the Muslim or Hindu minority in their respective provinces, then it only means that none of them actually exercises any control over the general population when a moment of crisis comes. If that is so, it only means that both of us are inviting the British to retain their sovereignty over India. This is a matter over which each one of us should ponder deeply."

He deprecated the habit of procuring moral alibi for ourselves by blaming it all on the *goondas*. "We always put the blame on the *goondas*. But it is we who are responsible for their creation as well

as encouragement. It is therefore not right to say that all the wrong that has been done is the work of the *goondas*."

#### QUIT INDEPENDENCE ?

He repeated the warning on the next day even more forcefully. The Hindus might say : did not the Muslims start the trouble? He wanted them not to succumb to the temptation for retort but to think of their own duty and say firmly that whatever happened, they would not fight. He wanted to tell them that the Muslims who were with him in the course of the day had assured him that they wanted peace. They were all responsible men. They said clearly that Pakistan could not be achieved by fighting. If they continued quarrelling with each other, Independence would vanish into thin air and that would firmly implant the third power in India, be it the British or any other. India was a vast country, rich in minerals, metals and spices. There was nothing in the world that India did not produce. If they kept on quarrelling, any of the big powers of the world would feel tempted to come and save India from Indians and at the same time exploit her rich resources.

They wanted Independence. They were ready to sacrifice their all for the Congress, the organization which had done so much for India. Were they going to undo all that the Congress had done for more than the last 60 years? He had told them they could return blow for blow if they were not brave enough to follow the path of non-violence. But there was a moral code for the use of violence also. Otherwise, the very flames of violence would consume those who lighted them. He did not care if they were all destroyed. But he could not countenance the destruction of India's freedom.

The reports of the happenings in Bihar were awful if true. Pandit Jawaharlal had told the guilty parties that the Central Government would never tolerate such barbarism. They would even use aerial bombing to put it down. But that was the way of the British. The Congress was an organization of the people. Was the Congress to use the foreign mode of destruction against the people whose representative it was? By suppressing the riots with the aid of the military, they would be suppressing India's freedom. And yet what was Panditji to do if the Congress had lost control over the people? The better way, of course, was to give up the reins of Government, if the people were not amenable to discipline and reason.

To retaliate against the relatives of the co-religionists of the wrong-doer was a cowardly act. If they indulged in such acts, they should say good-bye to Independence.

#### TO BIHAR

Fallen upon evil times as we are, we have to be thankful even for small mercies. Everybody heaved a sigh of relief when it was known that the *Bakr Id* had passed off quietly all over India. But the news from Bihar had set Gandhiji at war with himself. It was in Bihar that mass Satyagraha in India



was born. It was in Bihar that his political career in India had practically commenced. And now it was the people of Bihar, for whom he had indefatigably laboured and who had showered upon him such love and affection — Bihar of Brijkishore Babu and Rajendra Babu — that had gone mad and besmirched the fair name of India. He had declared times without number that if the people of India should run amok against the English, they might find him dead. How could he be a witness to the same in regard to innocent Mussalmans who were after all our countrymen, our own kith and kin. "I went on spare, milkless diet, principally for reasons of health soon after coming to Calcutta. The happenings in the country induced me to prolong it. Now Bihar will send me to complete fast if things do not radically mend," he wrote in a letter to Rajkumari Amrit Kaur on Sunday the 4th. "There will be no time limit," he added. "Do not agitate yourself but be really glad that I feel I have the strength to go through the ordeal and live up to my creed." On the following day in a letter to Pandit Jawaharlal he wrote: "The news from Bihar has shaken me. My own duty seems to me to be clear. A deep bond unites me with Bihar. How can I forget that? If even half of what one hears is true, it shows that Bihar has forgotten humanity. To blame it all on the *goondas* would be an untruth. Although I have striven hard to avert a fast, I can do so no longer. . . . My inner voice tells me, 'You may not live to be a witness to this senseless slaughter. If people refuse to see what is clear as daylight and pay no heed to what you say, does it not mean that your day is over?' The logic of the argument is driving me irresistibly towards a fast. I, therefore, propose to issue a statement that unless this orgy of madness ceases, I must go on a fast unto death. The fast may have to be delayed for some time. When you asked me at Delhi about it, I had replied that I was not thinking of it at the time. All that has now changed. You can strive with me, if you think differently. Whatever you say will carry weight with me. But knowing as you do my temperament, I am sure you will approve of my proposed step. In any event you will go on with your work without a moment's thought about my possible death and leave me in God's good care. No worry allowed." But neither Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru nor the Sardar to whom he had caused a copy of the letter to be sent tried to dissuade him. They understood better the magnitude of the stake. It was nothing less than India's Independence. Pandit Jawaharlal sent him word from Patna over the telephone that he did not think it was necessary for him (Gandhiji) to go to Bihar at present. He added that his (Panditji's) own place was in Bihar rather than in Delhi. "I am going to stay on here as long as it may be necessary." On the morning of the 6th, just before he was leaving for Noakhali, Gandhiji issued the statement foreshadowed in the letter to Pandit Nehru that has since appeared in the Press.

Chaumuhani, 8-11-'46

PYARELAL

## GREEN CROSS SOCIETY

(By M. K. Gandhi)

Red Cross Society one is aware of. It had at one time only military associations and used to have an imperialist flavour. Now it has expanded into civil work and covers every form of first-aid work for the relief of suffering humanity. Nevertheless its activities are largely confined to cities. It has hardly touched Indian life.

England is a country for lost causes: humanitarian and even strange causes. One such is represented by the Green Cross Society for the wild life heritage. Mrs. M. H. Morrison is its Hon. Secretary (41, Asmuns Place, London, N. W. 11).

The Society aims at the U. N. O. identifying itself with it. The following resolution is to be submitted to the U. N. O. for acceptance:

"(a) That U. N. O. ideals should include immediate effort in each country to delimit the area of any suitable National Park incorporating Nature Reserves for the protection of unique and valuable wild life — Flora, Fauna, Avifauna, with the distinctive terrain upon which these depend.

"(b) And, further, that the world at large should consent to an International Park, or World National Park in South America, Africa or Asia. If in Asia, then upon, around or within — it is suggested — the immense mountains encircling Tibet: Britain, China, India, Russia and U. S. A., appointing Custodians and acting as Trustees."

Reasons adduced for inviting the U. N. O. to pass the foregoing resolution are:

"1. That a stand must now be made against the maddening encroachments of Materialism.

"2. That the idealism and realism of the United Nations Organization should include an urge to all the world and to each nation to protect our heritage of Wild Life — its beauty, grandeur and interest — wild birds, wild animals, wild flora (flowers, plants, trees) and wild country or landscape: to protect our heritage wherever possible; and with special care within the Nature Reserves of National Parks.

"3. That the United Nations will jointly set an example to the component nations by claiming its own World Nature Park, or International Park in South America, Africa or Asia. If in Asia, then upon, around, or within the immense mountains encircling Tibet. In this case Britain, China, India, Russia and U. S. A. might appoint Custodians and act as Trustees to prevent disastrous and disfiguring exploitation.

"4. And, further, that such "Far Horizon" can give direction and cohesion to friends, allies, sympathizers and well-wishers gathering in groups along the way for the march and drive on toward the distant goal."

Among the numerous signatories to the resolution are Sir Alfred J. Munnings, President, Royal Academy of Arts, Dame Laura Knight and the world famous George Bernard Shaw.



Mrs. Morrison would like the signatures of leading Indians and other leaders in Asia and Africa. Those who would endorse the resolution should put themselves in communication with Mrs. Morrison.

Sodepur, 2-11-'46

## HARIJAN

November 17

1946

### A CHALLENGE TO FAITH

[The following are questions put by the Associated Press of America correspondent and Gandhiji's answers (6-11-'46). PYARELAL]

**Q. 1.** In view of recent Indian history — 1942 unrest, I. N. A. movement and unrest, R. I. N. mutiny, Calcutta-Bombay disturbances, movements in Indian States such as Kashmir and recent communal riots — can it be said your creed of non-violence has failed, insofar as non-violence has not taken roots in Indian life?

**A.** This is a dangerous generalization. All you mention can certainly be called *himsa* but that can never mean that the creed of non-violence has failed. At best it may be said that I have not yet found the technique required for the conversion of the mass mind. But I claim that the millions of the 7,00,000 villages of India have not participated in the violence alluded to by you. Whether non-violence has taken roots in Indian life is still an open question which can only be answered after my death.

**Q. 2.** What should one do in his day-to-day life — that is, what is the minimum programme — so that one can acquire non-violence of the brave?

**A.** The minimum that is required of a person wishing to cultivate the *ahimsa* of the brave is first to clear one's thought of cowardice and in the light of the clearance regulate his conduct in every activity, great or small. Thus the votary must refuse to be cowed down by his superior, without being angry. He must, however, be ready to sacrifice his post, however remunerative it may be. Whilst sacrificing his all, if the votary has no sense of irritation against his employer, he has *ahimsa* of the brave in him. Assume that a fellow passenger threatens my son with assault and I reason with the would-be-assailant who then turns upon me. If then I take his blow with grace and dignity, without harbouring any ill-will against him, I exhibit the *ahimsa* of the brave. Such instances are of every day occurrence and can be easily multiplied. If I succeed in curbing my temper every time and though able to give blow for blow I refrain, I shall develop the *ahimsa* of the brave which will never fail me and which will compel recognition from the most confirmed adversaries.

### THE SPINNING WHEEL AND THE ATOM BOMB

Mr. Andrew Freeman of the *New York Post*, who took lessons in spinning with Kanu Gandhi, followed up the subject on return from his assignment in the N. W. F. P. tour with Pandit Nehru by an interview with Gandhiji. He had come to Gandhiji with the assumption that the spinning wheel had a cultural and therapeutic value especially for the malaise from which the West was suffering and which had culminated in the atom bomb.

"Has the spinning wheel a message for America? Can it serve as a counter weapon to the atom bomb?" he asked.

"I do feel," replied Gandhiji, "that it has a message for the U. S. A. and the whole world. But it cannot be until India has demonstrated to the world that it has made the spinning wheel its own, which it has not done today. The fault is not of the wheel. I have not the slightest doubt that the saving of India and of the world lies in the wheel. If India becomes the slave of the machine, then, I say, heaven save the world."

"India," he continued, "has a far nobler mission, viz. to establish friendship and peace in the world. Peace cannot be established through mere conferences. Peace is being broken, as we all see, even while conferences are being held."

"It seems so tragic," remarked Mr. Freeman. "India must lead the way and India is in turmoil. If any country can really take up the wheel, it is India. Do you think it will?"

"It is doing so," replied Gandhiji, "but I confess the process is very slow. Pandit Nehru called Khadi the 'livery of our freedom'. It cannot be that, so long as it is the consolation of cranks and paupers only. There are many things that are not possible for man to accomplish. But everything is possible for God. If there is no living power called God, the spinning wheel has no place."

"Those who spin are not called cranks here?" asked Mr. Freeman with some concern.

"No. I used that expression to anticipate what Americans would say. I allow myself to be called by that name to protect myself. I was described by a friend as a 'practical idealist'."

"As a fairly intelligent human being and an American I can only say," remarked Mr. Freeman. "that though many Americans would call spinners cranks, there are not a few who are thinking hard. Something has to be found, that would save civilization from destruction. Life must be simplified."

"Human personality cannot be sustained in any other way," replied Gandhiji. "I stand by what is implied in the phrase 'Unto This Last'. That book marked the turning point in my life. We must do even unto this last as we would have the world do by us. All must have equal opportunity. Given the opportunity, every human being has the same possibility for spiritual growth. That is what the spinning wheel symbolizes."



"Would you like the American to take to the spinning wheel?" he again asked.

"Yes," replied Gandhiji. "But I do not know whether it will be taken up by anybody before it is well established here. If, on the other hand, India adopts it for clothing itself, I won't need to tell the world. It will adopt it of itself. Today there is such an onslaught on India of Western machinery that for India to withstand it successfully would be nothing short of a miracle. I must confess that today everything seems to point to the contrary. Look at our internecine quarrels."

"But you have not given up hope?"

"I cannot so long as I have faith in that living Power, who is more with us than we know. But let me ask you a counter-question. Has America with all its Mammon-worship abolished unemployment, poverty, corruption, Tammany Hall?"

"The answer is obvious."

Gandhiji continued: "Has England? Has it not still to grapple with the problems that baffle her? It is a very curious commentary on the West that although it professes Christianity, there is no Christianity or Christ in the West or there should have been no war. That is how I understand the message of Jesus. There is much ignorance and superstition in India. But deep down in us is that faith in God—the instinct for religion."

"All newspapermen and others have sensed that," remarked Mr. Freeman. "But I must confess there are moments when I feel it is hopeless. Look at the recent attack on Pandit Nehru in the tribal area from which I have just returned, and the happenings in East Bengal. You too must at times have felt the hopelessness of it all. Would you say Islam has repudiated its teacher as Christianity of today has its Jesus?"

"I have said so openly" replied Gandhiji. "Where is Mohammed and his message which is Peace?" I said recently at a public gathering that if Mohammed came to India today, he would disown many of his so-called followers and own me as a true Muslim, as Jesus would own me as a true Christian."

"How can we bring man back to God or the teaching of Jesus or that of Mohammed?" asked Mr. Freeman next.

"I might give the answer," replied Gandhiji, "that Jesus gave to one of his followers: 'Do the will of my Father who is in Heaven, not merely say Lord, Lord.' That holds true of you, me and everybody. If we have faith in the living God, all will be well with us. I hope not to lose that faith even to my dying day. In spite of my numerous failings and shortcomings of which I am but too well aware, my faith in God is burning brighter every day. If it did not, I would take the same prescription that I gave to women threatened with dishonour and with no prospect of help or escape viz. commit suicide."

"Have you thought of the Charkha as a therapeutic agent?" finally asked Mr. Freeman, reverting to his original theme.

"Yes," replied Gandhiji. "I have read some literature on the subject sent to me by a Glasgow

professor. A retired Superintendent of a jail in Bengal too wrote to me describing the use of the spinning wheel for curing lunatics, particularly by virtue of the soothing effect of its rhythmic motion."

"I propose to interpret the Charkha to Americans as a 'thinking machine'," remarked Mr. Freeman in conclusion. "I found while I was attending my spinning class that if alone with it, it made me think. If only Americans could get down to spin they might be able to do some thinking for which otherwise they get no time. It might make them forget the atom bomb."

New Delhi, 26-10-'46

PYARELAL

### THREE Fs

Foodgrains, fats and fuel are the triple support of life in the villages. There is at present a scarcity in respect of all the three. A friend sends the following suggestions to meet the triple scarcity. Although meant primarily for the Punjab, they are equally applicable to other parts of India where similar conditions prevail:

1. A lot of land on the banks of rivers and nullahs is at present overrun by rushes and reeds only. If it could be cleared up with the help of the military, it could be used for growing wheat, barley, gram and musoor. The soil is extremely fertile and would yield bumper crops, besides providing straw in plenty for the cattle.

2. Similarly, there is a lot of uncultivated land along the railway lines and roads. If the military department could either itself undertake it or make available for irrigation the equipment or heavy-oil burning vehicles that can be adapted to this use, all this waste land could immediately be reclaimed and brought under cultivation.

3. There are lots of dry areas in the Punjab which are at present under scrub. With a little labour the scrub can be cleared and castor oil grown in its place. It is a very hardy plant and can subsist mostly by drawing moisture from the air. Castor oil is the base *par excellence* for the manufacture of soap and will serve to relieve the consumption of mustard, gingelli, groundnut and other edible oils which are at present being used in soap manufacture.

4. Owing to scarcity of wood fuel, cattle dung and other farm-yard manure in the villages are used for burning, resulting in the progressive impoverishment of the soil. A systematic effort should therefore be made to have reserves of trees planted along roads and on canal banks to provide fuel and timber for building.

His other suggestions include brick and cement lining for canals to reclaim thousands of acres of land that have become decadent owing to water logging and excessive salinity resulting from seepage, also checking the evil of excessive fragmentation of land which is strangulating cultivation in many parts on the one hand and consolidation of uneconomical holdings, power irrigation and so on.

Sodepur, 30-10-'46

PYARELAL



## HINDUSTANI

The question of our national language has become as intricate as that of Swaraj. We did not work out beforehand what problems would face us in the process of building up a free nation. The result is that we have been confronted by a whole lot of them like a legion of ghosts.

For sometime we tried to popularize Hindi as our national language. We said Urdu was included in Hindi and tried to retain the Arabic and Persian words commonly used in Hindi.

Then there came a time when Urdu scholars tried to eliminate all simple Hindi words from Urdu and replace them with Persian and Arabic ones. Ordinary Urdu became *Urdu-e-moulla* which the man in the street found hard to understand. At the same time some Hindi scholars too set about eliminating commonly understood Persian and Arabic words and replaced them with Sanskrit ones.

We tried to check both these tendencies and simplify the language. But we found that it was not enough. Although Hindi and Urdu to begin with were one and the same, they became two separate and distinct dialects in course of time. Today they are so different from each other that it is not easy at once to fuse them into one.

We have defined the national language as that language which is commonly spoken by the Hindus and Muslims in their everyday life in the villages of North India and which is written in both Nagari and Persian scripts.

Some people ask us to define North India where Hindustani is the language of the people. We have to leave out Bengal, Assam, Orissa, Sindh and Kashmir. That leaves us Punjab, Rajasthan, U. P., Bihar and Mahakoshal. The villagers of these parts do not speak the current Hindi or Urdu. Local dialects are used in some parts.

In Maharashtra, Gujarat, Bengal, Bihar, Karnatak, Tamilnad etc. the same language is spoken in the home and in the bazar. There is some difference between the spoken and the written language, but all can see that basically it is the same language. Things are, however, different when we turn to Hindi or Urdu. The Hindi that Shri Amarnath Jha, Shri Tandonji, Shri Viyogi Hari, Rajendra Babu, Birlaji, Sardar Tara Singhji etc. speak when addressing a meeting is not the same as they speak at home. The tongue in which they speak in their homes is so different from the language of the press and the platform that the latter would hardly be understood in their homes.

The Muslims of the Punjab speak Urdu at public meetings, but in their homes they use a dialect called Derewali or the Punjabi. Khan Abdul Ghaffar Khan will speak in Pushtu, Sheikh Abdulla in Kashmiri and Dr. Syed Mahmud in Bihari. This system of having one language for the home and another for outside is not found in any other part of India.

Again in the U. P. a few Hindus while talking among themselves use Hindi, but if a Muslim joins them they will at once revert to Hindustani. The

Hindus of U. P. can speak simple Hindi and simple Urdu which they call Hindustani. The result is that the Muslims of the Punjab, U. P. or Bihar, can talk in Hindustani wherever they go. A plausible attempt is sometimes made to show that whilst "Hindustani is the language of the area extending from the Punjab to Bihar, Hindi is an artificial creation of the Hindus, meant to keep the Muslims and Hindus apart". The fact is that the Hindus in these parts are good enough to talk to the Muslims in simple Urdu called Hindustani for the sake of the latter's convenience.

The Hindi which is said to be an artificial language by the Muslims does not belong to a different category in regard to its origin and evolution from other provincial languages like Bengali, Marathi and Gujarati. No one will say that Bengali, Marathi and Gujarati are artificial languages. Then why is Hindi an artificial language? The various provincial languages were evolved in the normal process of history. To separate Hindi from the rest and dub it as artificial is not just.

The only fault of the Hindi-speaking people was that instead of speaking Hindi both in their homes and outside, they spoke their local dialect in their homes. For instance, there are several dialects in Rajasthan. There are two or three dialects in Bihar. Chhatisgadhi and Bundelkhandi are quite different from each other. To call Hindi one's mother tongue and not use it in one's home is indeed anomalous. And if the use of local dialects is to be continued, then, in this age of democracy, simple literature for the common man will also have to be got ready in those dialects.

Difficulties arise when one tries to find out the historical definition of Hindustani. People ask you, "Tell us in which part of India is Hindustani spoken by the common people? Where is the literature in Hindustani? Is there a single daily, weekly or monthly written in Hindustani, the language which is going to be our national language? Leave aside Gandhiji's *Harijansevak* and Pandit Sundarlalji's *Naya Hind*. These are creations of yesterday. We have yet to see how North India takes to them."

In order to steer clear of all these complications, we shall reply that in the Punjab, Rajasthan, Mahakoshal and Bihar a language called Hindi is prevalent. There are several newspapers and monthly magazines etc. published in this language and it has a vast literature which will grow from day to day.

In these very provinces Urdu is also prevalent, more in some parts, less in others. Hindus and Muslims publish newspapers etc. in this language, produce literature and serve it with loving affection. The body of Hindi and Urdu is the same but the former derives nourishment from Sanskrit and the latter from Persian and Arabic. Thus both these languages are used in North India. They should be an amalgam of the two and popularized as Hindustani.

This can only happen if Hindi and Urdu are simplified in the first place. They can be simplified



to such an extent that but for the script there should be no difference between the two. The process which led to the evolution of Hindi and Urdu as separate languages will have to be reversed in order to reunite them and fuse them into one. If in a sentence of ten words, five words have to be put in brackets to indicate the equivalent in Hindi or Urdu, such a language will not be easy to read. The best thing to do would be to use simple Urdu for such literature as is published in the Persian script and introduce in it commonly understood Hindi words and for the Nagari script use simple Hindi with commonly understood Urdu.

By torturing Hindi and Urdu in order to forcibly amalgamate them, a sort of language may be evolved, but very few will have the patience to read it. Hustling won't quicken the pace. By giving up high pressure and adopting a simple, harmless technique we will be able to draw together the good elements of both. We must leave the two forms to take care of themselves and not rest till an amalgam is produced. If people will do this much, the rest can then be left to time and nature.

Those whose mother tongue is neither Hindi nor Urdu will have to learn both the two scripts.

KAKA KALELKAR

(From the original in Hindustani)

### EXCISE DEPARTMENT IN C. P.

The outstill system of liquor production and distribution may be described as one entailing the manufacture of liquor by Government through the agency of licensed manufacturers, who are also retailers of the same. In ordinary times and in ordinary circumstances liquid liquor meant for public consumption is manufactured in a central distillery—either one or two or three—situated in central places in the Province. Under the outstill system, hundreds of such small distilleries are located in various districts, where the restrictions are fewer, and at the same time the liquor produced here is much cheaper than the distillery liquor.

It need not be said here that under the outstill system, the manufacture and consumption of liquor is increased several times the normal consumption for two reasons: (1) the number of those small distilleries is nearly 500 in 1946 as against two or three big distilleries in the Province, (2) the liquor sold in the outstill shops is much cheaper than the distillery liquor. I cannot say how much cheaper, but roughly speaking the price of the outstill liquor is about one fourth or thereabouts of the distillery liquor. Thus it does not require any saying that these two factors lead to an enormously large increase in the liquor consumption.

Unfortunately these outstills are located in the areas inhabited by Aboriginal tribes like Gonds, Korkus, Pardhans etc. They are not located in any other district.

I give below the list of districts and the number of outstills located in each of them in 1946. This is enough to show that the six districts chosen for

the purpose are those which are predominated by the Tribal people:

Districts	Outstills
Chanda	81
Mandla	175
Raipur	45
Bilaspur	89
Drug	49
Balaghat	39
Bhandara	5
Total	483

In the year 1939 the number of outstills in the Province was 159. As a result of some change in the policy, probably by the first Congress Ministry of 1937-'39, the number was reduced in the year 1940 to 69 only, and it remained the same the following year 1941. Subsequently, owing to war conditions and perhaps a change in the Excise policy a sudden change for the worse occurred. The number 69 of 1941 went up to the figure 486 or seven times in the year 1945 and it stands at the figure 483 in the current year 1946.

I give below the figures year by year:

1939	159
1940	69
1941	69
1942	207
1943	248
1944	457
1945	486
1946	483

No doubt there has been a plethora of money in the rural parts of the Province due to inflation, and there has been, therefore, a larger provision of liquor. Specially in the Tribal areas, which is a synonymous term for backward areas, a large supply creates a large demand. The greatest sufferers from drink and the increased drink have been the 30 lakhs of Tribal people in the Province. Under the name of want of transport of the distillery liquor, the Tribal or Backward areas are flooded with thousands and lakhs of gallons of cheap liquor as Government policy.

The increase in the excise revenue from country spirit and toddy only due to their enormous liquor and toddy consumption is not quoted by me in detail. But I give below the figures of revenue for three prominent years:

1939	Rs. 33,76,516
1945	1,64,17,653
1946	1,08,89,479 (for the first 6 months only)

Thus it is evident that in 1945 the revenue from country spirits and toddy only had increased five times during the period of six years from 1939. The revenue in 1946, first half year, has been nearly 109 lakhs. Thus during the whole of the year 1946, it may be surmised that the revenue from the country spirit and toddy only will not be less than two crores, or in other words six times the revenue of 1939. The pity of it is, all this increased excise revenue has been got from the pockets of the poorest



section of the people viz. the Tribal people, who form about one fifth of the total population.

A. V. THAKKAR

[This is a scandalous abuse of authority for raising revenue. Let us hope that now that the Government is representative in C. P. as elsewhere, this abuse will be set right.]

On the train to Calcutta, 29-10-'46 — M. K. G.]

## HOW VILLAGES CAN MANUFACTURE THEIR CLOTH

(By M. K. Gandhi)

After reciting the scheme which I copied in the *Harijan* of 4-8-'46, from his letter to me Shri Manu Subedar has given his argument in support of the scheme in the *Rast Rahbar*. I copy below two relevant paragraphs from the interesting article:

"I do not advocate this scheme for any sentimental or spiritual value of hand spinning, though undoubtedly there is some charm in the traditional restoration of the Charkha in every home as it existed for centuries, but because of the stark economic necessity of clothing the rural people, who would otherwise go without this elementary requirement of life. If cotton is put at their door, with the hands, which God has given them and with the skill, which could be acquired in less than a week, they ought to be able to help themselves and save womenfolk from a distressing situation. Not only will the cloth produced under the above scheme be cheaper than the black market, but it would be cheaper than the mill cloth for the reason that many items, which go into the price of the mill cloth to the consumer, would be eliminated. Amongst these are profits of the mills and of the middleman distributor of cloth, the cost of transport of cloth and cotton both ways, the cost of supervision and management, and interest charges and depreciation. Since the labour upto the stage of the yarn would be contributed and the labour charges for weaving would be in kind, even in normal peace time cloth produced under these conditions would be cheaper than factory cloth. For a poor country, what is required is not labour-saving devices, but capital-saving and profit-saving devices, such as is set forth in this scheme.

"I would invite the leaders to note that in the above scheme not only is there co-operation under the guidance of the village *Panch* and complete self-government, free from any interference of anybody outside, but there is the seed of the kind of economic revolution, which we seek in this country. Millions of men and women, as good as you and me, are not able to get full work for the full year. Their standard of life has been progressively pressed down by forces, which they do not understand. Charity can possibly alleviate their lot, but is bound to pauperize them and take away their self-respect. It is the scheme put forward here, which would enable them to feel that they are getting something for

themselves with their own labour. They would not feel hurt about it. The amount of State assistance involved in the proposal is so miserably small per head and is actually lower than the cost incurred by the State for many other purposes for the benefit of other groups and grades of the Indian population. The further advantage in this scheme is that it would be automatic in so far as in some villages it would take root quickly and they may want another bale inside a month. In other villages it might take them three or four months. Some of the villages will probably supply all their requirements by this method in the next few months and may have something to spare, and indeed I would not consider it wrong, if cloth produced under these circumstances after it was found to be in excess of the requirement of the village, which has produced it, was made available in the larger cities for sale to the general public. I would, however, sound a warning that the scheme would break down if individual exploitation is permitted. The surplus should not be dealt with except through the village collectively and should not be brought to the city except through the Government agency, which lands the bale at the door of the village. Nor should it be sold in the cities except at the Government retail shop. In other words, the middleman should never be able to lay his hands on this, or he will destroy what the energy and the co-operation of the villagers has produced, as he has destroyed so many handicrafts and so much that was good in India in the past."

In a letter in Gujarati Shri Subedar says:

"If my scheme is not adopted we may have the sorrowful spectacle of womenfolk going without cover and therefore remaining indoors.

"The hard-heartedness which mill-owners and middlemen have exhibited require some such immediate remedy as I have suggested.

"You have rightly said that the removal of the salt tax will drive home to the millions of villagers the truth that our *Sarkar* has now the reins of Government in its hands. Will they not also realize this truth if the villages have cotton delivered at their homes on the easiest terms possible so that with a little corporate labour they can clothe themselves without difficulty?"

New Delhi, 23-10-'46

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# HARIJAN

12 Pages

Editor: PYARELAL

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TWO ANNAS

## A FRIENDLY OVERTURE

"We are today suffering from a double evil — suppression of facts and concoction," remarked Gandhiji to a Director of an influential British daily paper who had come to see Gandhiji at New Delhi and told him that his paper was anxious to do a friendly turn to India. "It does not pay to emphasize news about riots. My paper does not," he had remarked. But Gandhiji told him that he and his paper would be doing a real service to India not by suppressing relevant facts but by presenting them truthfully, without bias or prejudice. "Truth never damages a cause that is just," he said.

Replying to another question as to when the present trouble would end, Gandhiji remarked that it was bound to go, though he did not see any signs of abatement just yet. "There are interested parties fomenting it."

"Mine may be a voice in the wilderness today," he added, "but I maintain that so long as British troops are here, both Hindus and Mussalmans will continue to look up to them for help and the trouble will continue. Nothing worse could happen to a people struggling to be free."

### BRITISH TROOPS AN OBSTACLE

This shocked the British conscience of the friend, "The Britisher would like his troops to go out quicker. Who obstructs?" he asked.

"Who else but the British themselves, unless you can show that it is physically impossible to effect immediate withdrawal," replied Gandhiji.

After some parrying the friend admitted that the British commercial and other vested interests in India and their henchmen stood in the way of their withdrawal. He was, however, still doubtful as to the function of British troops in the maintenance of law and order. "You say, there can be no peace while they are here. Yet everyday there is an increasing demand for them for the maintenance of peace. The complaint is that they are not sufficiently used."

"That is the very reason," replied Gandhiji, "why they should be withdrawn. Their presence, in my opinion, does not act as a preventive measure but becomes punitive. Where they are used to maintain law and order, it is after the trouble. Future historians will bear this out. Order will be restored in East Bengal too. But after what slaughter, what suffering?"

"No," he continued. "The British troops are in India not to protect India but to protect British interests which were imposed on India and which

are now so well entrenched that even the British Government cannot dislodge them. The British did not come here as philanthropists, nor is there any altruism in their continued stay here or the continuation of their troops, all that might be claimed to the contrary notwithstanding."

### TO END WAR

The conversation then turned on the question of war. "How do you think the succession of wars such as we have witnessed of late can be stopped?" he asked.

"I have no doubt," replied Gandhiji, "that unless big nations shed their desire of exploitation and the spirit of violence of which war is the natural expression and atom bomb the inevitable consequence, there is no hope for peace in the world. I tried to speak out during the war and wrote open letters to the British people, to Hitler and to the Japanese and was dubbed a fifth columnist for my pains."

"But non-violence might take a long time to act. But for the second front there probably would have been no Russia," argued the friend.

"All these are arguments dictated by reason," replied Gandhiji. "It is not permitted me to think in these terms or else I would be denying my faith which today burns brighter than ever in spite of all the bitter experiences that I have had. History provides us with a whole series of miracles of masses of people being converted to a particular viewpoint in the twinkling of an eye. Take the Boer War. It has given to the English language the word 'Maffeking'. People went mad on the Maffeking Day. Yet inside of two years the whole British nation underwent a transformation. Henry Campbell Bannerman became the Premier and practically all the gains of war were given up." The recent Labour victory at the polls was another instance in point. "To me it is a sufficient miracle that in spite of his oratory and brilliance, Churchill should cease to be the idol of the British people who till yesterday hung on his lips and listened to him in awe. All these instances are enough to sustain the faith of a believer like me that when all other powers are gone one will remain, call it God, Nature or whatever you like." His own faith in the triumph of non-violence he likened to that of the witnesses in the Second Coming of Christ. It was to take place within the lifetime of the witnesses though it has taken two thousand years and yet remains a distant dream. Faith could think in no other terms.

Sodepur, 30-10-'46

PYARELAL



## HARIJAN SERVICE IN CENTRAL INDIA, 1944-45

So far as Harijan service is concerned, Central India is exceptionally fortunate in its ruling princes, at least three of whom, Maharaja Yeshwantrao Holkar of Indore, Maharaja Jivajirao Shinde of Gwalior and Maharaja Gulabsingh of Rewa, have issued proclamations making a declaration of Harijan rights. The Gwalior proclamation was made on 4th May last year. These three States alone have a population of about 70 lakhs and cover an area of over 50,000 square miles. Thus Central India is more progressive than Kathiawad where in Lathi alone the State has made such an announcement. Is it too much to expect in 1946 that other States will not think it below their dignity but will deem it a privilege to follow the example set by tiny Lathi?

The Indore Branch of the Sangh observed Harijan Day on 1st March 1945, when Harijans were admitted to temples and to two Hindu restaurants. Rai Bahadur Sheth Hiralalji has on behalf of the mill-owners announced that they would spend five per cent of their profits in building houses for the workers including Harijans. Let us hope that this sum which now amounts to about 75,000 rupees will be spent before the next report is out. Land to the extent of 250 *bighas* was obtained for Harijan settlers. The Branch has established a hand-made paper factory employing several Harijan families and the report under review is appropriately printed on Indore-made paper. It has also installed two new-model oil *ghanis* worked by Harijans. Every place where waste paper is readily available should have a hand-made paper industry and pure oil *ghanis* of course must be there in every place, large or small, without exception.

The Gwalior Branch conducted well-directed propaganda at the *Sinhastha* Fair in Ujjain and received the very welcome support of Acharya Janakidasji of Hanuman-gadhi, Ayodhya, among other Sadhus. Shri Krishnadas Date who had taken to politics last year has returned to his old love, Harijan service, to which he devoted the purse presented to him.

The Bhopal branch under Lala Mulkrajaji and Shri Mehnot financed itself independently of the Central India organization.

Badwani State has declared the public schools and wells open to Harijans and will now, it is hoped, take active steps to implement its declaration. Panna and Ajaygadh authorities must see to it that Mehtars and Basors are permitted to exercise their right of travelling by public buses. Ajaygadh, Bijawar and Charkhari have still to arrange to give maternity leave to Harijan women workers.

In Tikamgadh there was an inter-dinner attended by *Savarna* Hindus and Harijans.

We shall close this review with a final comment. The statement of accounts shows that while about 11,000 Rs. was spent on schools, hostels, scholar-

ships and medical aid to Harijans, as much as 6,000 Rs. was spent on administration and propaganda. It should be our aim to increase the former figure and reduce the latter from year to year.

V. G. D

## PROHIBITION IN C. P.

According to the report of the Excise Commissioner for C. P., in the latter half of 1937, the Congress Government in C. P. decided to adopt the policy of total prohibition of liquor including *toddy*. To implement this policy the Central Provinces and Berar Prohibition Act was passed and brought into force from April 1938. In the year 1940, the area under Prohibition totalled 22,285 sq. miles representing approximately one-fourth area of the whole province. Prohibition was withdrawn from Katni-Murwara town from 1st January, 1945, but it has been decided by the present Government to reintroduce it with effect from 1st October, 1946 and to extend it, so as to cover an additional total area of 17,360 sq. miles.

The total area under prohibition thus is 39,645 sq. miles and covers a little less than half the province, the total provincial area being 98,369 sq. miles.

During the current financial year Government will lose about 45.5 lakhs on account of extension of prohibition. Government further proposes to make the whole province dry within a very short period, thus sacrificing a revenue amounting to about Rs. 1½ crores from liquor and *toddy*.

The Excise staff have been instructed to take help, if necessary, from local M.L.As. and Congress Committees in the prevention and detection of offences under the Prohibition Act. To prevent illicit distillation, rules have been framed restricting the possession of *mahura*, the most-important base for the distillation of liquor, to not more than 5 seers and requiring permits and licenses for its possession and sale in larger quantities. These rules have already been enforced in the Wardha and Akola districts from 15-8-46 and will be extended to other Prohibition areas after experience has been gained of their working in these districts.

Other proposed measures to make Prohibition effective are:

1. To set up new Anti-Drink Committees in dry areas and revitalize old ones and establish temperance committees in the wet areas to prepare the ground for prohibition. It is further proposed to organize caste *panchayats* and recreation centres to further temperance work.

2. To carry on anti-drink propaganda by magic lantern slides, anti-drink posters and by issuing prohibition literature. A sum of Rs. 50,000 has been sanctioned for this purpose.

3. 75,000 leaflets explaining the provisions of the prohibition Act of 1938 and 15,000 large size notices, specifying the areas in which prohibition has been introduced, have been printed in various langu-



ages and supplied to Deputy Commissioners and Railway authorities for exhibition.

4. Government servants addicted to drink have been transferred from 'dry' to 'wet' areas in the interests of effective enforcement of prohibition. The latest report on the effects of pre-war prohibition says :

"General reports indicate that prohibition has undoubtedly improved the moral, physical, social and economic condition of the ex-addicts, although the increased cost of living has counter-balanced the savings from prohibition. They now look healthier and happier and their children are well clad and better fed. The women folk particularly appreciate the benefits of prohibition since it has brought peace and happiness to their homes. They now find their husbands more trustworthy and steadier in their work and they can exert healthier influence on their unintoxicated husbands in dissuading them from becoming victims of other vices."

Let us hope that the rosy picture will now prove rosier because of the advances suggested by the past.

New Delhi, 14-10-'46

PYARELAL

### ARTIFICIAL PRACTICES IN AGRICULTURE

It has now become an accepted maxim that for the maintenance of health what is needed is not merely good looking food but healthily grown food. The latter depends on soil health. Just as the quantity of flesh on a person's body is no indication of his health, the size and yield of the crop is no guarantee of its health-giving quality. Artificial manures might produce prize crops in respect of yield and the size of the grain, but the food thus raised is found to be lacking in certain vital principles and animals fed on it show signs of ill health and malnutrition. To the controversy of artificial versus natural manure a valuable contribution has now been made by Friend Sykes, a highly successful Wiltshire farmer in *Humus and Farmer* (Faber).

Two years ago Farmer Sykes began rearing cows, pigs and race horses that won national fame. A long run of achievement, however ended with disaster.

"To show the way to other breeders," says the *News Review* "his champion herd of black and white Freisian cattle was submitted to the then new tuberculin test. Two-thirds proved to be diseased, although their milk yields had been phenomenal. Convinced that the trouble was due to crops grown with artificial manures and to the feeding of 'concentrates' instead of natural foods, he sold out.

"Buying Chantry, highest farm on Salisbury Plain's eastern end, Sykes started again in 1936 with a new 'natural' system. Of his thin, poor and rabbit-infested acres a friend said: 'This is not farmland—it is just space-out-of-doors.' But in fewer than ten years the black down land yielded mammoth crops, champion beasts.

"No factory cattle foods, no artificial manure, was Sykes' rule. Early disease on the farm was defeated by ploughing, which brought about health-giving fertility. Subsoiling 2 ft. down released valuable minerals which deep-rooting plants brought to the surface. New methods of haymaking and harvest improved fodder with startling effects on the large livestock population.

"Most important of all, Friend Sykes used humus (scientifically rotted animal and vegetable refuse) to manure his land. The highly complex bacterial life of the soil was enriched, instead of poisoned by chemicals.

"The fashionable approach to soil is not biological but chemical," objects Sykes. "One hundred years of interested propaganda by vested industrial interests has pushed to the fore this 'artificial' view." He contends that artificial manure produces food "which reduces vitality so low that resistance to disease is becoming less and less."

According to him, "we are approaching the greatest of all menaces that have ever faced civilization—the day when soil fertility in almost every country will be a thing of the past."

Here are Sykes' views on other artificial practices which threaten to contribute to this impending doom:

"Artificial insemination may prove to be one of the most mischievous practices that so-called scientific agriculture has ever dared to play with.

"Sewage emptying into the sea is, scandalous and abominable wastefulness. It should return to the land.

"Artificially dried grain often will not make bread. Sterility in women coincides with the introduction of the white loaf. Nothing is so important to man than that he should speedily return to the consumption of the whole wheat bread.

"Burning straw instead of ploughing it back into the soil is one of the most heinous crimes any farmer can commit.

"Many farmers keep cows indoors closely tied by the neck for five months in the year, feed them with concentrated foods the cow's digestion was never intended to cope with, and then expect the beasts to keep healthy."

New Delhi, 14-10-'46

PYARELAL

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# HARIJAN

November 10

1946

## TO BIHAR

To Bihar,

Bihar of my dreams seems to have falsified them. I am not relying upon reports that might be prejudiced or exaggerated. The continued presence of the Central Chief Minister and his colleague furnishes an eloquent tale of the tragedy of Bihar. It is easy enough to retort that things under the Muslim League Government in Bengal were no better, if not worse and that Bihar is merely a result of the latter. A bad act of one party is no justification for a similar act by the opposing party, more especially when it is rightly proud of its longest and largest political record. I must confess, too, that although I have been in Calcutta for over a week, I do not yet know the magnitude of the Bengal tragedy. Though Bihar calls me, I must not interrupt my programme for Noakhali. And is counter-communalism any answer to the communalism of which Congressmen have accused the Muslim League? Is it Nationalism to seek barbarously to crush the fourteen percent of the Muslims in Bihar?

I do not need to be told that I must not condemn the whole of Bihar for the sake of the sins of a few thousand Biharis. Does not Bihar take credit for one Brajkishore Prasad or one Rajendra Prasad? I am afraid, if the misconduct in Bihar continues, all the Hindus of India will be condemned by the world. That is its way, and it is not a bad way either. The misdeeds of Bihari Hindus may justify Qaid-e-Azam Jinnah's taunt that the Congress is a Hindu organization in spite of its boast that it has in its ranks a few Sikhs, Muslims, Christians, Parsis and others. Bihari Hindus are in honour bound to regard the minority Muslims as their brethren requiring protection, equal with the vast majority of Hindus. Let not Bihar, which has done so much to raise the prestige of the Congress, be the first to dig its grave.

I am in no way ashamed of my *ahimsa*. I have come to Bengal to see how far in the nick of time my *ahimsa* is able to express itself in me. But I do not want in this letter to talk of *ahimsa* to you. I do want, however, to tell you that what you are reported to have done will never count as an act of bravery. For thousands to do to death a few hundreds is no bravery. It is worse than cowardice. It is unworthy of nationalism, of any religion. If you had given a blow against a blow, no one would have dared to point a finger against you. What you have done is to degrade yourselves and drag down India.

You should say to Pandit Jawaharlalji, Nishtar Sahab and Dr. Rajendra Prasad to take away their military and themselves and attend to the affairs

of India. This they can only do, if you repent of your inhumanity and assure them that Muslims are as much your care as your own brothers and sisters.

You should not rest till every Muslim refugee has come back to his home which you should undertake to rebuild and ask your Ministers to help you to do so. You do not know what critics have said to me about your Ministers.

I regard myself as a part of you. Your affection has compelled that loyalty in me. And since I claim to have better appreciation than you seem to have shown of what Bihari Hindus should do, I cannot rest till I have done some measure of penance. Predominantly for reasons of health, I had put myself on the lowest diet possible soon after my reaching Calcutta. That diet now continues as a penance after the knowledge of the Bihar tragedy. The low diet will become a fast unto death, if the erring Biharis have not turned over a new leaf.

There is no danger of Bihar mistaking my act for anything other than pure penance as a matter of sacred duty.

No friend should run to me for assistance or to show sympathy. I am surrounded by loving friends. It would be wholly wrong and irrelevant for any other person to copy me. No sympathetic fast or semi-fast is called for. Such action can only do harm. What my penance should do is to quicken the conscience of those who know me and believe in my *bona fides*. Let no one be anxious for me. I am like all of us in God's keeping.

Nothing will happen to me so long as He wants service through the present tabernacle.

Sodepur, 6-11-'46

Your Servant

M. K. GANDHI

## CRUELTY TO THE DUMB CREATION

(By M. K. Gandhi)

A Mysorean draws my attention to

"a small matter which however literally means life and death to the unfortunate dogs and cattle impounded in the Bangalore City pounds. The conditions there are very bad and the poor animals imprisoned for no fault of theirs are not properly fed nor given water. The lethal apparatus for the killing of dogs is out of order since some time and no attempts seem to have been made to repair it. The crude and cruel method of poisoning the animal is resorted to."

I have had the misfortune to advise the destruction of stray dogs. But that had to be, if men would be so cruel as, out of a false sense of pity, to feed *pariah* dogs and permit them to become a menace to the neighbouring population. But my advice can never include impounding such dogs and torturing them as those mentioned by my correspondent seem to have been. Humanitarian instinct demands destruction of such animals in an instantaneous and painless manner. I would love to hope that there is exaggeration in what the correspondent has stated. Anyway, the Municipality in question and all such other institutions should mend their manner if they do not satisfy the test demanded by humanity.

On the train to Calcutta, 29-10-'46



## VILLAGE INDUSTRIES

(By M. K. Gandhi)

A friend, who is a thinker, writes in connection with village industries :

"Several of your ideas, good in themselves, are presented to the public in such a form as to call for a high standard of ethical sense in the people to whom they are addressed. The fact, however, is that the common man is actuated in his conduct only by necessity or self-interest. An economic order based on an appeal to sentiment or man's "higher nature" alone cannot last. The reason, why after all these years of effort the Khadi programme has failed to show a more substantial result, lies in the fact that your followers, the British vested interests, the mill-owners and cloth dealers were all ruled by their essentially selfish human nature.

"I too want society to be based on high moral principles of honesty and straight dealing between man and man. But I feel that it is not possible till we can eliminate altogether the spirit of commercialism or the profit motive. Just now there are so many control, — control over food, over transport and so on. The time is opportune for a big step forward.

"The Bombay Government has set up a committee for village industries. It includes Shri Manu Subedar, Shri Lakshmidas Asar and Shri Dhotre. My scheme is as follows :

"Taking each village or a group of two or three villages as a unit, the population can be divided into children, women, old people and able-bodied and healthy young folk. Then, there are those who are unfit to put in regular hours of work or work all the year round and lastly the unskilled lot, lacking means or skill or both for the pursuit of any particular vocation.

"Of these the children could easily be made to work for 3 to 4 hours a day, provided the work is not of a fatiguing nature. The remaining half of the day they could have to themselves for attending school.

"The children should be paid at the rate of one anna and the adults four annas per day from the day they begin to work. As they acquire more skill the wages of the children should be increased up to 5 annas and those of the adults up to 8 annas per day.

"The manufacture in one village should be confined to one kind of goods only, so that in about two months' time the workers will acquire skill and avoid making mistakes. The manufactured article should be such as can be utilized locally. The State should arrange to supply raw materials and appoint two or three experts to train the workers. The State should also undertake to popularize the manufactured goods and arrange for their transport and cheap distribution to the poor consumer.

"In the case of many articles thus manufactured the cost will be less than if they were manufactured in big factories. One reason for their cheapness would be the economy in wages. The savings should, therefore, be utilized for the benefit of the workers.

If, as a result of the able-bodied people being more and more absorbed in agriculture, railways and other such occupations, fewer hands are left for cottage crafts and production falls it would not matter.

"This scheme will enable millions to add to their income and make the two ends meet without throwing them on the unemployment dole or loss of self-respect. This social insurance scheme is in accordance with our Indian culture and is based on my personal experience of 35 years. It enables even men and women without any kind of special skill or previous training to eke out a living. Those who wish to earn more can take to more lucrative occupations, if they can find any. But none need feel stranded.

"The children can in this way not only be taught a craft but also get their education in addition. The expense should be charged to the scheme.

"Some features of the scheme are :

"It converts a large proportion of unskilled labour in the country into skilled labour.

"By bringing transport, stores, accounts etc. under State control, we eliminate completely the commercial motive from a vast field of the average man's life.

"One or two crores of men, women and children engaged under this scheme would put 25 to 50 lakhs of rupees into their pockets every day and thus millions will feel the glow of new life.

"The labour that is at present going to waste will be utilized for producing goods worth one to two crores per year.

"The State will obtain raw materials at the cheapest rates by buying straight from the producers. Whatever the State buys would be bought at cost price.

"Should a problem arise calling for consultation with a specialist or a technical expert, his services should be requisitioned for a specified period and he should be paid remuneration for that period.

"The man who is engaged to keep stores, accounts etc. should be made responsible for the education of the children as well. After two or three years, the education should be carried on by the monitor system, that is to say, the senior boys should teach the junior ones and the teacher should teach the senior boys only.

"This teacher should also keep about 50 commonly used drugs. For instance, allopathic drugs like Tr. iodine and *ayurvedic* drugs like myrobalan supplied by the State to each village, along with the relevant literature. These drugs should be sold to the villagers at the cheapest rates.

"The following is a list of some of the household articles that can be manufactured in this way :

"Cloth	Match stricks
Paper	Empty tins made of
Pencils, pen holders, etc.	cardboard and tin
Wire articles made out	Litho-label printing
of pins etc.	Masala
Soap	Papad, wadi, etc.



Earthenware	Cots
Pottery	Combs
Buttons	Brushes, broom-sticks etc.
Glassware — bangles	Pen-knives, table-knives
Registers, book-binding	scissors, etc.
Agricultural Implements	Leather goods
Gur	Ink
Nails	Glue
Hair Oil	Lac
Boot Polish	Musical instruments
Metal Polish	Fountain pens
Phenyle	Bicycles, parts of
Caps	watches
Chappals	Stockings, banyan, etc.
Utensils of daily use	Candles
String, cord, straps	Mirrors
Toys	Play things."
Small wooden articles	

The above letter presents a fascinating picture and deserves careful consideration. One thing is obvious. The writer has given the first place to cloth. It is the only article, in the list, of universal use. The various processes involved in Khadi production can engage millions of adults and children and enable them to earn a fair amount. This includes the weavers. The weavers live in the cities today. The middleman exploits them. If the people's Government could supply them with all the yarn they require it would simplify things for them and put their vocation on a stable basis. They would not then need to live in the cities. But this is beside the point.

My difficulties are two. One is whether it is possible to sell hand-made articles as cheaply as machine-made ones. The second is that out of the articles that have been enumerated in the scheme there is hardly any except Khadi which can become universal. They will not, in a large measure, be consumed locally and so will have to be sold in the cities. This is as it should be. The villagers should develop such a high degree of skill that articles prepared by them should command a ready market outside. When our villages are fully developed there will be no dearth in them of men with a high degree of skill and artistic talent. There will be village poets, village artists, village architects, linguists and research workers. In short there will be nothing in life worth having which will not be had in the villages. Today the villages are dung heaps. Tomorrow they will be like tiny gardens of Eden where dwell highly intelligent folk whom no one can deceive or exploit.

The reconstruction of the villages along these lines should begin right now. That might necessitate some modification of the scheme. The reconstruction of the villages should not be organized on a temporary but permanent basis.

My second difficulty is that in the scheme under question craft and education have been divorced from each other. Craft, art, health and education should all be integrated into one scheme. *Nayi Talim* is a beautiful blend of all the four and covers the whole education of the individual from the time of conception to the moment of death. Therefore,

I would not divide village uplift work into watertight compartments from the very beginning but undertake an activity which will combine all four. Instead of regarding craft and industry as different from education I will regard the former as the medium for the latter. *Nayi Talim* therefore ought to be integrated into the scheme.

On the train to Calcutta, 29-10-'46

(From the original in Gujarati)

## WEEKLY LETTER

### THE CALL

After much travail, deep thought and considerable argument, Gandhiji fixed the date of his departure for Bengal for the 28th of October. "I do not know what I shall be able to do there," he remarked in the course of an argument with a very esteemed friend, who made an eleventh hour effort to dissuade him from setting on such a long journey just then. "All I know is that I won't be at peace with myself unless I go there." He then went on to describe the "power of thought". "There are two kinds of thoughts—idle and active. There may be myriads of the former swarming in one's brain. They do not count." He likened them to unfertilized ova in a spawn. "But one pure, active thought, proceeding from the depth and endowed with all the undivided intensity of one's being, becomes dynamic and works like a fertilized ovum." He was averse to put a curb on the spontaneous urge which he felt within him to go to the people of Noakhali. Speaking before the evening prayer gathering on Sunday last at New Delhi, Gandhiji said that he was leaving for Calcutta the next morning. He did not know when God would bring him again to Delhi. He wanted to go to Noakhali from Calcutta. It was a difficult journey and he was in poor health. But one had to do one's duty and trust in God to make the way smooth. It was not that God necessarily and always removed hardships from one's path, but He did always enable one to bear them.

He did not want anyone to come to the station, he continued. India had given him enough affection. It needed no further demonstration.

He was not going to Bengal to pass judgment on anybody. He was going there as a servant of the people and he would meet Hindus and Muslims alike. Some Muslims looked upon him as an enemy today. They had not done so always. But he did not mind their anger. Were not his own religionists angry with him at times? From the age of seventeen he had learnt the lesson that all mankind, be they of any nationality, colour or country were his own kith and kin. If they were God's servants, they had to become servants of all His creation.

It was in that capacity that he was going to Bengal. He would tell them that Hindus and Muslims could never be enemies, one of the other. They were born and brought up in India and they had to live and die in India. Change of religion could not alter that fundamental fact. If some people liked to believe that change of religion



changed one's nationality also, even they need not become enemies.

Sufferings of women had always melted his heart. He wanted to go to Bengal and wipe their tears and put heart into them, if he could. In Calcutta he would try to see the Governor and the Prime Minister Mr. Suhrawardy and then proceed to Noakhali.

He was proceeding under auspices none too happy. He referred to the ugly demonstrations before the Viceroy's House on the day before when Jawaharlalji and some of his colleagues in the Interim Government were abused and insulted. It was bad. Why should such things happen when the two parties, the Muslim League and the Congress, had formed a coalition at the Centre? Praise or abuse made no difference to the leaders who wanted to serve them to the best of their ability. But the people had to behave.

"Let us all still pray and hope that all the Ministers will be able to work as a team. If India can speak with one voice, she will be the greatest country in the world and every true Indian must wish her to attain that status."

#### THE JOURNEY

The journey proved to be as strenuous as some of us had feared. It was after 12 years that he was travelling on this line. Naturally there were mammoth crowds at all big stations on the way—at Aligarh, Tundla, Cawnpore and Asansol, the whole platform was like a swarming ant-heap of humanity. They clambered on the roof, choked the windows, broke glass, smashed in the wooden shutters and yelled and shouted till one's ears split. They pulled the alarm chain again and again to obtain *darshan*, making it necessary to disconnect the vacuum brakes. The station authorities tried to drive them away by directing against them the water hose from the hydrant overhead. It made no difference to them; only it flooded the compartment! At Aligarh the rags in the grease box of the brake began to smoulder and emit volumes of thick, acrid smoke which filled the compartment. It was with the utmost difficulty that one could manage to get through the crush and report to the railway authorities. If fire had broken out one wonders how the party could have got out of the compartment at all with all the luggage.

Later in the evening Gandhiji sat with his fingers thrust into his ears to keep out the shouting and the din when they became unbearable. And yet when it was suggested to him that he might allow the lights in the compartment to be switched off to discourage *darshan*-seekers he turned down the suggestion. The only way he could requite the simple faith of the masses was, he said, by serving them with his last drop of energy and never to put his personal comfort before what he considered to be his duty towards them.

#### AT SODEPUR

Gandhiji's train arrived at Liloah five hours behind time. From the station he was driven straight to Shri Satish Das Gupta's Khadi Pratisthan Ashram

at Sodepur which he reached at 5-30 in the evening. A crowd of several hundred had gathered there from round about Sodepur for the evening prayer. The advertised time for prayer was 5-30 p. m. But Gandhiji was able to attend prayer only after 7 p. m. In his prayer discourse he told them how he had never dreamt that he would be coming back to Sodepur so soon. But God had sent him in their midst again. The train had arrived five hours late. He called that also the will of God. No doubt there were big crowds at Aligarh, Khurja Road, Cawnpore and other big stations and the train was detained as a result. But he literally believed in the old maxim that not a blade of grass moves but by His will. Some might say that all his talk about God was a make-believe which he used as a blind to cover his hypocrisy. All he could say was that he was not aware of any hypocrisy in himself. He spoke what he believed to be God's truth. As regards his future plan Gandhiji said that he had come to Calcutta with a blank mind to do His will. What he would do here and how long he would stay in Bengal he did not know. God would indicate to him the next step on reaching Noakhali.

The next day, owing to his engagements in Calcutta with H. E. the Governor and the Prime Minister, he had again to apologize to his audience for coming late to the prayer meeting. "He who gives all his time to the service of the people, his whole life is an unbroken round of prayer," he remarked. He did not however, wish thereby to diminish the importance of fixed time for prayer. There was a difference between community prayer and individual prayer. He was sorry, he had not been able to do justice to the former. It was generous of them to have waited for him with such exemplary patience and it filled him with joy and faith and confidence in regard to the task before him. But he could not forgive himself so easily for his failure to keep punctually the prayer appointment with them.

He drew their attention to the Viceroy's appeal, issued in the name of the whole Cabinet of which the Viceroy was the President and Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru the Vice-President and which consisted of both Congress and Muslim League representatives. In that appeal the Viceroy, on behalf of himself and his colleagues, had appealed that the two major communities of India should bury the hatchet and become one at heart. The unity should be genuine, not imposed by the military or the police. The speaker had come to Bengal for that purpose. He took no side. He could only side with truth and justice. He wanted them all to pray with him for the establishment of heart unity between the Muslims and the Hindus. Their name would be mud in the world, if they degraded themselves by fighting among themselves like wild beasts.

#### A FAINT RAY OF HOPE

Speaking on the third day of his arrival here, Gandhiji was able to tell his audience at the evening prayer meeting that he saw a faint ray of hope that



peace might be established between the communities. He had met H. E. the Governor, and his Chief Minister twice. The visit to the former was more or less in the nature of a courtesy call. His main business was with the Chief Minister. As one drove through the deserted streets with garbage heaps, at places banked up nearly two feet high against the pavements, and entire rows of gutted shops and burnt-out houses in the side-streets and by-lanes as far as the eye could reach, one felt overcome with a sinking feeling at the mass madness that can turn man into less than the brute. By its very nature this state of things cannot last. Human nature won't stand it. As Abraham Lincoln said, "You cannot fool all the people for all time." There seem to be indications that the people are already beginning to sicken of the carnival of blood and bestiality. They had been fighting amongst themselves like wild beasts. The fighting could do no good to Calcutta, Bengal, India or the world.

To make peace between quarrelling parties, the speaker said, had been his vocation from his early youth. Even while he practised as a lawyer, he tried to bring the contending parties together. Why could not the two communities be brought together? He was an optimist, he said.

From them he wanted only this help: that they should pray with him that this mutual slaughter might stop and the two communities might really become one at heart. Whether India was to become divided or remain one whole could not be decided by force. It had to be done through mutual understanding. Whether they decided to part or stay together, they must do so with goodwill and understanding.

He could never be party to anything which might mean humiliation or loss of self-respect for anyone. Therefore any peace to be substantial must be honourable, never at the cost of honour.

In this he was only echoing the sentiment expressed to him by a prominent Muslim who had seen him. This friend had said: "We must reach our goal, whatever it might be—Pakistan or undivided India—without bloodshed or fighting. I go so far as to say that if it cannot be reached except through bloodshed and fighting amongst ourselves, it is not worth reaching."

#### THE GRIM RESOLVE

"Why do you want to go to Noakhali? You did not go to Bombay, Ahmedabad or Chhapra, where things have happened that are infinitely worse than Noakhali. Would not your going there only add to the existing tension?" Was it because in these places it was the Muslims who had been the sufferers that he did not go there and would go to Noakhali because the sufferers there were Hindus?—he was asked by a Muslim friend the other day. Gandhiji's reply was that he made no distinction between Hindu and Muslim. He would certainly have gone straight to any of the places mentioned by the friend, if anything approaching

what had happened at Noakhali had happened there and if he felt that he could do nothing without being on the spot. It was the cry of outraged womanhood that had peremptorily called him to Noakhali. He felt he would find his bearings only on seeing things for himself at Noakhali. His technique of non-violence was on trial. It remained to be seen how it would answer in the face of the present crisis. If it had no validity it were better that he himself should declare his insolvency. He was not going to leave Bengal until the last embers of the trouble were stamped out. "I may stay on here for a whole year or more. If necessary, I will die here. But I will not acquiesce in failure. If the only effect of my presence in the flesh is to make people look up to me in hope and expectation which I can do nothing to vindicate, it would be far better that my eyes were closed in death." He had mentally prepared himself, he added, for abstention from the Congress session, if necessary. He had similarly disengaged himself mentally from all his responsibilities in respect of Sevagram and Uruli—his latest love.

But with all his impatience to get to Noakhali he had to announce on the fourth day at the prayer gathering that he would not be able to leave for Noakhali on the next day as he had intended to. The Prime Minister had sent him word that the train for him could not be arranged so soon. He hoped to leave on Saturday or Sunday. In the meantime he would try to render whatever service he could to the metropolis.

Sodepur, 1-11-'46

PYARELAL

#### Dola Palki

The Dola Palki dispute in Garhwal should be set at rest seeing that the U. P. Government are said to have passed orders for prompt measures to be taken against those who would interfere with Harijan bridegrooms riding on ponies or using any other form of conveyance in spite of custom to the contrary trotted out by objectors.

On the train to Calcutta,  
29-10-'46

M. K. G.

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# HARIJAN

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TWO ANNAS

## WEEKLY LETTER

Gandhiji would have liked to travel to Noakhali by ordinary third class, but the Bengal Government had arranged a special train for him. They had also deputed Shamsuddin Saheb, the Minister for Commerce, Nasrullah Khan Saheb, Parliamentary Secretary to the Chief Minister and Abdur Rashid Saheb to accompany him. To look to his convenience and ensure Government help whenever it might be required, the Chief Minister had himself intended to accompany him, but was held up in Calcutta. There were huge crowds at Kushtia, the Home of Shamsuddin Saheb, Hacpur and Goalando. At all these places Gandhiji delivered brief addresses, explaining the object of his visit.

From his early youth he had made friends with people of all communities. He had never made any distinction between Hindu, Muslim, Parsi and others. When as a boy he attended the High School at Rajkot, he did not remember a single occasion of a quarrel with a Muslim or Parsi boy in the school.

During the Khilafat days he used to say that Maulana Shaukat Ali carried him in his pocket. He did not wish to fight. At the same time he could never countenance peace at the cost of honour or self-respect. He stood for peace, honourable to both the parties. If any party did wrong, he would not hesitate to tell it plainly to their face. That was the duty and privilege of friendship. He had been a fighter all his life and he would fight oppression and wrong with his last breath, no matter who the wrong-doer was.

He recalled his previous visit to East Bengal during the Khilafat days. Those were the days of Hindu-Muslim unity, when the Muslims vied with the Hindus in claiming the Congress as their own. Congress belonged to all. But he was not going to East Bengal this time as a Congressman. He was going there as a servant of God. If he could wipe away the tears of the outraged womanhood of Noakhali, he would be more than satisfied.

They were all Indians — Hindus and Mussalmans. They could not live in Independent India as enemies. They had to be friends and brothers. He would go to Noakhali and stay there till Hindus and Muslims again lived as blood brothers that they were, and must always remain.

He was hopeful that his tour would have a good effect and the Hindu-Muslim unity of the Khilafat days would come back. In Khilafat days no one talked of dividing India. Now they did so. But partitioning, even if it was desirable, could not be so achieved. It could not be retained except by the goodwill of the people concerned. The Bengal Ministers had assured him that the Muslims did not believe in getting Pakistan through force.

At Goalando, Gandhiji took steamer and steaming down the Padma 80 miles reached Chandpur at evening. Chandpur, the native place of that super-octogenarian Congressman the late Babu Hardayal Nag, called up poignant memories. Two deputations, one of Muslim Leaguers and the other of Hindus, met Gandhiji here. But I must reserve an account of these meetings till my next. At 2 p. m. the party reached Chaumuhani where Gandhiji has fixed up his headquarters for the present.

## THE ALL-HEALING BALM

At Laksham there is a refugees' camp. And it was to the refugees that Gandhiji's words were addressed through the crowd that had assembled at the platform to hear him and have his *darshan*. "I have not come on a whirlwind propaganda visit. I have come to stay here with you as one of you. I have no provincialism in me. I claim to be an Indian and therefore a Bengali even as I am a Gujarati. I have vowed to myself that I will stay on here and die here if necessary, but I will not leave Bengal till the hatchet is finally buried and even a solitary Hindu girl is not afraid to move freely about in the midst of Mussalmans."

"The greatest help you can give me is to banish fear from your hearts," he told them. And what was the talisman that could do that for them? It was his unfailing *mantra* of *Ramanama*. "You may say you do not believe in him. You do not know that but for His will you could not draw a single breath. Call Him Ishwar, Allah, God, Ahura Mazad. His names are as innumerable as there are men. He is one without a second. He alone is great. There is none greater than He. He is timeless, formless, stainless. Such is my Rama. He alone is my Lord and Master."

He touchingly described to them how as a little boy he used to be usually timid and afraid of even shadows and how his nurse Rambha had taught him the secret of *Ramanama* as an antidote to fear.



"When in fear take *Ramanama*. He will protect you," she used to tell him. Ever since then *Ramanama* had been his unfailing refuge and shelter from all kinds of fear.

"He resided in the heart of the pure always. Tulsidas, that prince of devotees, whose name has become a household word among the Hindus from Kashmir to Cape Comorin as Shri Chaitanya's and Shri Ramkrishna Paramahansa's in Bengal, has presented the message of that name to us in his immortal *Ramayana*. If you walk in fear of that name, you need fear no man on earth, be he a prince or a pauper." Why should they be afraid of the cry of 'Allaho Akbar'? The Allah of Islam was the protector of innocence. What had been done in East Bengal had not the sanction of Islam as preached by its Prophet.

Who could dare to dishonour their wives or daughters, if they had faith in God? He, therefore, expected them to cease to be afraid of Mussalmans. If they believed in *Ramanama* they must not think of leaving East Bengal. They must live where they were born and brought up and die there if necessary, defending their honour as brave men and women. "To run away from danger, instead of facing it, is to deny one's faith in man and God and even one's own self. It were better for one to drown oneself than live to declare such bankruptcy of faith."

Why should they feel secure only under the protection of the police and the military? "If you ask the military, they will tell you that 'God' is their protector. I want you, therefore, to be able to tell Shamsuddin Saheb that you no longer need the protection of the police and the military which may be withdrawn, but would rather put yourself under the protection of Him, whose protection they all seek."

#### CHAUMUHANI

Chaumuhani has normally a population of not more than 5,000. But at the evening prayer gathering that was held here in the compound of the Hindu Vidya Mandir on the first day of Gandhiji's arrival, there was a gathering of not less than 15,000. Large numbers had come from places round about Chaumuhani. About eighty per cent of these were Muslims. The town itself has remained free from the worst communal excesses, but round about it the whole area has been ablaze. Speaking after the prayer Gandhiji poured out his soul to the gathering, particularly to the Muslim section, for over twenty minutes. He told them how he had toured East Bengal in the company of the Ali Brothers during the Khilafat days. In those days the Muslims felt that all that he said was right. If the Ali Brothers went into a women's meeting they went blindfolded. He was allowed to go with his eyes open. Why should he blindfold himself when he went to his mothers and sisters? He had no desire to go among the purdah ladies. But the Ali Brothers insisted that he must go. The women were eager to meet him and they were sure that his advice would do good to them. In South Africa he had lived in the

midst of Muslim friends for twenty years. They treated him as a member of their family and told their wives and sisters that they need not observe purdah with him. He had become a barrister in England but what was a dinner barrister worth? It was South Africa and the struggle that he had launched there that had made him. It was there that he discovered Satyagraha and civil disobedience.

He had come to them in sadness. What sin had Mother India committed that her children, Hindus and Muslims, were quarrelling with each other? He had learnt that no Hindu woman was safe today in some parts of East Bengal. Ever since he had come to Bengal, he was hearing awful tales of Muslim atrocities. Saheed Saheb, their Prime Minister, and Shamsuddin Saheb had admitted that there was some truth in the reports that one heard.

"I have not come to excite the Hindus to fight the Mussalmans. I have no enemies. I have fought the British all my life. Yet they are my friends. I have never wished them ill."

He heard of forcible conversions, forcible feeding of beef, abductions and forcible marriages, not to talk about murders, arson and loot. They had broken idols. The Muslims did not worship them nor did he. But why should they interfere with those who wished to worship them? These incidents are a blot on the name of Islam. "I have studied the Quran. The very word Islam means peace. The Muslim greeting 'Salaam Alaikum' is the same for all whether Hindus or Muslims, or any other. Nowhere does Islam allow such things as had happened in Noakhali and Tipperah." Saheed Saheb and all the Ministers and League leaders who met him in Calcutta had condemned such acts unequivocally. "The Muslims are in such overwhelming majority in East Bengal that I expect them to constitute themselves the guardians of the small Hindu minority. They should tell Hindu women that while they are there, no one dare cast an evil eye on them."

It was time for *namaz* when Gandhiji finished speaking. As usual his address was going to be explained to the gathering in Bengali when there was a clamour from the Muslim section of the audience for a brief recess to enable them to perform their *namaz* and come back in time to hear the translation in Bengali. This was done. The *namaz* was performed in one corner of the compound after which they all came and heard the address rendered into Bengali by Shri Satish Babu.

#### A MUSLIM SPEAKS

Shamsuddin Saheb addressed the gathering after the prayer on the next day. He spoke in forceful Bengali for over half an hour. He warned them that if the issue of Pakistan *versus* Hindustan was going to be settled by mutual slaughter of the Hindus where Muslims were in a majority and *vice versa* there would be neither Pakistan nor Hindustan, but only slavery. If they really wanted Pakistan, it was up to the Muslims of Noakhali who constituted seventyfive per cent of the population to guarantee the safety and security of the



twentyfive per cent Hindu minority living in their midst. No Government that was worth its name could stand silently by and let the majority community oppress or exterminate the minority community. Neither the Muslim League Government of Bengal nor the Congress Government of Bihar could tolerate what had happened of late in these provinces respectively. By doing what they had done in Bengal they had driven the Muslim League Ministry to employ the military against the civil population of East Bengal with all that it implied. The Muslim League has never sanctioned arson, looting, abduction, forcible conversion or forcible marriages. All that was un-Islamic. The Quran clearly stated that there can be no compulsion in religion. He was there to declare to them that a forcible conversion was no conversion at all nor had a forcible marriage any validity and these mock marriages and conversions should be deemed to have made no difference whatsoever in the *status quo* of the persons concerned. Force settled nothing. America had devised the Atom Bomb and with its help crushed its opponents. But had it brought peace to the world? In Noakhali it was the Mussalmans who had oppressed the Hindus and it was up to them to wipe off that blot from the fair name of Islam. He appealed to the Mussalmans of Noakhali to set the Hindus at their ease and restore confidence to them so that they might return to their homes with a feeling of security. They could have no heart to cast their lot with the miscreants who must pay the penalty for their crimes and it was the duty of the Muslims in general to help the authorities to trace them and bring them to book. What was done was done. He hoped that out of the ashes of the conflagration the edifice of abiding Hindu-Muslim unity would be rebuilt in Bengal.

That night Shamsuddin Saheb with his colleagues from Calcutta and some local prominent Muslims saw Gandhiji and discussed the question of refugees, particularly the question of persuading them to return to their respective villages. One of the friends suggested that in order to restore confidence Hindu leaders should reinforce the appeals of the Muslims to the refugees to go back to their villages. Gandhiji replied that that was not the right way to dispel the apprehension and distrust of the Hindus which was well-grounded. He would not be able to advise them to return to their homes unless there was at least one good Hindu and one good Mussalman for each village who would stand guarantee for their safety and security and who would be prepared to immolate himself before a hair of their head was touched. It was for the Muslim League leaders who were also members of the Government to say whether such men would be forthcoming. There was no other way to restore confidence after all that had happened. They all agreed with Gandhiji's suggestion and said that they would do their best to give effect to it.

Chaumuhani, 10-11-46

PYARELAL

## STORY HOUR

(Concluded from page 302)

[For IV I am indebted to Spanhoofd's *Lehrbuch der Deutschen Sprache* (Heath) V. G. D.]

### IV

One pleasant morning in spring a merry shepherd boy was tending sheep in a valley and singing and dancing for joy. The King who was hunting in the neighbourhood saw him and asked him how it was that he was so merry. The boy did not recognize the King and answered, "Why should I not be merry, since our King is not richer than I am?"

"Really?" exclaimed the King. "Tell me then all the things you possess."

"The sun we see every day in the beautiful blue sky," said the boy, "shines for me as brightly as for the King. Mountains and valleys display the same beautiful green, the same lovely flowers bloom for me as well as for him. I have enough to eat every day. I have clothes which cover me and I earn as much as I need. Can you tell me what more the Prince has?"

The King was pleased with the answer and said, "You are right, my boy, and you can tell other people that the Prince himself told you so."

### V

When Socrates was kicked by a rude citizen in the presence of his friends, one of them expressed surprise at his not resenting the insult. Socrates replied, "Shall I then feel offended and ask the magistrate to avenge me if I also happen to be kicked by an ass?"

## A WIFE SPINNING FOR HER HUSBAND

Pandit Banarasidas Chaturvedi, the veteran journalist, has been editing an excellent Hindi magazine *Madhukar* devoted to the conservation of Bundelkhand folk-lore and to the prosecution of the Constructive Programme. In its issue No. 4, volume III, *Madhukar* quotes from *Swatantra* an old song of Bundelkhand in which a wife whose husband is away from home addresses her friend as follows:

जेजु वे ने मिले ननदीके बीरना

खोजी डारी बस हमार ।

अपने अँगनवामें रहँटा बरौती

कतती नन्दो सूत ।

अपने पियाको पगरी बनौती

जैसो कमलको फूल ।

मरी सभामें सोहे स्वामीकी पगरी

सेजियामें बिन्दिया हमार ॥

"Friend, I do not meet my sister-in-law's brother and my life is ebbing away. If he was here, I would place my wheel in the courtyard and spin fine yarn. This yarn I would get woven into a turban for my beloved, as beautiful as the lotus flower. With that turban on his head he would make his mark in the King's court, and the auspicious *tilak* (mark) on my forehead would thus become fully significant."

Hardly a hundred years ago wives not only fed their husbands, they also clothed them. As Shri



Muralidhar of Dinod in Hissar District tells us (Madhukar IV, 23-24), in his childhood he had seen all the girls of the neighbourhood meet together and spin while basking in the sun in the cold season. These meetings were called *dhupia* from *dhup* (heat), and the girls sang as they plied their wheels. They held similar meetings at night at other times of the year and these evening sessions were called *suratia* (सुरतिया). Even now a spinning wheel is an essential part of the bride's dowry in Hissar, and the bride is dressed in hand-spun and hand-woven cloth.

V. G. D.

## HARIJAN

November 24

1946

### A VENTURE IN FAITH

Early in the morning on Wednesday last Gandhiji announced to his party an important decision. He had decided to disperse his party detailing each member, including the ladies, to settle down in one affected village and make himself or herself hostage of the safety and security of the Hindu minority of that village. They must be pledged to protect with their lives, if necessary, the Hindu population of that village. His decision was not binding on any one of his party, he said. Those who wanted to, were free to go away and take up any of his other constructive activities. "Those who have ill-will against the Mussalmans or Islam in their hearts or cannot curb their indignation at what has happened should stay away. They will only misrepresent me by working under this plan."

So far as he was concerned, he added that his decision was final and irrevocable and left no room for discussion. He was going to bury himself in East Bengal until such time that the Hindus and Mussalmans learnt to live together in harmony and peace. He would deprive himself of the services of all his companions and fend for himself with whatever assistance he could command locally.

That evening he explained his idea further to the party. A discussion followed in which Shri Thakkar Bapa and Shrimati Sucheta Kripalani also took part. His *ahimsa* would be incomplete, he argued, unless he took that step. Either *ahimsa* is the law of life or it is not. A friend used to say that the *Ahimsa Sutra* in Patanjali, *Ahimsa Pratishthayam Tatsannidhau vairatyagah* (अहिंसा-प्रतिष्ठायां वैरत्यागः) was a mistake and needed to be amended and the saying *Ahimsa Paramodharmah* (अहिंसा परमो धर्मः) ought to be read as *Himsa paramodharmah* (हिंसा परमो धर्मः); in other words, violence, not non-violence was the supreme law. If at the crucial moment he lost faith in the law of non-violence, he must accept the deceased friend's amendment which appeared to him to be absurd.

"I know the women of Bengal better than probably the Bengalis do. Today they feel crushed and helpless. The sacrifice of myself and my companions would at least teach them the art of dying

with self-respect. It might open too the eyes of the oppressors and melt their hearts. I do not say that the moment my eyes are closed theirs will open. But that will be the ultimate result, I have not the slightest doubt. If *ahimsa* disappears, *Hindu Dharma* disappears."

"The issue is not religious but political. It is not a movement against the Hindus, but against the Congress," remarked one member of the party.

"Do you not see that they think that the Congress is a purely Hindu body? And do not forget that I have no water-tight compartments such as religious, political and others. Let us not lose ourselves in a forest of words. How to solve the tangle—violently or non-violently—is the question. In other words, has my method efficacy today?"

"How can you reason with people who are thirsting for your blood? Only the other day one of our workers was murdered," said another of the company.

"I know it," replied Gandhiji. "To quell the rage is our job."

Another member asked whether it was right to invite people to return to their villages under the prevailing conditions which involved a considerable amount of risk. Gandhiji's reply was that there was no harm in asking them to return to their villages if the Muslims of that village collectively guaranteed their safety and their guarantee was backed by one good Hindu and one good Mussalman, who would stay with them in that village and protect them by laying down their lives, if necessary. If there was that much guarantee, the refugees ought to return to their homes and face whatever risk there might be. If they had not the courage to live on these terms, Hinduism was doomed to disappear from East Bengal. The question of East Bengal is not one of Bengal alone. The battle for India is today being decided in East Bengal. Today Mussalmans are being taught by some that Hindu religion is an abomination and therefore forcible conversion of Hindus to Islam a merit. It would save to Islam at least the descendants of those who were forcibly converted. If retaliation is to rule the day, the Hindus, in order to win, will have to outstrip the Mussalmans in the nefarious deeds that the latter are reported to have done. The United Nations set out to fight Hitler with his weapons and ended by out-Hitlering Hitler.

"How can we reassure the people when the miscreants are still at large in these villages?" was the last question asked of Gandhiji.

"That is why," replied Gandhiji, "I have insisted upon one good Mussalman standing security along with a good Hindu for the safety and security of those who might be returning. The former will have to be provided by the Muslim Leaguers who form the Bengal Government."

In a letter to a friend Gandhiji wrote from Dattapara: "The work I am engaged in here may be my last act. If I return from here alive and unscathed, it will be like a new birth to me. My *ahimsa* is being tried here through and through as it was never before."

Khajirkhil, 16-11-'46

PYARELAL



## OVERPROOF IS ADMISSION

It was at Chandpur too that Gandhiji first directly contacted the local Muslim mind in regard to the East Bengal happenings. A deputation consisting of several prominent Muslim Leaguers of Tipperah District met him at Chandpur on board the *Kiwi* before he entrained for Chaumuhani on the morning of the 7th November.

One of them remarked that no disturbances had taken place in Chandpur Sub-Division. The rush of refugees to Chandpur was due to panic caused by false press propaganda. The number of Hindus-killed by the Muslims was only 15 while double that number of Muslims had died as a result of firing by the military who were mostly Hindus.

Another member of the deputation who is an M. L. A. was even bitter about the fact that the Hindus were still evacuating and their rehabilitation was being 'obstructed' by the Hindu workers who encouraged them to migrate in order to discredit the Muslim League Government and paralyse the administration.

Shamsuddin Saheb who was present at the meeting along with Nasrullah Saheb and Abdul Rashid Saheb interposed that it was no use isolating Chandpur Sub-Division and ignoring what had taken place elsewhere in the district. Equally irrelevant to their present argument was their reference to the military firing.

When they had finished, Gandhiji replying remarked that if what they had said was to be taken at its face value, then it amounted to this: that the Muslims had committed no excesses. The mischief had all been provoked by the excesses of the police and the military who were harassing the Mussalmans and it was they, therefore, who together with the panic-mongering Hindus were the real culprits. That was too big a pill for anybody to swallow. Why had it become necessary to call the military, if no disturbances had taken place? A deputation of 20 to 25 Hindus had a meeting with him in the morning. They had told him awful tales of what had happened in Tipperah and Noakhali. Similar tales have been pouring into his ears ever since he had set foot in Bengal. Even Muslim Leaguers had admitted that terrible things had been done. They disputed the figures which they feared were exaggerated. He was not concerned with numbers. Even if there was a single case of abduction, forcible conversion or forcible marriage, it was enough to make every God-fearing man or woman hang down his or her head in shame.

He was not going to keep anything secret, Gandhiji proceeded. He would place all the information which he might receive before the Ministers. He had come to promote mutual good-will and confidence. In that he wanted their help. He did not want peace to be established with the help of the police and the military. An imposed peace was no peace. He did not wish to encourage people to flee from their homes in East Bengal either. If the mass flight of the refugees had been deliberately

planned to discredit the Muslim League Ministry, it would recoil on the heads of those who had done so. To him it seemed hardly credible. He suggested that the right course would be to make a clean breast of the matter. "It is far better to magnify your own mistake and proclaim it to the whole world than leave it to the world to point the accusing finger at you. God never spares the evil-doer."

The gentleman who had spoken first thereupon admitted that he had heard of some cases of arson and looting but the looting had taken place after the occupants had fled. The deserted houses offered too strong a temptation to the hooligans.

"But why should people flee from their homes?", asked Gandhiji sharply. "People do not do so normally. Everybody knows that an unoccupied and unprotected house is bound to be looted by some one or the other. Would any one risk the loss of all he owns just to discredit the League?"

Still another member of the deputation remarked that only one per cent of the people had indulged in acts of hooliganism. The rest of the 99 per cent were really good people and in no way responsible for the happenings.

"That is not a correct way of looking at it", replied Gandhiji. If 99 per cent were good people and had actively disapproved of what had taken place, the one per cent would have been able to do nothing and could easily have been brought to book. Good people ought to actively combat the evil, to entitle them to that name. Sitting on the fence was no good. If they did not mean it, they should say so and openly tell all the Hindus in the Muslim majority areas to quit. But that was not their position as he understood it. The Qaid-e-Azam had said that the minorities in Pakistan would get unadulterated justice in Pakistan. Where was that justice? Today the Hindus asked him if Noakhali was an indication of what they were to expect in Pakistan. He had studied Islam. His Muslim friends in South Africa used to say to him: "Why not recite the *Kalama* and forget Hinduism?" The speaker used to say in reply that he would gladly recite the *Kalama* but forget Hinduism never. His respect and regard for Hazrat Mohammed was not less than theirs. But authoritarianism and compulsion was the way to corrupt religion, not to advance it.

Shamsuddin Saheb agreeing with Gandhiji quoted a verse from the Quran to the effect that there can be no compulsion in religion. He had told the Mussalmans, he said, that if they wanted Pakistan they must mete out justice to the minority community and win its confidence. "By doing what you have done you have killed Pakistan," he had told them.

"Mr. McInerny, the District Magistrate of Noakhali, in a leaflet he has issued," resumed Gandhiji, "has said that he will assume, unless the contrary is conclusively proved, that anyone who accepted Islam after the beginning of the recent disturbances was forcibly converted and in fact remained a Hindu." If all the Muslims made that



declaration it would go a long way to settle the question. "Why should there be a public show of it, if anybody genuinely felt inclined to recite the *Kalama*? A heart conversion needs no other witness than God." Mere recitation of the *Kalama* while one continued to indulge in acts which are contrary to elementary decency was not Islam but a travesty of it. That reminded him of the Plymouth Brothers who invited him to embrace Christianity because then he would be free to do anything he liked since Christ redeemed the sins of those who accepted Him. As against that there was the conclusive verse of the New Testament. "Not everyone who says Lord, Lord, with his lips comes to Me." It was therefore up to the leaders of the Muslims to declare that forcible repetition of a formula could not make a non-Muslim into a Muslim. It only shamed Islam.

"All that has happened is the result of false propaganda," argued one member of the deputation who had not hitherto spoken.

"Let us not make a scapegoat of false propaganda," replied Gandhiji. "False propaganda would fall flat if we are all right."

Finally one of the deputationists remarked that they were all prepared to go into the interior along with the Hindu leaders to restore peace and confidence but the latter distrusted them.

Gandhiji replied that that did not matter. He would gladly accept their offer. "You and I will visit every village and every home in the interior and restore peace and confidence."

Dattapara, 15-11-'46

PYARELAL

### AMONG THE SAVARAS OF ORISSA

Swami Bhairavanand, originally a native of Jodhpur, has made his home in the uplands of the Cuttack District amongst an aboriginal tribe, called Savaras, in the valley of the Goddess Chandi at a place called Chandikhoh. He has built a temple to the goddess in this forest land where he prays morning and evening. At his instance a Marwadi friend has built a *Dharmashala* and a temple to Mahadeva. Water is brought by means of a 3" pipe into a *pucca* tank from a natural hill-spring near by. It is delightfully refreshing to bathe in this pure water which is made to flow from the mouth of a cow.

About three years ago a small primary school was started for Savara children and Brahmachari Bhairavanand was put in charge of it. I could not have believed that progress was possible in the short space of three years, until I had seen things for myself.

Those who are familiar with the Ramayana will remember the Sabari woman who was simple enough to offer plums to Shri Ramachandra after having tasted them herself first to see whether they were sweet. The Savaras in Cuttack District are simple folk, literally hewers of wood. Their women go, axe in hand, to the forest and carry faggots of wood to sell as fuel in the neighbouring villages for a mere four or six annas at the most. This constitutes their

daily earning. The children do all kinds of household work such as city folk cannot imagine and the parents do not, therefore, like to spare them to go to school. Swami Bhairavanand has, however, made himself so popular with the Savaras by serving them in times of distress and getting occasional good meals from his rich friends for this under-nourished humanity that he has succeeded in drawing their children to his school. To the children also he gives parched rice at midday and clothes twice a year. From 30, three years ago, the number of children attending school has risen to 100. A single teacher institution has developed into a three-teacher one with good buildings for both school and residential staff.

The free hostel started for the Savara boys, however, had to be closed because the parents could not afford to spare the children for 24 hours. "When we hire our boys of 10 and 12 years of age to the agriculturists, they are not only fed and clothed free, but they get from Rs. 2 to Rs. 5 p.m. in addition. If you want to keep our boys as boarders, you must be prepared to give them something more than free food." This argument is only too true from the point of view of the poor Savara. He reminds me of the arguments propounded by the late Maharaja of Darbhanga against Shri Gokhale's Bill for Free and Compulsory Education in 1911. He said that the agriculturists simply could not afford to spare their children for schooling for even four or five years on end. It can easily be understood how much harder it is for the Savaras, who do not own an inch of land and have to depend on cutting fuel and grass for their livelihood throughout the year, to spare their children.

The real fact is that the devoted services of thousands are required in order to make useful citizens of the lakhs of children of the 25 million aboriginal population in India. Some Congress Provincial Governments have opened a special portfolio for the aboriginal tribes. It should be the rule and not the exception to spend lakhs every year for the education and material advancement of these backward people, in particular those sections who live in unapproachable hills and forests. Out of the total population of 25 million 20 reside in the uplands and plains of India and the remaining five in secluded forests and on hills. They need befriending.

A. V. THAKKAR

[The moral is that basic education, i. e. education through craft, is the education that India needs.

—M. K. G.]

New Delhi, 25-10-'46

### NOTICE

Change of address to be effective for the week should please be intimated to us by *Tuesday*. Please quote the subscriber number with the intimation.

Please note that change of address cannot be effected twice within one month.

Subscribers are not enrolled for a period of less than six months.

MANAGER



## PROHIBIT HORSE RACING AND FOOTBALL POOLS

The gambling instinct has its roots deep down in human nature. There were gamblers in Vedic times to whom the Rishi Kavasha Ailusha addresses the following words in the Rig Veda (X-34-13):

अक्षैर्मा दीव्यः कृषिमित् कृषस्व ।

"Do not gamble with dice, but till the land."

In Mahabharata times Kshatriyas were addicted to gambling and were foolish enough to believe that they were bound to accept an invitation to gamble even as they must accept a challenge to fight.

अहूतो न निवर्तेत द्यूतादपि रणादपि ।

But things improved later on with the result that on the eve of British rule gambling like drink presented nothing like a problem to our people.

The British brought horse races and the stock exchange with them to India. As betting is not much in evidence in our country, we are not in a position to pronounce judgment on its evils. But competent British observers believe that "betting is an even more serious social evil than excessive drinking" (Hugh Martin's *Christ and Money*, S. C. M.). In view of the magnitude of the evils of the practice generally and the grave risk of placing temptations in the way of the weak, Mr. Martin holds that even trivial and occasional bets are undesirable. He thinks that the arguments for total abstinence in the case of drinking apply more strongly to betting. The Church should not give countenance to the habit by organizing raffles in connection with bazaars. Ballots for hospitals are undesirable and "destroy the true spirit of giving for the sake of the worthiness of the object to be helped."

The case against betting is summarized by Mr. Martin in a single sentence: "In any legitimate transaction there is a benefit to both the parties; in betting one of the parties gains without giving anything in return." Betting differs from stealing only in the circumstance that in betting the loser agrees to pay if he loses. A person has the right to get money by giving something equivalent in work or otherwise or by receiving a gift. But betting means getting something for nothing; it is gain through the loss of another.

So also gambling whether in games or on the stock exchange is undesirable. "Difference" transactions are definitely unsocial in character. "The gambling habit, persisted in, produces a feverish passion as harmful as drug-taking and as destructive of the sense of right and wrong."

In a story by Conrad the hero won a big prize in a lottery. Having won once he was sure he could win again. The Passion captured him. "The lottery is eating him up," remarked a friend of his. Mr. Martin testifies that it is the story of thousands.

Mr. Martin's conclusion is that whether for his own sake or for the sake of others, betting is not one of the ways in which a Christian will spend his money.

If Christians have learnt in the school of experience that betting is bad for them, it is equally bad for Hindus and Mussalmans. Hindus are bound to follow the Vedic advice already cited, and Mussalmans dare not disobey the *Holy Quran*, which condemns gambling as strongly as it condemns drink:

"They question thee about *strong drink* and *games of chance*. Say: In both is great sin." (II-219)

"O ye who believe: Strong drink and games of chance . . . are an *infamy of Satan's handiwork*."

"Satan seeketh only to cast among you *enmity and hatred* by means of strong drink and games of chance, and to turn you from remembrance of Allah and from (His) worship." (V-90)

(M. Picthall's translation)

Even J. M. Keynes the hard-headed economist suggested prohibition of book-makers along with that of alcoholic spirits.

Our ministers would do well to accept Keynes' suggestion as well as resist the invasion of English football pools, which has just commenced as may be gathered from newspaper advertisements.

V. G. D.

## AN INDIAN VILLAGE FIGHTS AGAINST FAMINE

The village of Belgatta is a typical village of the Deccan plateau of South India. It is some four hundred miles from Cape Comorin, over a hundred miles from the west coast, over two hundred miles from the east coast. Its annual rainfall is just above 20 inches. It is a purely agricultural village, relying for food in normal times mainly on its own production of millets and pulses, eked out with mango fruit and bananas, to say nothing of toddy tapped from the toddy-palm. The peasants also grow some cotton, ground-nuts, castor and other oils, and by selling these products they can purchase cloth, rice and a few other things: not much to live on, but enough to thank God for.

"In normal times." But how rarely, when everything depends on the weather, does the normal occur! 1945 was exceptionally abnormal. The rains completely failed. The crops withered in the ground. Even the trees lost their leaves. The cattle starved. Owing to short-sighted war-time policies, the surplus from earlier years had all been disposed of. The village had nothing to fall back on, and nothing to look forward to except famine. For nearly twelve months the spectre of starvation has been round the corner; sometimes it was within whispering distance. Today it is further off, almost banished. Not only are the new crops good, and ripe for harvest; but the State Government (Belgatta is in the State of Mysore) after a perilously slow and unconvincing start, has taken adequate measures to feed the needy people only just in time.

Mysore alone could not do it. Though the administrative machinery had to be devised on the spot, the food had to come from much further



off. Scarcely fifty miles away, in western Mysore, where three or four times as much rain comes each year from the west as Belgatta gets, and where the rains did not fail in 1945, there was a small surplus of rice, but this was soon consumed. Belgatta, like hundreds of other Deccan villages, had to look for imports from distant parts of India, and from overseas. This whole village whose inhabitants have never seen the sea, or a great city, or a great river, has been saved by the united action of the continents. Let us go inside the village food depot and see. Here are bags of wheat flour from Australia. Here is wheat from Canada, and maize from the United States. A recent assignment, which the local officials greeted with curiosity, was "Egyptian millet". When the bags were opened, it proved to be not some unknown and unpalatable cereal, but their own familiar *jowary* or *jola*, whose tall, brown seed heads are now nodding hopefully in the fields and all round the village. And there is a recent arrival of Burma rice. Surplus States and Provinces of India, such as Assam, Hyderabad and Sind, have sent their quotas. All the world has been conspiring together to save the humble villagers of Belgatta from starvation.

I was meditating on this theme as we drank cups of coffee in the postmaster's house. But he gave me something else to meditate on, with the sudden observation: "The benevolence of God has sent us the rain at the right time." As the minds of these people have turned from dread to hope, they give thanks, not mainly to Australia or America or Egypt or Burma, but to God.

There are other things I like about this village. Two shy and solemn little girls have been presented to me, who have been cured, one of skin trouble, the other of indigestion, since they had regular multi-vitamin pills. They are typical of many others. And then one of my companions introduces me to a young medical graduate who is living in the village (too many Indian medical men confine their attentions to wealthy fee-paying townspeople), who I find is serving five villages. "Has the food shortage increased the incidence of disease?" I ask him. "Of course it has," he replied, "especially skin diseases and intestinal troubles." When, an hour later, a medical man of higher rank, with three years' army service in Europe, assured me that he had been touring all the worst districts for five weeks and had found no evidence of any increase of disease—"unless possibly a little skin trouble"—I had no difficulty in deciding which to believe when the doctors disagree. To be fair to the senior doctor, perhaps one should add that he and his staff had cause for congratulation that in a time of semi-starvation, when in many places it was hard to find any good water to drink, no major epidemic has broken out.

Belgatta is a village of hope. And it is surrounded by other villages of hope today. But that district is not all India. The millets, which are the staple food of these Deccan villages, are almost ripe. But a couple of hundred miles away live millions of Madras peasants, still surviving on a precariously inadequate ration, who are short of rice. Even in Mysore they plead "Send us more rice." The South Indian rice will not be ready to market till January or February, 1947. Meanwhile fitful rice shipments come from overseas—Burma, Siam, Java; and some from Assam, Orissa or else-where in North India. Can that uncertain stream be kept up, and amplified with sufficient wheat from America, to keep these millions alive? We do not know. And behind South India and its continued need lies a big question mark covering Bengal. Increased distribution of milk and multi-vitamins to children all over South India is helping to hold back the threat of famine. Last week I saw scores of little children in Travancore lapping up their milk and coming back for more. But the cry is still for "Rice and wheat, rice and wheat". Men of every nation can still be persuaded to help their unseen brothers in distant lands—thanks be to God, who moves their hearts and minds and wills.

Chitaldrug, September, '46

HORACE ALEXANDER

[I would only add to this thanksgiving essay that God helps those who help themselves. The villagers must be taught to grow more food themselves. Then help from outside will come and will be welcome. — M. K. G.]

On the train to Calcutta, 29-10-'46

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# ENGLISH INTO HINDUSTANI INSTALMENT — VII

ENGLISH	HINDUSTANI
Bicephalous <i>adj.</i>	दो-सिरा । दो-सरा
Bicycle <i>n.</i>	बाइसीकल, पैरगाड़ी । बाइकल, पायरी
Bid <i>v.</i>	बोली लगाना; कहना; हुक्म या आदेश देना । बोल लگانा; کہنا, حکم یا آدش دینا
Bide <i>v.</i>	देखो Abide । Abide
Bidet <i>n.</i>	आवदस्तकी चौकी । آب دست کی چوکی
Biennial <i>adj.</i>	हर दो साल । ہر دو سال
Bier <i>n.</i>	जनाजा । جنازہ
Biflorate <i>adj.</i>	जिस पर दो फूल हों । جس پر دو پھول ہوں
Biform <i>adj.</i>	जिसके दो रूप हों । جس کے دو روپ ہوں
Bifurcated <i>adj.</i>	जिसकी दो टहनियाँ हों, दो-शाखा, दुसँगा । جس کی دو ٹہنیاں ہوں, دو شاخا, دو سانگا
Big <i>adj.</i>	बड़ा, भारी, लम्बा-चौड़ा; महत्त्वपूर्ण, जरूरी । بڑا, भारی, لمبا-چوڑا; مہتر پورن, ضروری
Big with child	हामिला, गर्भिणी । حاملہ, گرہینی
Big business <i>n.</i>	पूँजीवालों या सरमायादारोंका कारबार । پونجی والوں یا سرمایہ داروں کا کاروبار
Big game <i>n.</i>	बड़े जानवर (शेर, हाथी वगैरा)का शिकार । بڑے جانور (شیر, ہاتھی وغیرہ) کا شکار
Big wig <i>n.</i>	बड़ा आदमी । بڑا آدمی
Big words <i>n.</i>	डोंग, शेखी । ڈینگ, शेखी
Big, to get too, for one's boot <i>v.</i>	असिमांनी वन जाना, सिर फिर जाना, दिमाग चढ़ जाना । ایمانی بن جانا, سر پیر جانا, دماغ چڑ جانا
Big, to talk <i>v.</i>	डोंग मारना, शेखी बघारना । ڈینگ مارنا, शेखी बघारना
Bigamist <i>n.</i>	दो जोरुवाला । دو جوړو والا
Bight <i>n.</i>	खलीज, खाड़ी । خلیج, کھازی
Bigotry <i>n.</i>	कट्टरपन, हठधर्मी, तअस्सुव । کٹرن, ہٹہ دمری, تعصب
Bike <i>n.</i>	देखो Bicycle । دیکھو
Bilateral <i>adj.</i>	दो पहलू, दो तरफ़ । دو پہلو, دو طرفہ
Bile <i>n.</i>	सफ़रा, पित्त; चिड़चिड़ापन । سفرہ, پیت, چڑچڑاپن
Bilge <i>n.</i>	जहाजका पेंदा; पीपेका, पेट । جہاز کا پندا; پیپے کا پٹ
Bilge water <i>n.</i>	गन्दा पानी, जो जहाजमें जमा हो जाता है । گندہ پانی, جو جہاز میں جمع ہو جاتا ہے
Bilingual <i>adj.</i>	दो ज़बानों या भाषाओंमें लिखा या कहा हुआ; दो ज़बानोंमें बोलनेवाला; दो ज़बानों या भाषाओंका । دو زبانوں یا بھاشاؤں میں لکھا یا کہا ہوا; دو زبانوں میں بولنے والا; دو زبانوں یا بھاشاؤں کا
Bilk <i>v.</i>	ठगना; हाथसे निकल जाना । ٹھگانا; ہاتھ سے نکل جانا
Bill <i>n.</i>	मसविदा कानून; हिसाबका परचा; बिल; अदितहार; चोंच; अर्जी दावा; दरौती, हँसिया । مسودہ قانون; حساب کا پرچہ; بل; اشتہار; چونج; عرضی دعویٰ; دراتی, ہنسیا
Bill of exchange <i>n.</i>	हुण्डी । ہنڈی
Bill of fare <i>n.</i>	खानोंकी फेहरिस्त या सूची । کھانوں کی فہرست یا سوجی
Bill of health <i>n.</i>	सेहतनामा, स्वास्थ्य-पत्र (मुसाफ़िरोके लिखे) । صحتنامہ, سواستہ پتر (مسافروں کے لئے)
Bill, to have a clean, of health <i>v.</i>	स्वस्थ या तन्दुरस्त होना । سوسہ یا تندرست ہونا
Bill of trading <i>n.</i>	जहाजके मालकी बिल्टी । جہاز کے مال کی بلی

Bill of mortality <i>n.</i>	मौत या मृत्युपत्र । موت یا مرتیو پتر
Bill of rights <i>n.</i>	हक्क या अधिकारकी सनद । حقوق یا ادمکار کی سند
Bill of sale <i>n.</i>	विक्रीपत्र, वयनामा । بکری پتر, بنامہ
Bill-poster or sticker <i>n.</i>	अदितहार लगानेवाला । اشتہار لگانے والا
Bill <i>v.</i>	प्रोग्राममें रखना; अदितहार लगाना । پروگرام میں رکھنا; اشتہار لگانا
Billet <i>n.</i>	चिट्ठी, परचा; सिपाहियोंके ठहरानेका हुक्म; सिपाहियोंके ठहरानेकी जगह; ठिकाना; नौकरी; जलानेकी लकड़ीका कुन्दा । پتھی, پرچہ; سپاہیوں کے ٹھہرانے کا حکم; سپاہیوں کے ٹھہرنے کی جگہ; ٹھکانا; نوکری; جلانے کی لکڑی کا کوندا
Billiards <i>n.</i>	अंडा खेल, बिलियर्ड । انڈا کھیل, بلیریڈ
Billingsgate <i>n.</i>	गाली-गलौज । گالی گلوچ
Billion <i>n.</i>	दस खरब । دس کھرب
Billow <i>n.</i>	बड़ी लहर । بڑی لہر
Billy goat <i>n.</i>	बकरा । بکرا
Bimetalism <i>n.</i>	दुधाती शुसूल (सोना और चाँदी दोनोंके सिक्कोंका दौदमाती اصول (सुना और चाँदी दोनों के सिकों का रोज) । دو دھاتی اصول (سونہ اور چاندی دونوں کے سیکوں کا رواج)
Bin <i>n.</i>	पीपा (अक्सर लकड़ीका), अनाज, शराब, कोयला, व बिया (अकर लकड़ीका) अनाज, शराब, कोयला, व कूड़ा रखनेके लिये । پپا (اکثر لکڑی کے لئے), اناج, شراب, کوئلہ و کڑا رکھنے کے لئے
Bind <i>v.</i>	बाँधना, लपेटना; पक्का करना, जकड़ना; पाबन्द करना, मुचलका देना, बचन लेना; कब्ज करना । باندھنا, لپٹنا; پکا کرنا, چکڑنا; باند کرنا, چکڑنا; پھنکنا; پھنکنا
Binding, book <i>n.</i>	جلد سازی । جلد ساز
Binder <i>n.</i>	चौड़ी पट्टी । چوڑی پٹی
Binder, book <i>n.</i>	جلد ساز । جلد ساز
Binding <i>n.</i>	जिल्द; पाबन्दी; बन्धन । جلد; پابندی; بندھن
Binding <i>adj.</i>	लाजिमी, जरूरी । لازمی, ضروری
Binocular <i>n.</i>	दूरबीन । دوربین
Binomial <i>adj.</i>	द्विपद, दो अदबी । دو ادبی, دو عددی
Biography <i>n.</i>	जीवन-चरित्र, जीवन-कथा, जिनंदगीकी कहानी, जियन चरित, जियन कहा, जियन की । جیون چریت, جیون کہنا, جیون کی
Biology <i>n.</i>	जीवन-विद्या, जिल्म-ह्यात । جیون ویدا, علم حیات
Bioscope <i>n.</i>	चलचित्र, हिलती तस्वीर (पुराना सिनेमा), बायस्कोप । چل چتر, ہلتی تصویر (پراٹا سینما), بائسکوپ
Biped <i>n.</i>	दोपाया जानवर या प्राणी । دو پایا جانور یا پرائی
Birch <i>v.</i>	बेतसे सजा देना, मारना । بنت سے سزا دینا, مارنا
Bird <i>n.</i>	चिड़िया, पक्षी, परिन्दा । چڑیا, پکھی, پرندا
Bird, a little, told me	मुझे किसीने कहा । مجھے کسی نے کہا
Bird, old <i>n.</i>	सावधान या तजरबेकार आदमी । ساولدان یا تجربہ کار آدمی
Bird, a, in hand is worth two in the bush	नौ नकद । نور نقد تیرہ ادھار
Bird is flown	चिड़िया खुद गयी; कैदी भाग गया । چڑیا از گئی; قیدی بھاگ گیا
Birds of a feather <i>n.</i>	अक ही थैलीके चढ़े-बढ़े । ایک ہی تھلی کے چڑے
Birds, kill two, with one stone <i>v.</i>	अक पंथ दो काज । ایک پتہ دو کاج
Bird of passage <i>n.</i>	मौसिमी चिड़िया, फ़सली बटेर । موسمی چڑیا, فصلی بٹر



Bird of prey *n.* شکاری چیریا (جیسے، باز) ।  
 شکاری چیریا (جیسے باز)  
 Bird fancier *n.* پक्षی-پ্রেमी، چیریا پالنے والا ।  
 پکشی پریمی، چیریا پالنے والا  
 Bird lime *n.* لاسا । لاسا  
 Bird's nest *n.* چوہنلا । گھونسلہ  
 Bird seed *n.* چیریا کا دانا । چیریا کا دانا  
 Bird's eye view *n.* اُوچے سے دیکھنا؛ ہوا جی نچارا، سرسری نظر  
 اُوچے سے دیکھنا، ہوائی نظارہ سرسری نظر  
 Birth *n.* پیدائش، جنم؛ بংশ، घरانا، खानदान ।  
 پیدائش، جنم؛ بংশ، گھرانہ، خاندان  
 Birth, new *n.* نئی زندگی، نیا جنم ।  
 پید کرنا، جتنا  
 Birth, to give, to *v.* पैदा करना, जनना ।  
 جنم دن، سالگرہ  
 Birthday *n.* जन्मदिन, सालगिरह ।  
 پیدائشی نشان  
 Birth mark *n.* पैदाबिशी निशान ।  
 جنم بھومی، جنمस्थान، पैदाबिशीकी जगह  
 Birth place *n.* जन्मभूमि, जन्मस्थान, पैदाबिशीकी जगह ।  
 جنم بھومی، جنمस्थान، پیدائش کی جگہ  
 Birth right *n.* पैदाबिशी हक, जन्मसिद्ध अधिकार ।  
 پیدائشی حق، جنم سدمہ ادھکار  
 Biscuit *n.* बिस्कुट । بسکٹ  
 Bisect *v.* बीचसे काटना, दो बराबर टुकड़े करना ।  
 بیچ سے کاٹنا، دو برابر ٹکڑے کرنا  
 Bishop *n.* लाट पादरी ।  
 ایک قسم کی دھاتو بستہ  
 Bismuth *n.* अक क्रिस्मकी धातु-विस्मथ ।  
 ارنا عینا  
 Bison *n.* अरना भैंसा ।  
 ٹکڑا، جरा، कुछ; छोटा सिक्का; रोटीका टुकड़ा; निवाला;  
 ٹکڑا، ذرا، کچھ؛ چھوٹا سک؛ روٹی کا ٹکڑا؛ ٹوالا؛ دھانہ  
 Bit, to take the, between the teeth *v.* काबूसे बाहर हो जाना (खास तौर पर चोबेका) ।  
 قابو سے باہر ہو جانا (خاص طور پر چوہے کا)  
 Bit, to put the, in the mouth *v.* लगाम देना, काबूमें रखना या रहना ।  
 لگام دینا، قابو میں رکھنا یا رکھنا  
 Bit, to give a, of one's mind *v.* साफ-साफ कहना, खरी-खरी सुनाना ।  
 صاف صاف کہنا، کھری کھری سنانا  
 Bit, to do one's *v.* किसी काममें हिस्सा लेना या शामिल होना, हाथ बँटाना ।  
 کسی کام میں حصہ لینا، یا شامل ہونا، ہاتھ بٹانا  
 Bit, a, of a किसी कदर, थोड़ासा, जरा सा ।  
 کسی قدر، تھوڑا سا، ذرا سا  
 Bit by bit थोड़ा-थोड़ा करके, धीरे-धीरे ।  
 تھوڑا تھوڑا کر کے، دھیرے دھیرے  
 Bit, not a बिलकुल नहीं ।  
 بالکل نہیں  
 Bit, every, as बिलकुल ही वैसा ।  
 بالکل ہی ویسا  
 Bit, wait a inter. जरा ठहरो ।  
 کئی، کنیا  
 Bitch *n.* कुत्ती, कुतिया ।  
 Bite *v.* दाँतसे काटना, काट खाना; डंक मारना, बसना; दुःख देना, लगना, चुभना, सुँह मारना; पकड़ना; ठगना ।  
 ڈانٹ سے کاٹنا، کاٹ کھانا؛ ڈنک مارنا، ڈنسا؛ دکھ دینا، لگانا  
 Bite, to, the dust or ground *v.* गिरकर मर जाना; अपनेको खलील करना; रेंगना; जमींदोज होना ।  
 گر کر مرجانا؛ اپنے کو ذلیل کرنا؛ رینگنا؛ زمین دوز ہونا  
 Bite, to, one's lips *v.* होंठ चवाना, गुस्सेको रोकना ।  
 مونہ چھڑانا، غصے کو روکنا

Bite, to, off more than one can chew *v.* शक्ति या ताकतसे बाहर काम हाथमें लेना ।  
 شکتی یا طاقت سے باہر کام ہاتھ میں لینا  
 Bitten, to be, with *v.* किसी चीज या खयाल पर बीवाना हो जाना ।  
 بالہ مارا ہوا  
 Bitten, frost पाला मारा हुआ ।  
 چبھتی ہوئی باتیں  
 Biting words *n.* चुभती हुआ बातें ।  
 کڑوا، تیکھا؛ नापसन्द, नागवार; दर्दनाक; शोकमय; क्रोधा, तिकहा; नापसन्द, नागوار; دردनाक; शोकमय, तिर  
 Bitter, to shed, tears *v.* जार-जार रोना ।  
 Bitter, the, end *n.* आखिर या अन्त तक; मरते दम तक ।  
 آخر یا انت تک؛ مرنے دم تک  
 Bivouac *n.* कौजका रातका पड़ाव ।  
 فوج کا رات کا پڑاؤ  
 Bizarre *adj.* अनोखा, अजीब ।  
 انوکھا، عجیب  
 Blab *v.* बकबक करना; मेद या राज खोलना ।  
 بک بک کرنا؛ بید یا راز کھولنا  
 Black *adj.* श्याम, काला; अँधेरा; मैला; बहुत बुरा ।  
 شام، کالا؛ اندھیرا؛ میلا؛ بہت برا  
 Black, to be in the, book of *v.* किसीकी नजरमें बहुत बुरा होना ।  
 کسی کی نظر میں بہت برا ہونا  
 Black in the face गुस्सेमें होना ।  
 غصے میں ہونا  
 Black ball, to *v.* काला गोला डालना (चुनावमें खिलाफ राय देना) ।  
 کالا گولہ ڈالنا (چناؤ میں خلاف رائے دینا)  
 Black-hearted *adj.* काले दिलवाला, सियाह दिल ।  
 کالہ دل والا، سیاہ دل  
 Blacken *v.* काला करना, कलंक लगाना ।  
 کالا کرنا، کلنک لگانا  
 Black despair *n.* सख्त मायूसी, बड़ी निराशा ।  
 سخت مایوسی، بڑی نراشا  
 Black list *n.* जराब लोगोंकी फेहरिस्त या सूची ।  
 خراب لوگوں کی فہرست یا سوجی  
 Black looks *n.* गुस्सेकी निगाह; कहरमरी नजर ।  
 غصے کی نگاہ، قہر مری نظر  
 Black leg *n.* धोखा देनेवाला (झुठ्ठोंमें); वह मजदूर जो हड़तालके समय मालिकका साथ देता है ।  
 دھوکھا دینے والا (گھوڑ دوڑ میں) وہ مزدور جو ہڑتال کے سیم مالک کا ساتھ دیتا ہے  
 Black mark *n.* कलंक, बदनामी ।  
 کلنک، بدنامی  
 Black market *n.* काला बाजार ।  
 کالا بازار  
 Black and blue बदनमें जो नील (मार या चोटसे) पड़ी हो ।  
 بدن میں جو نیل (مار یا چوٹ سے) پڑی ہو  
 Black and tan *n.* अबलक ।  
 ابلی  
 Black and white *adj.* काली और सफेद तस्वीर (जो सिर्फ स्याहीसे खींची गयी हो) ।  
 کالی اور سفید تصویر (جو صرف سیاہی سے کھینچی گئی ہو)  
 Black and white, in लिखा हुआ, छपा हुआ, कलमबन्द ।  
 لکھا ہوا، چھپا ہوا، قلم بند  
 Black art *n.* जादू-टोना ।  
 جادو، ٹونا  
 Black eye *n.* चोटसे नीली आँख ।  
 چوٹ سے نیلی آنکھ  
 Black magic *n.* काला जादू ।  
 کالا جادو  
 Black maria *n.* जेल गाड़ी, कैदियोंकी गाड़ी ।  
 جیل گاڑی، قیدیوں کی گاڑی  
 Blackguard *n.* बदमाश, दुष्ट ।  
 بدعاش، دشت  
 Blackguard *v.* गाली देना; बदनाम करना ।  
 گالی دینا، بدنام کرنا  
 Black lie *n.* सियाह झूठ ।  
 سیاہ جھوٹ



- Blackmail** *v.* بھرا یا دھمکا کر روپیہ وصول کرنا ।  
**Blackout** *v.* ब्लेक आؤٹ, اُंधیرا رکھنا; گول کر جانا (کوئی بات, خبر) ।  
**Blacksmith** *n.* لہار ।  
**Black sheep** *n.* خوتا آدھی, بھرا آدھی, "کالی مہ" ।  
**Black hole** *n.* کال-کوٹری ।  
**Bladder** *n.* ماسانا, مٹھاس; ہوا سے پھولی ہوئی تھیلی ।  
**Blade** *n.* پتی (घास या अनाजकी); धार या फल (चाकू, तलवार, बौराका) ।  
**Blame** *v.* दोष लगानا, खिलजाम लगाना ।  
**Blanch** *v.* सफेद करना, सफेद हो जाना ।  
**Bland** *adj.* कोमल, नरम, सुशगवार ।  
**Blandish** *v.* तारीफ करना, फुसलाना, सुशामद करना ।  
**Blank** *adj.* खाली, सादा, कोरा ।  
**Blanket** *n.* कम्बल, कमली, लोअी, गरम चादर ।  
**Blanket** *v.* कम्बल खुदाना; दबा देना (मामलेको) ।  
**Blanket, wet** *n.* निराशा, नाखुम्मेदी; ठण्डा कर देना (खुसाहको) ।  
**Blare** *n.* तुरमकी आवाज, शोर-गुल ।  
**Blare** *v.* ललकारना; जोरसे बिलाना; अडाना (बल्लोका) ।  
**Blaspheme** *v.* कुफ्र बकना; अश्वरकी निन्दा करना ।  
**Blast** *n.* तेज हवाका झोका; खूँची आवाज, धमाका; बला ।  
**Black in full** जोरों पर; पूरे जोरसे ।  
**Blast** *v.* नष्ट करना, झुलसाना, बारूदसे खुदा देना ।  
**Blatant** *adj.* शोर मचानेवाला; अधम मचानेवाला ।  
**Blaze** *n.* लपट, लौ, भड़क, चमक, जगमगाहट, शोला ।  
**Blaze** *v.* दहकना, भड़कना, चमकना; दरख्तों पर सफेद निशान लगाना ।  
**Blazon** *v.* मशहूर करना, खबर फैलाना; शान दिखाना ।  
**Blech** *v.* सफेद करना, सफेद हो जाना ।  
**Bleak** *adj.* सर्द, शीतल; खुला हुआ, बे-ओट; सूना, सुनसान; वीरान, खुजाह ।  
**Blear** *adj.* धुंधला ।  
**Bleat** *v.* में-में करना, सिमियाना ।  
**Bleb** *n.* छाला; बुलबुला ।
- Bleed** *v.* लहू } निकालना; लहू } निकालने देना; खून बहाना, कल्ल खून } होना; खून चूसना, मुँडना; दिल दुखना ।  
**Blemish** *n.* बब्बा, दाग, कलंक; धुटि, मुकस, औब ।  
**Blend** *v.* झुल-सिल जाना, अंक होना; मिलाना ।  
**Bless** *v.* आशीर्वाद या दुआ देना, आसीस देना; पवित्र करना, पाक बनाना; प्रशंसा या तारीफ करना; गुण गाना; बरकत देना, मुकदस करना ।  
**Blight** *v.* सुरक्षा देना, कुम्हला देना; बुरा असर डालना; खुरमने न देना ।  
**Blind** *adj.* अन्धा; जाहिल, अज्ञान, बेसमझ; बन्द ।  
**Blind** *n.* झिमिली, परदा; धोखा; आड, ओट ।  
**Blind alley** *n.* बन्द कूचा, बन्द गली ।  
**Blind door** *n.* जुना हुआ दरवाजा ।  
**Blind letter** *n.* पत्र या खत, जिस पर ठीक पता न दिया हो ।  
**Blind of an eye** *adj.* काना ।  
**Blind side, one's** *n.* वह पहलू जिसकी हिफाजत या रक्षा न हो; अचेत, ग्राफिल ।  
**Blind stitch** *n.* (जो सिलाजी अंक तरफ ही नजर आवे) तुरपाजी, तुरपन ।  
**Blind, to be, to** *v.* किसी बातसे बेखबर होना या खुसे देख न सकना ।  
**Blind, to turn a, eye to** *v.* जान-बूझकर न देखना, देखनेकी खिच्छा न रखना ।  
**Blink** *v.* पलक मारना, आँखें मिचमिचाना; थोड़ा देखना, आँख मीचकर देखना; टिमटिमाना ।  
**Blinkers** *n.* अंधेरी, अधियारी (जो घोड़ोंकी आँखों पर डाल देते हैं) ।  
**Bliss** *n.* परमानन्द, कल्याण, सुख, खुशी ।  
**Blister** *n.* आबला, छाला, फफोला ।  
**Blithe** *adj.* खुश, खिन्दादिल, आनन्दित ।  
**Blizzard** *n.* बर्फकी आँधी, बर्फका तूफान ।  
**Bloated** *adj.* फूला हुआ; चिकना-चुपका ।  
**Block** *v.* रोकना, रुकावट डालना; बन्द करना ।  
**Block** *n.* कुन्दा, लड्डा (लकड़ीका), तख्ता; आड, रोक, रुकावट; मकानोंकी कतार ।



Blockhead *n.* बेवकूफ, सुल्ल, मूर्ख, बेवमन ।

Block, chip of the old *n.* बेटा, जो बाप जैसा हो, जिसमें अपने वंश या खानदानके गुण या बुराबियाँ हों ।  
 بیٹا جو باپ جیسا ہو، جس میں اپنے بئش یا خاندان کے گون یا برائیاں ہوں

Block letters, to write in *v.* हरअक अक्षरको अलग-अलग लिखना ।  
 ہر ایک اکھر کو الگ الگ لکھنا

Blockade *n.* बेरा, नाकाबन्दी; रोक ।  
 گھیرا, नाकबندی; روک

Blond *n.* गोरे रंगका; भूरे बालोंवाला ।  
 گورے رنگ کا; भूरे बालोंवाला

Blood *n.* रक्त, खून, लहू; नसल, वंश, कुल, खानदान; शेखी मारनेवाला; रिश्ता, स्वभाव, मिजाज; हत्या, वध, खून, कत्ल ।  
 رکت, خون, لہو; نسل, بئش, کل, خاندان; شیخی مارنے والا; رشتہ, سوجھا, مزاج; ہتیا, بدم, خون, قتل

Blood and iron, a man of *n.* सल्लदिल, कठोर ।  
 سخت دل, कठोर

Blood feud *n.* खानदानी बैर, कबायली झगडा ।  
 खानदानी बैर, कबायली झगडा

Blood guilty *adj.* खूनी, हत्याका अपराधी ।  
 खूनी, हत्याका अपराधी

Blood heat *n.* शरीर या जिस्मकी हरात ।  
 शरीर या जिस्म की हरात

Blood-hound *n.* जासूसी कुता; जासूस ।  
 जासूसी कुता; जासूस

Blood is thicker than water 'अन्धा बाटे रेवरी, फिर-फिर अपनों को दे' ।  
 अन्धा बाटे रेवरी, फिर-फिर अपनों को दे

Blood letting *n.* खून लेना, खून बहाना ।  
 खून लेना, खून बहाना

Blood money *n.* खूनकी गवाहीका रुपया ।  
 खून की गवाही का रुपया

Blood orange *n.* लाल गूदेकी नारंगी ।  
 लाल गूदे की नारंगी

Blood poisoning *n.* खूनमें सहर पैदा हो जाना ।  
 खून में सहर पैदा हो जाना

Blood red *adj.* खून-सा लाल ।  
 खून सा लाल

Blood relation *n.* सगा, हक्कीकी ।  
 सगा, हक्कीकी

Blood, royal *n.* शाही नसल ।  
 शाही नसल

Bloodshed *n.* रक्तपात, खूँरेजी ।  
 रक्तपात, खूँरेजी

Blood shot eye *n.* बहुत दुख या लाल आँख, खूनी आँख ।  
 बहुत दुख या लाल आँख, खूनी आँख

Blood sucker *n.* खून चूसनेवाला जानवर (जैसे, जोंक), खून-चूस ।  
 खून चूसनेवाला जानवर (जैसे, जोंक), खून-चूस

Blood thirsty *adj.* खूनका प्यासा ।  
 खून का प्यासा

Blood vessel *n.* रग, रक्तकी नाली, नाड़ी ।  
 रक्त की नाली, नाड़ी

Blood worm *n.* लाल कीड़ा (जिसे मछली पकड़नेके लिये काँटेमें लगाते हैं) ।  
 लाल कीड़ा (जिसे मछली पकड़नेके लिये काँटेमें लगाते हैं)

Blood, bad *n.* बैर, रंजिश ।  
 बैर, रंजिश

Blood, blue *n.* अँचे कुल या खानदानका ।  
 अँचे कुल या खानदानका

Blood out of a stone, one cannot draw पत्थरको पहर को जोंक नहीं लगती ।  
 पत्थर को जोंक नहीं लगती

Blood up, to have one's *v.* गुस्सा होना; लड़ने-मरने पर तैयार होना; तैशमें आ जाना, झगडाना ।  
 गुस्सा होना; लड़ने-मरने पर तैयार होना; तैशमें आ जाना, झगडाना

Blood, flesh and शरीर, जिस्म, जिस्मानियत ।  
 शरीर, जिस्म, जिस्मानियत

Blood, fresh *n.* नया खून ।  
 नया खून

Blood, in cold *adv.* जान-बूझकर; बेरहमी या निर्दयतासे ।  
 जान-बूझकर; बेरहमी या निर्दयतासे

Blood, to run in the *v.* खूनमें होना ।  
 खून में होना

Blood, own flesh and अपना सगा ।  
 अपना सगा

Blood, first taste of *n.* पहली लडाही; पहली बार मुँहमें खून पी लाना; पहली बार मने में खून लकना ।  
 पहली लडाही; पहली बार मुँहमें खून पी लाना; पहली बार मने में खून लकना

Bloom *n.* फूल; फूलका खिलना; ताजगी; चेहरेकी लाली; सुन्दरता, बहार ।  
 फूल; फूलका खिलना; ताजगी; चेहरेकी लाली; सुन्दरता, बहार

Bloom *v.* फूलना, फलना, खिलना; बहार पर आना ।  
 फूलना, फलना, खिलना; बहार पर आना

Blossom *n.* फूल, पुष्प, कली, कोपल ।  
 फूल, पुष्प, कली, कोपल

Blossom *v.* फूलना, फलना, खिलना, बहार पर आना ।  
 फूलना, फलना, खिलना, बहार पर आना

Blot *n.* धब्बा, दाग, कलंक; स्याहीका धब्बा; डैब, नुक्स ।  
 धब्बा, दाग, कलंक; स्याहीका धब्बा; डैब, नुक्स

Blot out *v.* मिटाना; दूर करना; निकाल डालना; नाम-निशान न रखना ।  
 मिटाना; दूर करना; निकाल डालना; नाम-निशान न रखना

Blotting paper *n.* स्याहीचूस, स्याहीसोख ।  
 स्याहीचूस, स्याहीसोख

Blotch *n.* धब्बा; कुसी; धब्बा ।  
 धब्बा; कुसी; धब्बा

Blouse *n.* कुरता, कुरती ।  
 कुरता, कुरती

Blow *n.* मुक्का, धूँसा; चोट, सदमा; आफत, विपत्ति; हवाका मका; गहना; चोट, घम; अफ, रब; हवाका झोंका ।  
 मुक्का, धूँसा; चोट, सदमा; आफत, विपत्ति; हवाका मका; गहना; चोट, घम; अफ, रब; हवाका झोंका

Blow, at one *adv.* अकदमसे, अकही बारमें, अकही चोटसे ।  
 अकदमसे, अकही बारमें, अकही चोटसे

Blow *v.* फूँकना, हवा भरना; सँस चढ़ना, हँफना; फूलना, खिलना; सुलगाना; छिनकना; बजाना; हवासे शुब जाना ।  
 फूँकना, हवा भरना; सँस चढ़ना, हँफना; फूलना, खिलना; सुलगाना; छिनकना; बजाना; हवासे शुब जाना

Blows, to come to } *v.* मार-पीट करने लगना, मुक्का-मुक्की मार पिट करने लगे ।  
 मार-पीट करने लगना, मुक्का-मुक्की मार पिट करने लगे

Blows, to exchange } *v.* मार-पीट करने लगना, मुक्का-मुक्की मार पिट करने लगे ।  
 मार-पीट करने लगना, मुक्का-मुक्की मार पिट करने लगे

Blow great guns *v.* जोरकी आँधी चलना ।  
 जोरकी आँधी चलना

Blow hot and cold *v.* आगे-पीछे होना; सात-पाँच करना; कमी कुछ और कमी कुछ कहना ।  
 आगे-पीछे होना; सात-पाँच करना; कमी कुछ और कमी कुछ कहना

Blow off steam *v.* फालतू भाप (शक्ति, बल)को खर्च कर डालना; सुबाल निकालना ।  
 फालतू भाप (शक्ति, बल)को खर्च कर डालना; सुबाल निकालना

Blow one's own trumpet *v.* डींग मारना, अपने मुँह डींग मारना, अपने मने में मथोर बतना ।  
 डींग मारना, अपने मने में मथोर बतना

Blow out *v.* बुझा देना, बुझाना ।  
 बुझा देना, बुझाना

Blow over *v.* हो चुकना, गुजर जाना, टल जाना ।  
 हो चुकना, गुजर जाना, टल जाना

Blow up *v.* फूल जाना; फुलना; भस्म हो जाना; शिबकना; बारूदसे फुलाना ।  
 फूल जाना; फुलना; भस्म हो जाना; शिबकना; बारूदसे फुलाना

Blow out one's brains *v.* बुद-कुकी या आत्महत्या करना; सिरमें गोली मार लेना; सिरके परखचे बुझा देना ।  
 बुद-कुकी या आत्महत्या करना; सिरमें गोली मार लेना; सिरके परखचे बुझा देना

Blowzy *adj.* लाल मुँहका, भद्दी शकलका ।  
 लाल मुँहका, भद्दी शकलका



# HARIJAN

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TWO ANNAS

## GANDHIJI'S PRESS STATEMENT

On the eve of his departure for Shrirampore Gandhiji issued the following statement to the Press:

I find myself in the midst of exaggeration and falsity. I am unable to discover the truth. There is terrible mutual distrust. Oldest friendships have snapped. Truth and *ahimsa* by which I swear, and which have to my knowledge sustained me for sixty years, seem to fail to show the attributes I have ascribed to them.

To test them, or better, to test myself, I am going to a village called Shrirampore, cutting myself away from those who have been with me all these years, and who have made life easy for me. I am taking Prof. Nirmal Kumar Bose as my Bengali teacher and interpreter and Shri Parsuram, who has been my most devoted, selfless and silent stenographer.

The other workers, whom I have brought with me will each distribute themselves in other villages of Noakhali to do the work of peace, if it is at all possible, between the two communities. They are, unfortunately, all non-Bengalis except little Abha. They will, therefore, be accompanied by one Bengali worker each as teacher and interpreter, even like Prof. N. K. Bose will be to me.

Distribution work and selection work will be done by Sri Satish Chandra Dasgupta of the Khadi Pratisthan. My ideal is to live in a local Muslim League family, but I see that I must not wait for that happy day. I must meanwhile establish such contacts with the Muslims as I can in their own villages. My suggestion to the League Ministers is that they should give me one honest and brave Muslim to accompany one equally honest and brave Hindu for each affected village. They should guarantee at the cost of their lives if need be, the safety of the returning Hindu refugees. I am sorry to have to confess that without some such thing it seems to me difficult to induce them to return to their villages.

From all accounts received by me, life is not as yet smooth and safe for the minority community in the villages. They, therefore, prefer to live as exiles from their own homes, crops, plantations and surroundings, and live on inadequate and ill-balanced doles.

Many friends from outside Bengal have written to me to allow them to come for peace

work, but I have strongly dissuaded them from coming. I would love to let them come if and when I see light through this impenetrable darkness.

In the meantime, both Pyarelal and I have decided to suspend all other activities in the shape of correspondence, including the heavy work of the *Harijan* and the allied weeklies. I have asked Shri Kishorlal, Shri Kakasaheb, Shri Vinoba and Shri Narhari Parikh to edit the weeklies jointly and severally. Pyarelal and I may, if our work permits, send stray contributions from our respective villages. Correspondence will be attended to from Sevagram.

How long this suspense will last, is more than I can say. This much, however, I can. I do not propose to leave East Bengal till I am satisfied that mutual trust has been established between the two communities and the two have resumed the even tenor of their life in their villages. Without this there is neither Pakistan nor Hindustan — only slavery awaits India, torn asunder by mutual strife and engrossed in barbarity.

No one need at present be disturbed about my low diet. On receipt of the following wire from Dr. Rajendra Prasad:

Letter received. Have already wired quiet. There have been no incidents for a week now. Situation satisfactory. Most earnestly desire resumption of normal diet. Myself going Delhi 19th, I resumed goat's milk from yesterday and propose to revert to normal diet as early as the system permits. The future is in God's keeping. Kazirkhil, 20-11-'46

## OUR LAHORE BRANCH

Readers will please note that a branch of the Navajivan Karyalaya has recently been opened at Lahore (Bright View Building, Royal Park, McLeod Road). Copies of our four weeklies: *Harijan* (English), *Harijanbandhu* (Gujarati), *Harijan-sevak* (Hindustani in Nagari script) and *Harijan-sevak* (Hindustani in Urdu script), as also copies of our Gujarati monthly, *Shikshan ane Sahitya*, and our publications will be available at the place. Subscriptions for the weeklies and the monthly will also be accepted. All sales of the *Harijan* and its various editions at Lahore will henceforth be handled by the branch office.

MANAGER



## WEEKLY LETTER

Emerald green fields of paddy meet the eye just now in Noakhali District wherever you go. There has been a bumper crop this year such as has not been known for the last twelve years. But nature's bounty has been more than offset by the sadistic cruelty of man. The crop is in ear and about to ripen but a number of those who sowed them are not there to reap or garner. Some have been killed. Others have fled for safety to various refugee camps.

The question of the repatriation of the refugees is worrying the authorities as well as the various relief organizations. Unless they return to their homes early, they might lose the paddy and the betel nut crop which in their absence might be bagged by others. The problem bristles with difficulties. They have lost their all, they have no houses to live in. Without means of subsistence and without even a roof over their heads for shelter, where are they to go? they ask. Above all, where is the guarantee that they would be safe if they returned to their villages? To clear the atmosphere of terror and re-establish mutual confidence and goodwill is the problem of problems.

## TRAGEDY OF GOPAIRBAG

On the 8th instant Gandhiji accompanied by the Parliamentary Secretaries Janab Nasrullah Saheb and Abdur Rashid Saheb, Mr. McInerny the District Magistrate and the Superintendent of Police, Noakhali, motored from Chaumuhani to the village of Gopairbag. Here, buried deep in the midst of thick groves of slender arecanut and cocoanut palms whose tall tops seemed to meet overhead, are scattered five clusters of huts occupied by Hindu families, in the midst of nearly fifty times that number of Muslim families. One of these is a Patwari's house. Silken plantain leaves spread out in graceful arches under a sapphire blue sky. The loveliness of nature was spread all around. The air was delightfully fresh and cool. But the human scene that met the eye froze one's blood. There had been murder and arson. The place of worship had been desecrated. The corpses of slaughtered men were piled up in a heap in one corner of the courtyard and burnt. Charred remains of what was once flesh and blood bore witness to the grim tragedy. There were blood stains on the doorsteps of some of the houses. The *kutchra* floors in many houses had been dug up presumably in search of hidden cash or jewels. The odour of death still hung over the place. It was a picture of desolation. Three girls had been abducted from the house, two of whom were still missing.

## DATTAPARA

On his way back at evening Gandhiji halted at Diwanbari at Dattapara where tact and presence of mind combined with good luck had enabled the Diwanji family to escape from the fate of the Patwari family at Gopairbag. The place itself has at present been turned into a refugee camp holding about 6000 refugees. Gandhiji discussed here with the district authorities the question of repatriation of the refugees to their respective homes. Some local

Muslim League members had also been invited and took part in the discussion.

Addressing a meeting of Hindus and Muslims at evening, Gandhiji told them that it was a shame for both the Hindus and the Mussalmans that the Hindus should have to run away from their homes as they had done. It was a shame for the Muslims because it was out of fear of the Muslims that the Hindus had run away. Why should a human being inspire another with fear? It was no less a shame for the Hindus to have given way to craven fear. He had always said that man should fear none but God. The Government officials accompanying him were all anxious that they should return to their homes. To feed and clothe thousands in one place involved difficulties for the refugees as well as for the Government. The Government officials were ashamed of the fact that such things should have happened in their jurisdiction. He wanted them to forgive and forget what had happened in Noakhali and Tipperah. That did not mean that they were to become cowards. But it served no useful purpose to keep on recalling the unpleasant past. He hoped and prayed that the Hindus and Muslims of these parts would become friends once more. He knew the Hindus had suffered a lot and were suffering still. He would not ask them to return to their homes till at least one good Muslim and one good Hindu came forward to accompany them and stand surety for their safety in each village. He was sure there were plenty of good Hindus and good Muslims in these parts who would give the necessary guarantee.

A Muslim friend from the audience said they had already given them the assurance that they would look after them but the Hindus would not listen to them. Gandhiji replied that they should try to understand and appreciate the reasons of the Hindus' distrust and overcome their fear. A Hindu refugee got up and asked how they could have confidence in the assurances of the Muslims any more. When the trouble was threatening they had promised to look after them but had failed to protect them afterwards. Besides where were they to go and stay? They had lost their all. Were they to go back and stay in the jungles? And when fifty good Muslims in the village had failed to save them on the previous occasion, how would one good Muslim do so now? Gandhiji replied that the Government would see that their huts were rebuilt and they had food and clothing when they returned to their homes. Whatever might have happened in the past, if now one good Muslim and one good Hindu took the responsibility for their safety in each village, they could rely on their word backed as it would be by the collective invitation of all the Muslims in the village. If they were still afraid they were cowards and not even God could help the cowardly.

The next day Gandhiji shifted his camp to Dattapara in order to be able to visit more affected villages in the interior. After the evening prayer he addressed a huge gathering in which about 80% were



Muslims. It was a passionate appeal to their conscience. He talked to them of the purifying alchemy of God's name which was more potent even than the proverbial philosopher's stone. He asked them to search their hearts and tell him whether they really wanted the Hindus to come back and live in their midst as friends and neighbours. If they wanted them back, they should stand guarantee for their safety and self-respect, assure them that their daughters, sisters, and mothers would be regarded like the Muslims' own daughters, sisters and mothers. If not, they should plainly tell him so and he would ask the unfortunate refugees to migrate. But he himself would stay in their midst till their hearts were converted, live on what they might provide him and die there if necessary. The full text of the speech is reproduced elsewhere in these columns.

Several written questions were submitted to him at the end of the meeting. One of them was: how could the refugees have the confidence to go back when the hooligans who had harassed them were still at large? Gandhiji replied that it was the duty of the Government to round up the hooligans but his advice to the refugees was to leave the Government to attend to its duty. If the good Muslims invited them back wholeheartedly, they should return.

#### FURTHER INTO THE INTERIOR

The 11th was Gandhiji's day of silence. All the same he visited the villages Noakhola, Sonachak and Khilpara, all in the Lakhimpur Thana. The journey was partly by motor and partly by boats which were punted with difficulty in *khals* that were choked with thickly tangled masses of water hyacinth. At Noakhola 8 people were said to have been murdered including a schoolboy of 15. Four skulls and charred remains of the bones were scattered all over the place. The houses had almost all been burnt down. In the house where the boy was murdered his school books and freshly written exercise books were strewn over the floor. The betel nut and the coconut trees surrounding the houses were scorched. Those that were not killed or did not run away were said to have been converted including a deaf-mute who by piteous signs showed the tuft of hair in a piece of cloth which had been removed from his head and to which he still clung. The few women that remained were all weeping and wailing in a heart-rending manner. At Sonachak the place of worship had been desecrated and set fire to. Broken images lay on footpaths and in the debris inside the ruined temple. In this village too the same piteous weeping and wailing of women met Gandhiji.

In a written message that was read out at the evening prayer gathering Gandhiji poured out the anguish which the sights which he had seen had filled him with. Wherever he had gone he had seen burnt houses and heard stories of looting and forcible conversions. Hindu women were without the auspicious vermilion mark on their heads and foreheads and without their conchshell bangles. How he wished that all Muslim brothers would condemn these atrocities with one voice so that the Hindus could go back to their homes and live there as they

used to before the disturbances. Their houses would be rebuilt before they could go back. The Muslims should help in that. Such he believed was the injunction of the holy *Quran* too.

The next day at the evening prayer gathering which mostly consisted of refugees, Gandhiji again referred to the question of repatriation. The Moulvi Saheb, the Vice President of Union No. 6, who had addressed them before him had invited them in the name of the Mussalmans to return to their homes. But it was not so easy in action as it was in speech. Everyone was anxious to see the two communities live in peace and harmony once again. For that it was not necessary that they should have the same religion. He had seen awful sights of destruction. He had seen the terror-stricken faces of the sufferers. They had been forcibly converted once and they were afraid the same thing would be repeated. He wanted them to shed that fear. He alone deserved to live who refused to give up God's name. They must learn to face death rather than give up *Ramanama*. He was not enamoured of the military and the police. The function of the police was to arrest thieves and dacoits, that of the military to guard them against foreign aggression. The police and the military could not teach them to cease fighting among themselves and live as friends. He referred to the scheme for repatriation but it could work only if the Muslim League wished to have peace and fully co-operated. Shamsuddin Saheb was coming in two or three days. They would hear from him what the League Government wanted to do.

Visits to the village of Gomatoli and Nandigram completed Gandhiji's programme in the Lakhimpur Thana. In Nandigram the same scene of devastation that was seen in Noakhola and Khilpara confronted one. About 600 houses had been burnt down. Twisted and blackened pieces of corrugated sheets that once constituted roofings littered the ground among heaps of cinders and debris. A school building, a hostel and a hospital were reduced to ashes. Scorched coconut and arecanut palms marked the site of arson. The temple belonging to the leading family of the village had been desecrated here too.

#### A CRUEL JOKE

Gandhiji shifted his camp from Dattapara to Kazirkhil on the 14th afternoon. On the way he stopped at Shahpur where a public meeting had been arranged. Gandhiji had been told that there would be a big gathering at Shahpur. But someone had spread the rumour that he would be accompanied by the Superintendent of Police, the District Magistrate and an armed guard who would utilize the occasion for making arrests with the result that very few people were in evidence when Gandhiji arrived there. "It is a cruel joke," remarked Gandhiji. For so far as he was concerned he had never wanted any police or district authority to accompany him. But the authorities said they could not take the risk of letting him go about unprotected.

It had been brought to his notice that in several places, while the local Mussalmans professed to be

(Continued on p. 426)



# HARIJAN

December 1

1946

## THE FIRST LESSON

Mr. McInerny, the District Magistrate of Noakhali, addressing Gandhiji's evening prayer gathering at Dibanbari (Dattapara) made a pithy remark. As after a natural calamity like an earthquake, floods or an epidemic involving large masses of people, so after riots, the first requisites of rehabilitation and relief are food, clothing, shelter and primary medical aid. But of far greater importance than these is courage which is the basis of all virtues. Nothing could have been more opportune, he added, than Gandhiji's visit to Noakhali in the present juncture. For, courage cannot be doled out like rice or other items of relief. It has to be evoked from within and who could do it better than Gandhiji?

### THE ONLY WAY

He could have little idea at that time that Gandhiji had anticipated him in that regard even before he had set foot on the soil of the Tipperah District. The first lesson was delivered at Chandpur when a group of 20 to 25 workers including the son of the late Babu Hardayal Nag and several representatives of various relief organizations met him in the dining saloon of the Kiwi on the morning of the 7th November. "What goes against the grain in me," Gandhiji told them, "is that a single individual can be forcibly converted or a single woman can be kidnapped or raped. So long as we feel we can be subjected to these indignities, we shall continue to be so subjected. If we say we cannot do without police or military protection, we really confess defeat even before the battle has begun. No police or military in the world can protect people who are cowards. Today you say, thousands of people are terrorizing a mere handful, so what can the latter do? But even a few individuals are enough to terrorize the whole mass, if the latter feel helpless. Your trouble is not numerical inferiority but the feeling of helplessness that has seized you and the habit of depending on others. The remedy lies with you. That is too why I am opposed to the idea of your evacuating from East Bengal *en masse*. It is no cure for impotence or helplessness."

"East Bengal is opposed to such a move," they replied.

"They should not leave", Gandhiji resumed. "20,000 able-bodied men prepared to die like brave men non-violently might today be regarded as a fairy tale. But it would be no fairy tale for every able-bodied man in a population of 20,000 to die like stalwart soldiers to a man in open fight. They will go down in history like the immortal five hundred of Leonidas who made Thermopylae." And

he quoted the proud epitaph which marked the grave of the Thermopylae heroes:

Stranger! Tell Sparta, here her sons are laid,  
Such was her law and we that law obeyed.

### A FALSE CRY

"I will proclaim from the housetops," he continued, "that it is the only condition under which you can live in East Bengal. You have asked for Hindu officers, Hindu police and Hindu military in the place of Muslim. It is a false cry. You forget that Hindu officers, Hindu police and Hindu military have in the past done all these things—looting, arson, abduction, rape. I come from Kathiawad—the land of petty principalities. I cannot describe to you to what depths of depravity human nature can go. No woman's honour is safe in some principalities and the chief is no hooligan but a duly anointed one."

"These are cases of individual depravity. Here we have got this on a mass scale."

"But the individual there is not alone. He is backed by the machinery of his little State."

### A POOR CONSOLATION

"He is condemned even by his compeers. Here such acts are not condemned by the Muslims."

"I have heard nothing but condemnation of these acts from Saheed Suhrawardy downwards since I have come here. Words of condemnation may tickle your ears. But they are no consolation to the unfortunate women whose houses have been laid desolate or who have been abducted, forcibly converted and forcibly married."

"What a shame for Hindus, what a disgrace for Islam," he exclaimed warming up. "No, I am not going to leave you in peace. Presently you will say to yourself, 'When will this man leave us and go?' But this man will not go. He did not come on your invitation and he will go on his own only, but with your blessings, when his mission in East Bengal is fulfilled."

"It is a part of their plan for Pakistan," put in one member of the deputation.

"It is midsummer madness and they have realized it. They will soon sicken of it. They have already begun to."

"Why do not they come here then and set this right?"

"That stage will come. Sickness only marks the crisis. Convalescence must precede cure." "You see I am a nature-curst," he added with a sardonic laugh in which all joined.

### THE FALLACY OF NUMBERS

"But here we are a mere drop in the ocean," remarked another friend resuming the discussion.

Gandhiji replied that even if there was one Hindu in East Bengal, he wanted him to have the courage to go and live in the midst of the Mussalmans and die if he must like a hero. He should refuse to live as a serf and a slave. He might not have the non-violent strength to die without fighting. But he could command their admiration if he had the courage not to submit to wrong and died fighting like a man. "There is not a man.



however cruel and hard-hearted, but would give his admiration to a brave man. A *goonda* is not the vile man he is imagined to be. He is not without his noble traits."

The friend who was leading the argument however was still sceptical. "A *goonda* does not understand reason," he said.

"But he understands bravery," replied Gandhiji. "If he finds that you are braver than he, he will respect you."

#### ARMOURY RAID TRADITION

"You will note," continued Gandhiji, "that for the purposes of our present discussion I have not asked you to discard the use of arms. I can't provide you with arms. It is not for me to provide arms to the Chittagong Armoury Raid men," he remarked chaffing them. "The most tragic thing about the armoury raid people," he added "is that they could not even multiply themselves. Their bravery was lop-sided. It did not infect others."

That started a discussion on the Chittagong Armoury Raid group.

"No wonder it could not," answered one of the party. "They were condemned."

"By whom? I may have—that is a different thing."

"The people did do. I am myself an Armoury Raid man."

"They did not. You are no Armoury Raid man or, you should not have been here to tell these things. That so many of them should have remained living witnesses of the things that have happened is in my eyes a tragedy of the first order. If they had shown the same fearlessness and courage to face death in the present crisis as they did when they made that raid, they would have gone down in history as heroes. As it is, they have only inscribed a small footnote in the page of history. You will see I am not, as I have already said, asking you just now to unlearn the use of arms or to follow my type of heroism. I have not made it good even in my own case. I have come here to test it in East Bengal. I want you to take up the conventional type of heroism. You should be able to infect others—both men and women—with courage and fearlessness to face death when the alternative is dishonour and humiliation. Then the Hindus can stay in East Bengal, not otherwise. After all, the Mussalmans are blood of our blood and bone of our bone."

"Here the proportion of Mussalmans and Hindus is 6 to 1. How can you expect us to stand against such heavy odds?"

"When India was brought under British subjection, there were 70,000 European soldiers against 33 crores of Indians."

"We have no arms. The Government backs them with its bayonets."

"The odds were much heavier against the Indians in South Africa. The Indian community there was a mere handful in the midst of an overwhelming majority of Europeans and Negroes. The Europeans

had arms. We had none. So we forged the weapon of Satyagraha. Today the Indian is respected by the White man in South Africa, not so the Zulu with all his fine physique."

"So we are to fight with arms anyhow?" the friend finally asked.

"Not anyhow," replied Gandhiji. "Even violence has its code of ethics. For instance, to butcher helpless old men, women and children is not bravery but rank cowardice. Chivalry requires that they should be protected even at the cost of one's life. The history of early Islam is replete with such instances of chivalry and Islam is all the stronger for them."

#### BRAVERY OR BRUTALITY?

"Would you permit the Hindus to take the offensive?"

"The people of Bihar did and brought disgrace upon themselves and India. They have set the clock of India's independence backward. I have a right to speak about Bihar. In a sense I feel closer to Bihar than to Bengal as fortune enabled me to give a striking demonstration of the non-violence technique in Champaran. I have heard it said that the retaliation in Bihar has 'cooled' the Muslims down. They mean it has cowed them down for the time being. They forget that we can play at a game. Bihar has forged a link in the chain of our slavery. If the Bihar performance is repeated or if the Bihar mentality does not mend, you may note down my words in your diary: *Before long India will pass under the yoke of the Big Three with one of them probably as the mandatory power. The independence of India is today at stake in Bengal and Bihar.* The British Government entrusted the Congress with power not because they are in love with the Congress but because they had faith that the Congress would use it wisely and well, not abuse it. Today Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru finds the ground slipping from under his feet. But he won't let that happen. That is why he is in Bihar. He has said he is going to stay there as long as it may be necessary."

"Biharis have behaved as cowards," he added with deep anguish. "Use your arms well, if you must. Do not ill-use them. Bihar has not used its arms well. If the Biharis wanted to retaliate, they could have gone to Noakhali and died to a man. But for a thousand Hindus to fall upon a handful of Mussalmans—men, women and children—living in their midst is no retaliation but just brutality. It is the privilege of arms to protect the weak and helpless. The best succour that Bihar could have given to the Hindus of East Bengal would have been to guarantee with their own lives the absolute safety of the Muslim population living in their midst. Their example would have told. And I have faith that they will still do so with due repentance when the present madness has passed away. Anyway that is the price I have put upon my life, if they want me to live. Here ends the first lesson."

Kazirkhil, 18-11-46

PYARELAL



## WEEKLY LETTER

(Continued from p. 423)

anxious that peace should be re-established, they were not prepared to do anything for it or give any guarantee, unless the Muslim League leaders asked them to. Gandhiji recognizing the reasonableness of their suggestion referred to a statement of Qaid-e-Azam Jinnah which he had read that morning. He did not like everything in that statement but there were some things in it which should commend themselves to all. In that statement Qaid-e-Azam Jinnah had said: "If the Mussalmans lose their balance and give vent to the spirit of vengeance and retaliation and prove false to the highest codes of morality and preachings of our great religion Islam, you will not only lose your title to the claim of Pakistan but also it will start a most vicious circle of bloodshed and cruelty, which will at once put off the day of our freedom and we shall only be helping to prolong the period of slavery and bondage." He had further said: "We must prove politically that we are brave, generous and trustworthy, . . . that in the Pakistan areas the minorities will enjoy the fullest security of life, property and honour just as the Mussalmans themselves, nay even greater." He would like them, remarked Gandhiji, to ponder over that statement, if on examination they found that his quotation was correct. Murder, loot, arson, abduction and forcible marriages and forcible conversions could not but prolong India's slavery. If they kept on quarrelling among themselves, if they looked to the police and the military for protection, they would be inciting the third party to rule over them.

## HEART AGONY

At Kazirkhil Gandhiji's camp has been fixed up in a partially devastated house. The miscreants were not able to burn down the place completely. An advance party of Shri Satish Babu's men had cleaned it up and made it habitable. There was a small gathering for the prayers in the compound of the house. Addressing them after prayer on the first day Gandhiji said he found indescribable peace in the natural scenery around him but he found that peace missing on the faces of the men and women. And how could they have peace after all that they had been through? He found a number of guards standing there to protect him and his party. Against whom were they to protect him? He was not used to go about with a guard. He had toured in Bengal unprotected before this. "But today the authorities would not let me do so. It is a matter of sorrow and shame for me and more than me it should be a matter of shame for the Mussalmans of East Bengal."

Even the schools and temples had been destroyed, he proceeded. Shamsuddin Saheb, their Minister, did not like it. The happenings in East Bengal, he said, had hurt him deeply. The hearts of the people had to be purged of hatred. For that their (the Mussalmans') help and cooperation was necessary.

## THIS FRATRICIDE

This fratricide was more awful than anything in his experience, he said. He had carried on a grim struggle for 20 years in South Africa and for the

last 30 years in India. But this mutual slaughter had non-plussed him. He did not know how he could induce the two communities to live in peace and harmony again. He had come to Bengal to find a solution for the problem. Bengal was a big province. If the communal problem could be solved here, it would be solved elsewhere also. If he succeeded here, he would go away from Bengal with a new lease of life. If not, he wished God to remove him from this earth. He did not wish to leave Bengal empty-handed. The word "pessimism" was not to be found in his dictionary.

The Muslims butchered the Hindus and did worse things than butchery in Bengal, he proceeded, and the Hindus butchered the Muslims in Bihar. When both acted wickedly it was no use making comparisons or saying one was less wicked than the other or who started the trouble. If they wished to take revenge they should learn the art from him. He also took revenge, but it was of a different type. He had read a Gujarati poem in his childhood which said: "If to him who gives you a glass of water, you give two, there is no merit in it. Real merit lies in doing good to him who does you evil." "That," concluded Gandhiji, "I consider noble revenge."

He had read a story about one of the earlier Caliphs. A man attacked the Caliph with a sword. The Caliph wrested the sword from the assailant's hands and was going to kill him when the assailant spat on his face. The Caliph thereupon let him go free because the indignity had filled him with personal anger. This produced a great impression upon the assailant, and he embraced Islam. One who was forcibly converted to Islam ceased to be a man. To recite the *Kalma* through fear was meaningless.

## A CALL TO INTROSPECTION

The prayer meeting of the fifteenth was held in the *maidan* in front of the school building at Ramganj. In his address after the prayer Gandhiji reiterated and emphasized his previous day's appeal. He could talk to them of nothing but sorrow and suffering these days. Wherever he went he saw awful sights of destruction. There were no tears in his eyes. He who shed tears could not wipe those of others, but his heart did weep. He had come with the hope that he could have a frank talk with the Mussalmans and that they would repent of their misdeeds and request the Hindus not to leave their homes. If the repentance was genuine, the Hindus would recognize their sincerity and regain lost confidence. But he could see that the Hindus and the Muslims of East Bengal had been embittered against one another. He would not go into the reasons thereof. But the Muslim brethren would permit him to say that so far as he knew, in East Bengal they had been the aggressors. The Hindus were mortally afraid of them. At Chaumuhani, continued Gandhiji, Muslims came to his meeting in large numbers, larger than the Hindus. But he did not know why they were avoiding him after the first meeting at Dattapara. It hurt him. He wanted the few Mussalmans who were present in the meeting to carry his message to the rest. A



Muslim sister who had been going about meeting the leading Muslims in these parts had said that the Muslims told her plainly that they wanted orders from the League leaders before they could promise to befriend the Hindus or attend Gandhiji's meetings. The exodus of the Hindus was still continuing. If the Muslims assured them that they were neighbours, friends and brothers, sons of the same soil, breathing the same air and drinking the same water, that the Hindus had nothing to fear from them, the exodus would stop and even those who had left their homes would return. Even animals were friendly to those who befriended them. But man was made in the image of God. To justify his inheritance, man had to return good for evil. Whosoever was the fault, this truth applied to both the parties. The Muslims wanted orders from the League. He could understand it. There was a League Government in the province. But that did not mean that the Government should be inimical to those outside the League.

He reiterated what he said about Qaid-e-Azam Jinnah Sahab's message on the previous day. They should search their hearts and ask themselves if they had lived up to that message. "So far as I know, Islam does not permit forcible conversion and atrocities on women. What good can a mere repetition of the *Kalma* do to one whose heart does not accept Islam? You should ask your leaders, therefore, whether you are to be friends with the Hindus or enemies and tell me. If you wish to be enemies, the Hindus should be asked to leave East Bengal. For myself, I have come to stay in East Bengal till there is reconciliation between the two."

Kazirkhil, 17-11-'46

PYARELAL

## A PROHIBITION ANTHOLOGY

(Continued from No. 31, Page 304)

[For reference to the text in 10, I am indebted to Macdonell and Keith's Vedic Index; for 11 to S. Hicks' *Difficulties* (Duckworth); for 13 to Mosley's *Night Haunts of London* (S. Paul); for 14 to Hiralal Jadavrai Buch's *Devibhagavata* (G. M. Vaishya); and for 16, 17 and 18 to Norman E. Richardson's *The Liquor Problem* (Methodist Book Concern, New York). V. G. D.]

10

सुरां पिबन् . . . ब्रह्महा चैते पतन्ति ।

छान्दोग्य उपनिषद् (५-१०-९)

"The murderer of a Brahmin, the drunkard . . . these fall (from grace)."

11

Not 95 per cent of all the crime which has come before me during my long years on the bench should be attributed to drink, but 99 per cent of it.

Lord Brampton.

12

Syphilis and use of alcohol as beverage together are responsible for more than half the disease and early death of the mature population of Europe.

E. Ray Lankester in *Kingdom of Man*

13

"One of the chief incitements to unchastity is indulgence in alcoholic drinks."

National Council for Combating Venereal Diseases.

14

प्रभासे यादवाः सर्वे . . . . . ॥ ३ ॥

ते पीत्वा मदिरां मत्ताः कृत्वा युद्धं परस्परम् ।

क्षयं प्राप्ता महात्मानः पश्यतो रामकृष्णयोः ॥ ४ ॥

देवीभागवत २-८ ।

"At Prabhasa, all the Yadavas took liquor, in a fit of intoxication fought among themselves and met their doom. Balarama and Krishna saw this but were helpless.

15

Alcohol kills more men than war, and kills them in a dishonourable manner. —Cardinal Mercier

16

Many (drinking places) depend upon the debauching of women as a source of indirect revenue.

North American Wine and Spirit Journal,  
(March 1913)

17

"In the tug of war between life and death, drink pulls on the graveyard side."

18

If the drink habit could be eradicated from the nation, this court might close its doors at any rate for the greater part of the time.

Lord Gorell, President of English Divorce Court  
V. G. D.

## THE MESSAGE OF KHADI

If every village, and every home in it, becomes self-sufficient in the production of food, clothing, other village manufactures and animal husbandry and avoids unnecessary interdependence while not excluding mutual co-operation wherever desirable, society will naturally become self-reliant and free. Competition being replaced by mutual co-operation in such a society there will be equality in the true sense of the term. Such a society must be a non-violent society.

To establish a non-violent social order in the early childhood of the human race was perhaps not possible. But when the human race has come of age, it should naturally become non-violent. With the progress of knowledge and science, an awakened and virile society will spontaneously come to realize that non-violence is the rule of life and that therein alone lies safety. Experience is the best teacher. Non-violence, arrived at as a result of experience, is likely to prove enduring. If even after all it has gone through during the last five to ten thousand years of its history, the human race does not turn to non-violence it is doomed indeed.

A non-violent order cannot be established by mere preaching. It requires healthy living and a particular type of organization and a particular outlook on life. The systems of Government that one sees in the world today are incompatible with a non-violent society. Instead of relying on the best in human nature, they rely on its baser side such as selfishness, greed, fear, pride etc. These tendencies are fostered by the twin expedient of punishment and reward. Living under such a system degrades one. It could not be otherwise. Our life has become unnatural and with that our ideals and thinking. Society is sick.



A man suffering from scabies experiences great relief when he scratches his skin. It does not therefore mean that the desire to scratch is a healthy one. Similarly the fact that the present day culture satisfies certain cravings and appetites of ours does not mean that it is healthy. He whose mind is filled with the craving for sex indulgence is impervious to argument however forceful. Edward Carpenter wrote a masterly book describing the present disease and its cure. But it fell flat. Society did not mend its ways. Two world wars in one generation have brought the world to the brink of destruction. Spiritual culture is India's heritage, though today India itself seems to have repudiated it. May it not be India's privilege still to return to it and point the way to others? It is in that hope that Gandhiji has set to work out the ideal of self-reliance and self-sufficiency for India's villages.

In spite of the progress that science has made, better communications and close financial and economic ties among the various countries of the world, there is shortage of food and clothing all over. A system which has given rise to such a grave situation must be reformed. That can only be done by accepting the principle of non-violence which in the economic field is translated as self-reliance, and of which Khadi is the supreme symbol.

KAKA KALELKAR

(Abridged by S. N. from the Original in Gujarati)

### AN APPEAL TO CONSCIENCE

The following is the text of Gandhiji's speech delivered in Hindustani at the prayer meeting at Dattapara on the evening of the 10th November:

"Whether you believe me or not, I want to assure you that I am a servant of both the Hindus and the Mussalmans. I have not come here to fight Pakistan. If India is destined to be partitioned, I cannot prevent it. But I wish to tell you that Pakistan cannot be established by force. In the *bhajan* that was just sung the poet has likened God to the philosopher's stone. The proverbial philosopher's stone is said to turn iron into gold. That is not always desirable. For instance, if all the rails of the railway track were turned into gold by the touch of the stone, the trains would not be able to run over them. But the touch of God purifies the soul. That is always desirable.

"That philosopher's stone is within us all. All that I wish to tell my Muslim brethren is that, whether they live as one people or two, they should live as friends with the Hindus. If they do not wish to do so, they should say so plainly. I would in that case confess myself defeated. The refugees cannot stay on as refugees for ever. The Government cannot go on feeding them. And what sort of feed are they getting? Less than half the daily ration of cereals to keep an able-bodied man alive, no fish, no vegetables, nor anything else to supplement it. It is not possible for them to exist like this for any length of time. If, therefore, the Muslims

do not want them back in their villages, they must go elsewhere.

"But even if every Hindu of East Bengal went away, I will still continue to live amidst the Muslims of East Bengal and eat what they give me and what I consider lawful for me to partake of. I will not bring my food from outside. I do not need fish or flesh. All that I need is a little fruit, vegetables and some goat's milk. As far as goat's milk and cereals are concerned, I would take them again only when it pleases God that I should do so. I have given it up and would not resume it till the Hindus were really penitent of what they had done in Bihar.

"For a thousand Hindus to surround a hundred Mussalmans or for a thousand Mussalmans to surround a hundred Hindus and oppress them is not bravery but cowardice. A fair fight means even numbers and previous notice. That does not mean that I approve of their fighting. It has been said that the Hindus and the Muslims cannot stay together as friends or co-operate with each other. No one can make me believe that, but if that is your belief, you should say so. I would in that case not ask the Hindus to return to their homes. They would leave East Bengal and it would be a shame for both the Mussalmans and the Hindus. If, on the other hand, you want the Hindus to stay in your midst, you should tell them that they need not look to the military for protection but to their Muslim brethren instead. Their daughters and sisters and mothers are your own daughters, sisters and mothers and you should protect them with your lives. I addressed them in the refugee camp yesterday. The District Magistrate Mr. McNerny told them that all mankind being descended from Adam and Eve, they were all members of one family—relatives, whatever, their race or religion. So they should live together as relatives.

"One man is said to have returned to his village last evening after the prayer meeting. He found his house surrounded by Muslims. They would not let him take his property. How can I, under these circumstances (if they are true), ask anyone to go back? You should ponder over what I have said and let me know what you really wish. I shall advise the Hindus accordingly.

"I am told and I believe that there are many good Muslims who would welcome the Hindus back but the *goondas* stand in the way. I wish to tell you that if the good Muslims spoke out with one voice and acted according to their professions, the so-called *goondas* would become ineffective and would mend their ways."

Kazirkhil, 16-11-'46

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# HARIJAN

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TWO ANNAS

## IMMORTAL MALAVIYAJI

(By M. K. Gandhi)

There is a saying in English, "The King is dead, Long live the King". Perhaps it can be said with greater aptness though in a different setting of the great and good Malaviyaji whom death has kindly delivered from physical pain and to whom his body had ceased for some time to give the work he would gladly have taken from it. Can we not say of him "Malaviyaji the adored of *Bharatvarsha* is dead, Long live Malaviyaji?" His unremitting toil from his early youth to ripe old age has made him immortal. His services were many but the Benares Hindu University, styled in Hindi as *Kashi Vishwa Vidyalaya* must for all time be counted as his greatest and best creation. If it is more popularly known as the Benares Hindu University, the fault was not his, or, if it was his, it was due to his magnanimous nature. He was a servant of his followers. He allowed them to do as they wished. I happen to know personally that this spirit of accommodation was part of his nature, so much so that at times it took the shape of weakness. Only he was a powerful man. And has not his own special favourite *Bhagawata* said that no fault accrues to the powerful? But it is a defect which can easily be remedied now. Every stone of that majestic structure should be a reflection of true *Hindu Dharma* or culture. The institution must not in any shape or form reflect the glory of materialism as of the West that we are familiar with, but it should be a true reflection of the glory that is spiritualism. Is every pupil a representative of pure undefiled religion? If he is not, why not? This University will be judged, as all universities should be, not by the number of pupils studying at it at a given time but by their quality, however few in numbers they may be. I know that this is easier said than done. Nevertheless, it is the foundation of this University. If it is not that, it is nothing. Hence it is the clear duty of the progeny of the deceased as also his followers to give it that shape. It is essentially the function of the university to assign Hindu religion its status in the body of the religions of the world, as it is its function to rid it of its defects and limitations. The devotees of the deceased should regard it as their special duty to shoulder this burden.

Malaviyaji has left an imperishable memorial of himself in the *Kashi Viswa Vidyalaya*. To put it on a stable foundation, to secure its evolutionary growth, will surely be the most suitable memorial that can be

erected by us to the memory of the great patriot. He spared no pains in making a big collection for his pet child. Everyone who reveres his memory can give a helping hand to the labour of continuing the collection.

So far about his outward activity. His internal life was purity exemplified. He was a repository of kindness and gentleness. His knowledge of religious scriptures was very great. He was by heredity a great religious preacher. He had a marvellous memory and his life was as clean as it was simple.

His politics I must leave alone as also his other manifold activities. He, whose life was singled out for selfless service and who had many gifts, would naturally stand for limitless activities. I have ventured to single out what has appealed to me as his most prominent service. And to give a real helping hand in making the institution a living example of true Hinduism will only be done by those who will try to imitate sincerely the purity and simplicity of his life.

Srirampur, 23-11-'46

(From the original in Hindustani)

## ACHARYA KRIPALANI'S ADDRESS

[Important as it is, it is difficult to reproduce the entire text of Acharya Kripalani's Presidential address delivered at the Plenary session of the 54th Indian National Congress at Meerut on November 23rd last. But we reproduce below a few very pertinent extracts from it. Ed.]

### THE CONSTRUCTIVE PROGRAMME

Even when we have achieved our goal of complete independence, we must not think that our task is done. National liberty is precious indeed. It is the very breath of a nation's life. But however important, it is a negative achievement — a removal of external shackles. It is merely the hindrance of a hindrance. It is quite possible that when an individual's shackles are removed, he may use his new-found freedom to his own injury. If we are wise we will not rest content merely with the removal of external restraints, but will so order our affairs that the freedom we gain is translated into concrete good to our people. This means that our revolutionary zeal, even while it destroys the old order must constantly achieve creative expression in constructive activity.

### BUILDING WHILE DESTROYING

This constructive effort should be nothing new for us. Our revolutionary movement, based as it is



on non-violence, is unique in history. Usually, political revolutions have aimed at the destruction of the old order. Their strategy has been designed to capture power. All constructive effort to remould the nation's life has been done after the old order was completely destroyed and power captured. This process has inevitably led not to one but a series of revolutions before things could settle down and constructive effort begin. Not unoften, the process has led to civil war and ultimately to dictatorship. Both civil war and dictatorship have a tendency to defeat the aims of a revolution. It was so in the French and Russian revolutions.

The Congress under Gandhiji's lead has avoided over-emphasis on mere destruction or on the capture of power. It has, on the other hand, laid great emphasis on the constructive programme. Its destructive and constructive programmes have been worked side by side for the last 26 years. Indeed, for Gandhiji the only effective preparation for civil disobedience is the intensive carrying out of the constructive programme. Now that Congressmen are at the helm of affairs in many provinces, and even at the centre, we have some sort of a national government, it should not be difficult to intensify our effort and realize the full possibilities of the constructive programme as enunciated by Gandhiji and accepted by the Congress.

#### DEMOCRACY AND NON-VIOLENCE

The content of our Swaraj has been getting clearer and clearer for us as our national struggle has progressed. Long ago we decided against the tactics of mere destruction and capture of power. We therefore discarded the use of the pistol and the bomb. We decided that our revolution must be an open conspiracy and it must progressively bring in the masses. It must, therefore, necessarily be non-secretive and non-violent. A revolution brought about by the masses and that non-violently implies democracy. Our Congress organization therefore has a democratic constitution. As a matter of fact, if democracy is to be real and effective and not merely formal and institutional, it must be based on non-violence. And non-violence if it is not a mere form or lip-expression, must necessarily lead to democracy. Non-violence and dictatorship are contradictory. We cannot today change this democratic character of the Congress, nor will it be desirable to do so. Let it therefore be clear that we are pledged to political democracy and our Swaraj shall be democratic. It shall not be the rule of an individual however great or a family however glorious. Nor shall it be the Swaraj under one particular caste, creed or class. It shall be the rule of the people, by the people, for the people.

We have seen that political democracy the world over tends to become a mere form, if it is not broad-based on some sort of economic equality. The democratic note ceases to have much meaning in a society where there are great inequalities of wealth. We know that the smaller countries of Europe like

Norway, Sweden and Denmark, enjoy a more real democracy than the big capitalist countries for the simple reason that their democracy rests on a larger measure of economic equality.

But economic equality may be of the communist order based on centralized big industry, or it may be democratic and based upon a fair degree of decentralization.

I believe that economic equality in a society whose economic system rests exclusively on big industry, inevitably leads to the concentration of power in the hands of a few. It leads to bureaucratic and dictatorial exercise of power. The rulers in that case not only regulate the political but also the economic life of the people. If political power has a tendency to corrupt the holders of power, this tendency is doubly increased by the combination of political and economic power in the same hands.

Capitalism killed democracy because the capitalist class wielded, directly or indirectly, political power. Communism puts in the hands of the political dictator and bureaucrat the entire control of economic power. Herein lies as great a danger to democracy as under capitalism.

#### DECENTRALIZATION OF INDUSTRY

Therefore, if democracy is to survive, it must discover a means of avoiding concentration of economic power in the hands of the ruler or rulers, however selected or elected. Even a political democracy can be a dictatorship if there are no spheres of free activity left to the individual. The historical role of the Congress in the economic field has been its bold advocacy of decentralized industry. Ever since the Bengal Partition movement, our political thinkers have stressed the importance of reviving village and cottage industries. After Gandhiji's advent in Indian politics, this advocacy has gained emphasis and has been translated into a concrete programme of national reconstruction. We have therefore at this stage clearly to define the content of our economic Swaraj which must be in the direction of as much decentralization as is possible under the present circumstances. Nor may we forget that decentralization alone will help effectively to solve the problem of the chronic unemployment of the vast majority of our agricultural population.

#### NATIONAL PLANNING

The Congress appointed in 1939 a Planning Committee under the Presidentship of Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru. This Committee has been at work for several years. It has collected facts and figures. It is time that its labours are utilized. But these cannot be utilized unless the Congress makes up its mind as to what industries are to be centralized and what decentralized. Unless that is done each province will go its own way. I am afraid that already there is a kind of competition even among the Congress provinces in the field of big industry. Each province wants to introduce as



many mills and factories as possible. We had thought that the cloth industry was the one most eminently suited for decentralization. But even here each provincial government is vying with the other to set up new cloth mills. Some people believe that in the present state of scarcity of cloth all means of increased production must be utilized. They however fail to see that this necessarily creates new capitalist vested interests. As a khadi worker I believe that with less capital and less effort and in a shorter time more can be accomplished by a systematic encouragement of the charkha and the handloom than by opening new mills. I have taken the example of the cloth industry. But it is time that we took counsel among ourselves and decided what industries might best be worked on centralized and what on decentralized basis.

#### THE SCOPE OF ELECTRICITY

When I talk of decentralized industry, I do not necessarily mean the application of mere hand power. Electric power may well be utilized for increasing the scope and efficiency of the worker in his own home and village. That this decentralized industry will eliminate periodical waste of national wealth consequent on industrial conflicts, strikes and lock-outs is too obvious to be mentioned. To the extent that these conflicts are avoided, there is good neighbourliness among the people. This decentralized industry may be organized on a co-operative basis. There should be production and distribution co-operatives. If production co-operatives are not immediately possible, distribution co-operatives can certainly be started by public bodies and the provincial governments. The village worker does not find so much difficulty in producing goods as in marketing them.

#### AGRICULTURE AND OUR FOOD PROBLEM

Our agriculture too must largely follow the pattern of decentralized industry. It must chiefly consist of peasant proprietorship, with a provision that no plot shall be sub-divided, whether on account of inheritance, debt or any other cause, beyond what would maintain a village family. Decentralized industry and agriculture must supplement and complement each other. The latter too should be managed, as far as possible, on co-operative basis, both for farming and marketing purposes.

The food problem, which assumed dangerous proportions during the War, continues to be our great concern even to-day. We are still dependent on what foreign countries may choose to dole out to us. This dependence on the foreigner must be eliminated where the most primary needs of existence are concerned. With appropriate agricultural reform it should not be difficult to feed the present population of India and any immediate increase. Our agricultural production is extremely low. The best plan to avoid famine and the threat of famine in the future is to divide the country in such agricultural regions or units, big or small, as would be self-sufficient so far as

the essentials of human nutrition are concerned. Care must be taken that these regions produce what may constitute a scientifically balanced diet. The health of our agricultural population, the back-bone of our nation, cannot be improved unless the peasant has two square meals a day consisting of food which is properly adjusted to form a scientifically balanced diet. Proper food is the first condition of rural health and hygiene. In the matter of balanced diet more research is needed. But enough has been done, thanks to Gandhiji's efforts, to make a useful beginning.

At the Centre we have today our esteemed leader Babu Rajendra Prasad, a careful and conscientious Minister in charge of the Department of Food, and I have no doubt that he will not only enable us to tide over our present difficulties, but ensure such arrangements for the future as would never oblige us to go a-begging for our food at foreign doors.

#### NO EXPLOITATION

To sum up then, the historical evolution of our freedom movement, pledged as it is to non-violence and the good of the masses, demands a social order free from exploitation, functioning democratically and tuned to international co-operation and peace. Such a society will be in consonance with the highest ideals of the age and time we live in. The Congress under Gandhiji's lead has been working for these objects. Today it must define the objects more clearly and work more consciously towards their realization and utilize its newly acquired power towards that end.

\* \* \*

#### NATIONAL UNITY

Today we have some kind of a national government at the centre and provinces have their popularly elected governments. In a short time we shall be assembling to form a new constitution for India. Freedom, if not achieved, is surely in sight. The British can no longer deny it to us, whatever their intentions. If today we miss our goal, the fault shall be ours. It will be due to the mistakes of commission and omission we make at this critical juncture. The greatest danger to a patient is not when the disease is active but when he is convalescing. The doctor's vigilance is relaxed and he has to take care of himself. We are in that critical condition; and the worst of it is that our enemies are clever and vigilant. The greatest strength of British imperialism in India is that it has been possible for it to carry out its nefarious designs through the instrumentality of the Indians themselves. India was conquered by Indian money, Indian resources, Indian soldiers and often with Indian brains. Our tragedy has been our divisions and differences and a tendency to subordinate larger national interests to those of caste, creed and party. We give to the smaller units the loyalty that is due to the whole. Herein lies our greatest weakness.

(Continued on p. 439)



# HARIJAN

December 8

1946

## THE "DO OR DIE" MISSION

On the road of *Satyagraha* there is no stop, no resting place. One must always move on and onward on or else retrogress. Gandhiji's decision which I described as *A venture in faith* in the last issue of the *Harijan* was taken at Dattapara. On returning from Dattapara, where I had to stop for a day on account of urgent business when Gandhiji shifted to Kazirkhil, I found that he had moved another step forwards. He must live in a Muslim household, if a good Muslim Leaguer approved of by the Bengal Ministry would be prepared to receive him as a member of the family. He discussed the question with Goffran Sahab, the Minister for Civil Supplies, who saw him on the 16th and asked him if he could recommend him to any. The latter was taken aback at Gandhiji's living stripped of all his companions in the midst of those who would not know how to look after him. "I shall look after myself. I shall need nobody's service," argued Gandhiji. "Then, I am afraid, I must say that no Mussalman family is prepared to receive you," replied Goffran Sahab laughing. But Gandhiji was not to be put away easily. He expatiated on it in his discourse after the evening prayer. He was in the midst of a Muslim population in Noakhali, he said. He did not like the idea of staying with Hindu friends. He would like to see if he could stay with a League Mussalman. "My requirements are very few. All I want is cleanliness, clean water, permissible food and the freedom to pray to God in my own way." The idea was that if the Hindus saw him living with a Muslim League friend, they would probably get back their confidence and return to their homes more readily. "The Muslim friends will have an opportunity to examine me at close quarters and find out whether I am an enemy or friend."

But he did not want to postpone his new "Venture in Faith" till a Muslim household was ready to receive him. "When I was in detention in the Aga Khan Palace," he remarked one day, "I once sat down to write a thesis on India as a protagonist of Non-violence. But as I proceeded with my writing I could not go on. I had to stop. There are two aspects of Hinduism. There is on the one hand the historical Hinduism with its untouchability, superstitious worship of stocks and stones, animal sacrifice and so on. On the other, we have the Hinduism of the *Gita*, the *Upanishads* and *Patanjali's Yoga Sutra* which is the acme of *ahimsa* and oneness of all creation, pure worship of one immanent, formless, imperishable God. *Ahimsa* which to me is the chief glory of Hinduism has been sought to be explained away by our people as being meant for *sannyasis* only. I do not share that view. I have held that it is the way of life and India has to show it to the world. Where do I stand? Do I represent this *ahimsa* in my person? If I do, then deceit and hatred that poison the atmosphere should dissolve. It is only by going into isolation from my companions, those on whose help I have relied all along, and standing on my own

crutches that I shall find my bearings and also test my faith in God"

To Sevagram Ashram people he wrote:

"I am afraid you must give up all hope of my early returning or returning at all to the Ashram. The same applies to my companions. It is a herculean task that faces me. I am being tested. Is the *Satyagraha* of my conception a weapon of the weak or really that of strong? I must either realize the latter or lay down my life in the attempt to attain it. That is my quest. In pursuit of it I have come to bury myself in this devastated village. His will be done."

On the 20th Gandhiji broke up his camp at Kazirkhil, Columbus-like, to face the dark unknown, accompanied only by his stenotypist, Shri Parsuram and Prof. Nirmal Kumar Bose, his Bengali interpreter. Before embarking the little group round him held a short prayer when his favourite hymn "*Vaishnavajana to tene kahiye*" was sung. Many voices were husky, many eyes dim with tears as the tiny country boat bearing him disappeared beyond the bridge, in the direction of Shrirampur.

Following upon his departure the members of his party dispersed themselves one by one in various appointed places. A map showing the area covered and the various centres where Gandhiji and the members of his party are stationed will be found elsewhere.

The hut where he was put up in Shrirampur is in an open sunny clearing in the midst of thick groves of stately arecanut and cocoanut palms. Round about it is spread out a grim scene of arson and devastation. He has given up his warm immersion bath and for the first two days did his own massage. Since his arrival he has had several meetings with Shamsuddin Sahab and others and a conference with about 30 representatives of the Hindus and Muslims of Ramganj at Ramganj. As a result they were able to evolve a plan for the re-establishment of peace and communal harmony. The Ministers gave a solemn word of honour that they meant to implement it. The plan was put before the public at a public meeting that was held in the village of Chandipur on the 23rd November.

Gandhiji speaking at the close of the meeting uttered the following significant words:

"Here are elected Muslims who are running the Government of the Province. They have given you their word of honour. They would not be silent witnesses to the repetition of shameful deeds. My advice to the Hindus is to believe their word and give them a trial. This does not mean that there would not be a single bad Mussalman left in East Bengal. There are good and bad men amongst all communities. Dishonourable conduct could break any Ministry or organization in the end. . . . If you want real peace there is no other way except to have mutual trust and confidence. Bihar, they say, has avenged Noakhali. Supposing the Muslims of East Bengal or the Muslims all over India make up their minds to avenge Bihar, where would India be? . . . After all if the worst came to the worst, you can only lose your lives. Only, you must do so as brave men and women. . . . If Shamsuddin Sahab and his companions do not mean what they have said, you will know. I for one would not wish to be a living witness to such a tragedy."

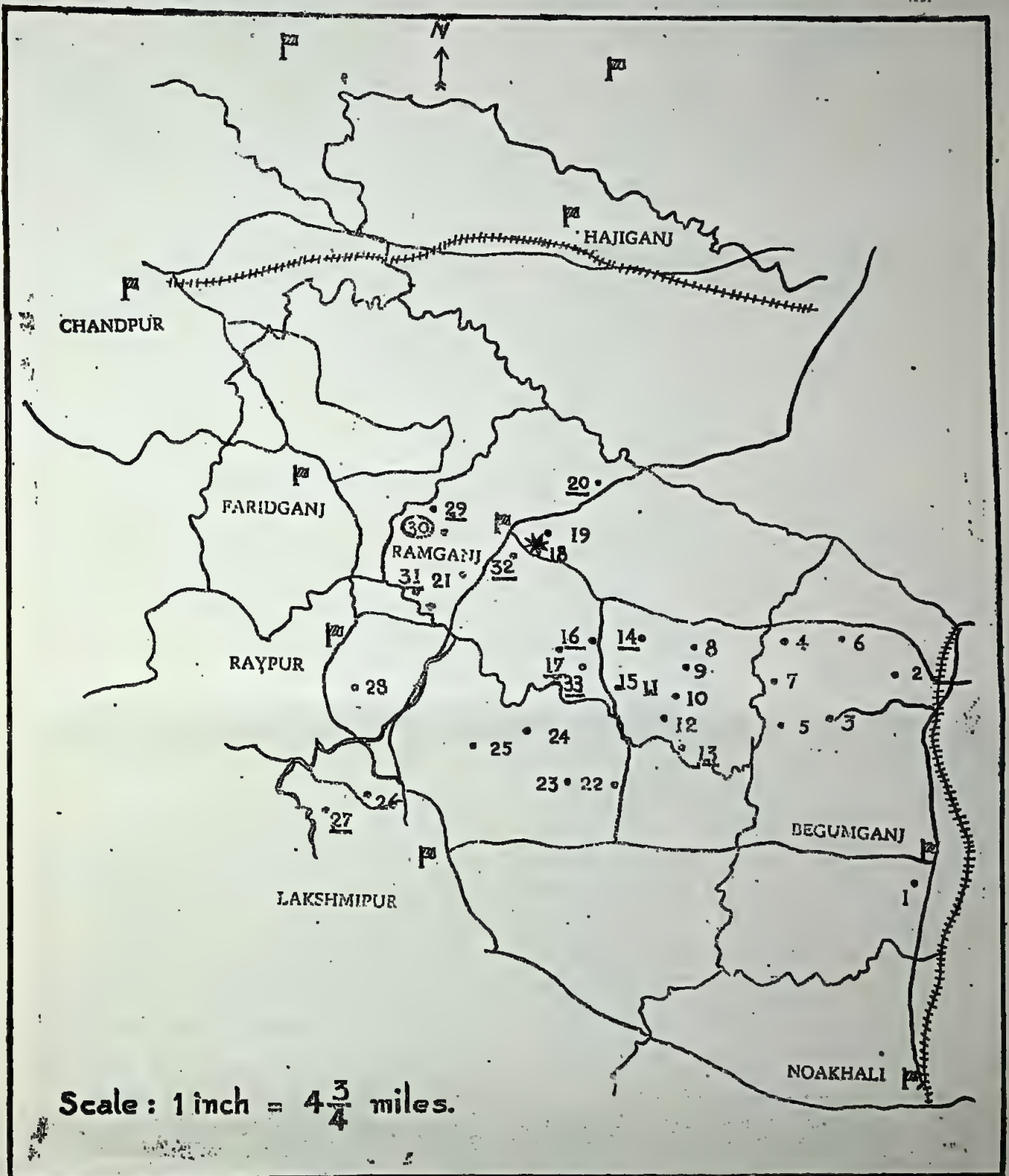
Kazirkhil, 24-11-'46

PYARELAL



## MAP

[Part of East Bengal where Gandhiji and his party have stationed themselves to fulfil the "do or die" mission.]



1. Chaumuhani
2. Sonaimuri
3. Amishapara
4. Joyag
5. Gobindapur
6. Amki
7. Naori
8. Chatkhil
9. Tabga

10. Noakhola
11. Sonachaka
12. Khilpara
13. Gomatali
14. Dasgharia
15. Gopairbag
16. Sahapur
17. Karpara

- \*18. Kazirkhil
19. Nandanpur
20. Paniala
21. Chandipur
22. Dattapara
23. Baralia
24. Nandigram
25. Bejoynagar

26. Dalalbazar
27. Charmandal
28. Shibpur
29. Sandora
30. Shrirampur
31. Changirgaon
32. Angrapara
33. Bhatialpur

\* The village from which Gandhiji left for Shrirampur.

O The village Shrirampur where Gandhiji has stationed himself.

Numbers underlined are villages where members of Gandhiji's party have distributed and stationed themselves.



## "LINE CLEAR" IN PUBLIC INTEREST

Whenever the Viceroy has to send a telegraphic message from Delhi or Simla, orders are issued, "clear the line". The public can make use of the telegraphic service on condition that the Viceroy is given first preference. When the Viceroy used to travel by train all train services were held up to let the Viceregal special pass without delay.

During the war the requirements of the military were given first preference at the cost of public requirements. And how can anyone object to it when a war is on?

There is a parable in the *Upanishads* about the rival claims to superiority of the various sense organs and the vital air. The eyes struck work for a year. The blind man however carried on. The ears went on strike. The deaf man got on all right. The nose, the tongue and the others then followed suit by turn. Life went on without them. Finally the vital air threatened to leave and there was a general trepidation. "You are superior to us all. Please do not go. None of us can exist without you," they cried with one voice.

For centuries in India, Government and society have neglected the masses, i. e. the very soul of the nation. That is a suicidal policy. The *Kisan*, the labourer and the handicraft worker does not get enough to eat. In our homes all have the best of life except the women folk. In the country all have a place except the *Adivasis*, the original inhabitants of the land. They have been driven into the jungles and several tribes amongst them have become extinct. The agriculturist who bears the weight of the earth on his shoulders has been pushed to the bottom rung of the ladder. The king and his officials, citizens and public leaders, doctors, lawyers and engineers, all the so-called respectable people, live by exploiting the *Kisan* and the labourer. The burden of taxation, no matter what the nature of the tax may be, falls ultimately upon them. But this exploitation cannot go on for long. Gandhiji has told the industrialists that they can take up any industry they like but should leave out those universal occupations which serve the primary needs of life and which can be taken up by the masses with little capital and skill. In this there is no question of charity on the part of the capitalists. It is just a matter of giving the "line clear" to those from whom all power flows. Today the masses do not know their own rights and interests. They do not understand who is sucking away their life-blood like a leach. They are not conscious of their own strength. Therefore, they are today like beggars instead of being the real owners. Therefore, Gandhiji has become their unpaid solicitor and has given notice to the capitalists that wherever the masses can manage it, they should be allowed to work out the scheme of Khadi and village industries. "Do not bring your mills there to rob the poor of their employment. Do not send mill cloth where Khadi can be produ-

ced. You can prepare rails, gramophones and radios, engines, motor cars and aeroplanes but leave agriculture and dairy farming, cloth manufacture and other village industries to the people of the villages. Give them the benefit of your knowledge, technical and organizing skill, but do not uproot them from their natural surroundings. Life itself is education for them and life is based on industry. Agriculture, cloth-weaving and other village industries, dairy farming, bee-keeping are some of the useful occupations which can be utilized to develop the intellect of the villagers. Do not take your killing education to the villages. *Nayee Talim* is life-giving. It is constructive and creative. It develops the intellect and the skill of the fingers by educating the hand. It should be made to cover the whole country. After giving the "line clear" to *Nayee Talim*, other forms of education and industries can find their place.

Gandhiji tells the Government, public leaders and the capitalists and industrialists, "You have money and power but the villagers have the advantage of numbers. Their capital is labour. When they become aware of the value of their capital, they will rule life. You cannot afford to antagonize them. Their patience is well nigh exhausted. Wake up, therefore, before they are driven to desperation. Give them the "line clear".

He does not ask for the destruction of cloth mills. He says: "Do not erect new mills and do not expand the present ones. Do not send mill cloth where Khadi can be produced. If you must have mills, do not let them compete with Khadi. Wherever there are mills see that the labour gets enough to eat and has its other basic needs satisfied."

Gandhiji has told the Government and public leaders that today they rule the destiny of the millions. Unless they keep the latter's welfare in the forefront in all their activities, a day might come when the millions might take their own and the country's destiny in their hands. When excited masses get ready even to commit suicide, there is revolution. A blind revolution will destroy the land-holders and the capitalists, the Muslim League and the Hindu Mahasabha, the Viceroy and the Governors alike. They will all tremble in their shoes if such an emergency arises. And those who go about with daggers today, if they survive till that time, will hide themselves in holes. Therefore, Gandhiji has given the warning to wake up in time. Give the masses life-giving constructive education before they get on to the path of destruction. Public workers and Government servants should all get ready to train the people on the lines of Khadi and village industries. They should learn the art themselves and then teach it to others. Good of the people is the hub round which everything else should revolve. Instead of the Viceroy getting the line clear, it is the masses who should get it.

(From the Original in Gujarati) KAKA KALELKAR



## ACHARYA KRIPALANI'S ADDRESS

(Continued from p. 431)

Of all the political virtues, unity is the greatest and the most important, provided this unity is not superimposed by force but is natural and spontaneous. In this the British excel not only the Indians but also other European nations. At every critical moment of their history, the British have ignored religious, party and class differences. Even as early as the 16th century when sectarian differences led to religious wars and the Catholic hated the Protestant more heartily than either of them hated the non-Christian, as soon as England was threatened by the Spanish Armada sent by a Catholic Emperor, English Catholics, even though persecuted, stood shoulder to shoulder with their Protestant countrymen to repel the foreign invasion. This has continued up to the present time. In the last war, the Socialists had no hesitation to work under reactionary, snobbish, caste-ridden Churchill when the national emergency made it necessary for them to do so. But in India small differences produce unbridgeable gulfs. Common points are forgotten, petty disagreements over-emphasized. We must, if we have to live and progress as a nation, check this inherent centrifugal tendency.

## COMMUNAL DIFFERENCES

Today the greatest danger to our freedom are the communal differences, specially between the two major communities, the Hindus and the Muslims. The foreigner has taken the fullest advantage of these in the past. Today he finds it his last trump card. He is playing it cleverly and subtly. It is unhistorical, unscientific, unethnical and unnatural to think that the Hindus and the Muslims are two nations. Their interests, social, political and economic, are identical. Their common points are innumerable. Their differences can be easily counted and are only skin-deep. The foreigner cannot distinguish the Hindu from the Muslim except by the accident of dress, and that too only if he is familiar with sartorial differences which change from province to province. India, outside India is considered one whole. No conqueror ever thought himself safe until he had brought the whole of it under his sway. No native ruler ever thought his kingdom complete and rounded off until he had established his hegemony over the whole of this ancient land. Only those periods of Indian history have been most productive when the whole of India was united under one Government, whether it was under the ancient Maurya and the Gupta dynasties or again under the Moghuls.

Even though the present alien rule has dwarfed Indian genius by an unnatural system of foreign education and the denial of all opportunities of initiative, yet by the mere fact of uniting India under one common misrule, it has released the creative energy of the nation in various fields of thought and action. There has been an Indian renaissance. To think of India then as divided into two nations, Hindu and Muslim, is retrograde and reactionary. It is dividing what nature and history have united.

I have my own grand-nephews and nieces in Sind who are Muslims. They love me as well as do my Hindu grandchildren. I cannot imagine that I as a Hindu am an Indian and they as Muslims belong to a different nationality. One of them, a pretty little bride, wrote to me recently thus: "We offer you our sincerest congratulations on your attaining *'the highest honour which any Indian can aspire to.'* May you long adorn the Congress gadi with distinction and service. We are, of course, staunch Muslim Leaguers, but we pray that there should be a rapprochement between the Congress and the League." (*Italics are mine*).

## THE THIRD PARTY

In this connection I would like to repeat to Indian Muslims the words of my predecessor in office. In his presidential address the Maulana Saheb said: "Do we, Indian Muslims, view the free India of the future with suspicion and mistrust or with courage and confidence? . . . . No present declaration for the future, no constitutional safeguards can be a remedy for our doubts and fears. We are then forced to tolerate the presence of a third power. This third power is already entrenched here and has no intention of withdrawing, and if we follow the path of fear and suspicion, we must needs look forward to its continuance. But if we are convinced that for us fear and doubt have no place, and that we must view the future with courage and confidence, then our course of action becomes quite clear. We find ourselves in a new world which is free from the dark shadows of doubt and vacillation, inaction and apathy, and where the light of faith and determination, action and enthusiasm never fails." To this as a student of history I would only add that it was not want of faith and determination that made Islam great. Today in India the Muslim League works in fear and suspicion and infects the whole Muslim community with it. When the Muslims came into India from beyond the mountains, they came only in their thousands. They were not afraid of the teeming millions of Hindus. They came in the might of their faith and enthusiasm. Today they form a fourth of the population. It is wrong to say that they are a minority. As the Maulana Saheb rightly put it, "In the texture of Indian politics nothing is further removed from the truth than that the Indian Muslims occupy the position of a political minority. Politically speaking the word minority does not mean a group that is numerically smaller and therefore entitled to special protection. It means a group that is so small in numbers and so lacking in other qualities that give strength that it has no confidence in its own capacity to protect itself from the much larger group that surrounds it. . . . Thus this is not a question merely of numbers, other factors also count. . . . In four out of eleven provinces, there is a Muslim majority. If British Baluchistan is added, there are five provinces with Muslim majorities. Even if we are compelled at present to consider the question on the basis of religious grouping, the position of the Muslims is



not that of a minority only. If they are a minority in seven provinces, they are in a majority in five. This being so, there is absolutely no reason why they should be oppressed by the feeling of being a minority."

I, therefore, hold that a Hindu who believes a Muslim to be an alien not only does wrong to his religion but is an enemy of the freedom and progress of India. On the other hand, if a Muslim who is flesh of our flesh and bone of our bone, believes and acts as if he were an alien on Indian soil, he does equal harm to his community and to the nation. We have almost everything in common except religion which should be a personal matter. To fight on questions of faith is the way of a barbarian. I know the present fight between the Hindus and the Muslims is not a religious fight. It is purely a communal conflict. It has nothing to do with political or economic issues that concern the masses of both the communities. The masses act as tools in the hands of the clever and often unscrupulous politicians. But whatever the causes, we must recognize the fact of the existing tension and bitterness, and steer our course so as to avoid any major conflict.

#### RETALIATION AND REPRISAL

If I must warn communities against the use of initial violence to settle their differences, I must warn them no less against the use of violence by way of retaliation and reprisal as was the case in Bihar. Two evils do not cancel each other. And these reprisals and retaliations fall on innocent victims, even if the original attack was against those who really had done wrong and deserved punishment. But as a matter of fact in communal violence, whether provocative or retaliatory, only the poor and the helpless suffer. The authors of the trouble always manage to go scot free. In civil strife, as in war between nations, the unrestrained and diabolical use of violence will succeed only in producing the equivalent of the atom bomb which will annihilate both the Hindus and the Muslims.

Violence is ugly and futile in any case, but the unorganized hysteric violence of the mob is worse than futile. It is fatal to the very cause on whose behalf it is invoked. I am afraid that if the present orgies of provocation and retaliation continue, the Muslim League leadership will soon be unable to control its followers, even if it should decide to. And so might the Congress, though the Congress leadership has done its best to save the people from this hysteria of violence. If that happens then Indians will be divided into two armed camps of communal fanatics and the Britisher will stand guard over them both with his bayonet. The day of India's freedom will be indefinitely postponed.

#### MUTUAL TOLERATION

If we are to be worthy of freedom we must learn to live together and respect each other's sentiments. The Hindu and Muslim minorities are scattered all over this country. No amount of police or military protection can permanently and effectively protect them from the wrath of the majority communities if the latter lose all sense of moral obliga-

tion towards them. If no Hindu's life, property and honour are safe in a Muslim-majority area and no Muslim's in a Hindu-majority area, then civilized life becomes an impossibility. Even Mr. Jinnah's dream of Pakistan, though it has made the problem what it is, holds out no prospect of its solution, for it leaves the minorities where they are.

I hope however that the leaders of the fanatics among both the communities will have more sense and humanity than to take recourse to desperate and mediaeval remedies. The problem is easy of solution if only we accept the obvious fact that if there are two nations in India, they are the exploited and the exploiting of both or all the communities. The Hindus and the Muslims have a common enemy, and that is poverty, disease, and ignorance. If only we realize what we really are, there need be no quarrel between us.

I have laboured this point at length, because this is the greatest stumbling block in our path to freedom and progress. Even at this late hour I hope, now that the Muslim League is in the Central Government and shares responsibility with the Congress, the orgies that were enacted in Calcutta, East Bengal, Bihar and to a lesser degree elsewhere, will be nightmares of the past. We shall write anew on a clean slate of brotherly love and cooperation as children of a common motherland.

#### CONSTITUENT ASSEMBLY

We shall soon be meeting in the Constituent Assembly to frame a constitution of free India. It will be a democratic constitution and will be federal in character. We may not however forget that in the administrative as in the economic field, centralization, more than is absolutely necessary, is inimical to liberty. It is good, therefore, that the provinces in free India shall have the maximum autonomy consistent with external and internal security. But some of our provinces are each as big as a country in Europe. There may be over-centralization in the administration of the provinces, which too we must avoid. Long ago, how long history does not record, the Indian genius worked out the village and local *panchayat*. It remained our fort through many a turbulent period. Kings and dynasties fought and failed, empires rose, ruled, misruled and disappeared, but the villager's life maintained its even tenor, away from the din of battle and the rush of rising and falling empires. He had a village State which protected his life and property and made civilized life possible. Progressively, we must delegate to the village *panchayat* judicial powers, in petty criminal and civil cases; the local police too might be put under the charge of the *panchayat*. If we build upon this village unit of self-government, rehabilitate it to the altered conditions of today, we shall be working in consonance with the genius of our people. This is the natural and the easy way. Merely to copy the West should not be our object. We may also not forget that the West has made, more specially in the big countries, democracy complex and expensive. West has evolved the official red-



tape which makes the democratic machinery cumbersome and slow-moving. All these drawbacks we must try to avoid in the new constitution that we may devise.

Our judicial system must be simple and effective. The law's delay and expense and complicity must be avoided. Also there must be ample provision made for the enjoyment of civil liberties. They must be protected even from the arbitrary action of a democratic and representative government. We may not forget that power corrupts even the patriot in office. Ample provision, consistent with the larger interests of the country and the masses, must be made for the protection of minorities. Their language and culture must have free scope for development. There must be absolute tolerance in matters of faith and religion. Every individual and every group must be free to propagate his and its ideas, consistently with the maintenance of peace and public morality.

#### CONCLUSION

It is our great good fortune that we of this generation have been afforded an opportunity to be the instruments of a noble cause. It is not merely the freedom of our people from foreign yoke that we are called upon to strive and work for. Such an opportunity has come to many people in history. Ours is a unique opportunity. It is to win our freedom by non-violent and truthful means and to work for high ends by moral means. Ours is the opportunity to bring about a fusion of different castes and creeds and racial and religious types. Ours is the opportunity to unify what appear to be differing and conflicting cultures. We have to work to build up unity in diversity and produce a mosaic of many colours. We have to combine various and dissonant sounds and notes to produce a symphony that was never before heard on land or sea. We may not forget that today humanity must find a peaceful solution to its conflicts, social, economic, political, racial and cultural, or perish. There can be no violent solution. Violence has over-reached itself. It threatens to destroy the patient with the disease. Some other method must be found. India has found the method and tried it to some purpose, under a leadership that comes once in many centuries. It is a new method. There have been lapses. But remember no revolution in history was less costly in the loss of life, property and the dislocation of normal life, and created less hatred and strife than the Indian revolution, which, if we are not negligent, is on the verge of success. But whether immediate success crowns our efforts or not let us not forget that we are engaged in a good and great cause. In such a cause there can be no ultimate failure. But if the cause is to succeed, the agents working for it must themselves be good and great. Slavery works neither for goodness nor for greatness. But the darkness of centuries can be removed the moment the light is brought in. In India the light has been lit. Let us keep it steadily burning and let us follow its lead and all shall yet be well with us. — *Vanda Mataram.*

#### THE MOTHER'S DISTRESS

Once upon a time there was a mother, who was deeply religious. She visited daily all the temples in the village, and respectfully bowed before them, not omitting even the church and the mosque.

At home she had a collection of what apparently were curiously shaped stones, beads, coins, dolls, etc., but were worshipped by her as gods. And though she worshipped all the gods she had heard of, she had also an undefinable realization that there was only one God behind all these gods, and that He was good and loving. And, she also raised before her mind a vague picture of life after death.

And though her ideas and fancies were indistinct, and her vocabulary for giving expression to them poorer still, they were sufficient to give her faith, hope, love, strength to endure hardships, perform her duties, and keep her virtuous and honest.

Now, the Mother had several children, grandchildren and great-grand-children. And they had been all brought up with love, in the religious atmosphere of the Mother. And though some of them were as simple of faith as the Mother, several had received "education", and come into contact with the heads of different temples, and scholars of various religions and philosophies. And so, some of them called themselves, Shaivas, some Vaishnavas, some Jains, and some were worshippers of one God, and some of three, and some of a legion. A few had adopted Christianity and Islam. There were some who believed in image-worship, and some who did not. And there were also some who denied God, and called their ultimate principle Matter. But they were all religion-minded, though curiously enough, with some of them the effect was that the more religion-minded they grew, the less religious they became in their social behaviour. And the very zealous amongst them often debated about their various tenets and modes of worship and the right way of life. And at times their zeal brought so much heat in their debates, that they would come to blows and worse. And the more they became convinced of the truth, the infallibility and the perfection of their own particular systems, the more intolerant they became of those of their brothers and cousins of different persuasions. And each tried to convert the Mother to his particular doctrines and to ask her other children to do the same. But the simple Mother said, "Son, I am old and ignorant. Let me go my own way, and let each of you go his own way. Only be virtuous and honest and love your brothers and their children, and respect their tenets, even as you do your own, and it will be all right with all of you."

But in course of time, in their zeal for religion they forgot their relationship, and began to look upon one another as if they were strangers and enemies. And so blows developed into bitter fratricide, each trying to exterminate his brother and his progeny of a different faith, or forcing them to accept his own.

And when one of them had committed an atrocity, he came to the Mother boasting how successfully he had destroyed or injured some of



her children or grand-children for the vindication of Truth, before which blood-relationship was of no consequence. And he expected that the Mother would congratulate him for his religiousness. But the Mother would weep for the loss of her dear ones, and rebuke him for his heartlessness and inhumanity.

And this wailing and rebuke was regarded by the injured children as a permit to inflict similar injuries upon their assailant's family. And they in turn would go to the Mother and describe gleefully how they had avenged the wrong done to them expecting that the Mother would be gladdened by the tidings.

But the Mother wept again and rebuked these children also. For, she was the Mother of both, the assailants as well as the victims, and could not feel happy over the loss of any. And she was in deep agony, and with fast and prayer piteously clung to God for the peace, which her children had deprived her of.

Should there be any wonder that the Mother felt as she did? As a mere Hindu or a mere Muslim, or even as a congressman, thinking nationally but still feeling communally, you might regard with excitement or satisfaction in turn the barbarities perpetrated by one community upon another, and plan in terms of communal organizations. But just think for a moment of what the common Mother of all feels about your alternate anger and complacency and your communal boasts and slogans. Look into her eyes, and you will find her weeping and in intense agony.

And if you are unable to think of the common Mother look into the eyes and the heart of Gandhiji, and you will realize the Mother's distress.

Vapi, 24-11-46

K. G. M.

## WEEKLY LETTER

### THE LESSON CONTINUED

The lesson in fearlessness which Gandhiji began at Chandpur, when a deputation of Hindu workers waited upon him, was continued even in more forceful language at Chaumuhani and elsewhere. In fact it has become the central theme of all his talks. "The tragedy is not that so many Muslims have gone mad," he remarked to a friend who saw him at Chaumuhani, "but that so many Hindus in East Bengal have been witnesses to these things. If every Hindu in East Bengal had been done to death, I would not have minded it. Do you know what the Rajputs did? They killed their womenfolk when they issued forth to sacrifice themselves on the battlefield. The surviving ones immolated themselves by mounting the funeral pyre before the fortress fell rather than allow themselves to be captured and dishonoured. There is nothing courageous in thousands of Mussalmans killing out a handful of Hindus in their midst, but that the Hindus should have degraded themselves by such cowardice, i. e. being witnesses to abduction and rape, forcible conversion and forcible marriage of their womenfolk, is heart-rending."

"How can we create a sense of security and self-confidence," asked the friend.

"By learning to die bravely. Let us turn our wrath against ourselves. I am not interested in getting the police substituted by the military or the Muslim police by the Hindu police. They are broken reeds."

"To whom should we appeal—the Congress, the League or the British Government?"

"To none of these. Appeal to yourselves, therefore, to God."

"We are men—made of flesh and blood. We need some material support," finally he asked.

"Then appeal to your own flesh and blood. Purify it of all dross," replied Gandhiji.

### ANATOMY OF FEAR

He described the anatomy of fear in minute detail in the course of a written message which was read out to the prayer gathering at Kazirkhil on the evening of the 18th (Monday). In fact it has become the central theme of all his addresses these days. "The more I go about in these parts," he observed, "the more I find that your worst enemy is fear. It eats into the vitals of the terror-stricken as well as the terrorist. The latter fears something in his victim. It may be his different religion or his riches he fears. The second kind of fear is otherwise known as greed. If you search enough, you will find that greed is a variety of fear. But there has never been and will never be a man who is able to intimidate one who has cast out fear from his heart. Why can no one intimidate the fearless? You will find that God is always by the side of the fearless. Therefore, we should fear Him alone and seek His protection. All other fear will then by itself disappear. Till fearlessness is cultivated by the people there will never be any peace in these parts for the Hindus, or for the Mussalmans."

### AN OUTSPOKEN UTTERANCE

Goffran Saheb, the Minister for Civil Supplies, and the Minister for Agriculture, Ahmed Hussain Saheb with a number of Parliamentary Secretaries and Muslim League friends met Gandhiji on the evening of the 16th to discuss with him the rehabilitation proposals of the Government. After the prayers Goffran Saheb, who belongs to the Noakhali District where he served as Public Prosecutor before he became Minister, addressed the gathering. He was deeply pained, he said, by what had happened in the District and so were the Mussalmans of East Bengal. He had toured in the affected area from the 16th and could say that the happenings occurred between the 10th and the 16th. There was no doubt that excesses had been committed in East Bengal. He was most anxious that the miscreants should be brought to book, only he did not want the innocent to suffer. He assured the Hindus of East Bengal that neither the Government nor the Muslim League wanted the Hindus to go away from East Bengal just as the Congress did not wish the Muslims in Bihar, United Provinces, Central Provinces, Madras and Bombay to leave their homes and go somewhere else. The League wanted to prove that it knew



how to run the Government justly by according equal treatment to the Hindus and the Muslims. How could they think of leaving East Bengal where they were born and brought up? The Hindus and the Mussalmans had always lived together as friends. The Hindus called him 'bhai', 'uncle' and so on. Why should there be enmity between the two now? He requested them on behalf of the Mussalmans to return to their homes without any fear. When their confidence came back the military and the police would be sent away as neither the Hindus nor the Mussalmans had much faith in them. He desired that the Muslims should entreat the Hindus to go back to their homes.

At this point the speech was interrupted for a few minutes as it was time for *Namaz*. As at Chaumuhani, the *Namas* was performed at the outskirts of the prayer gathering where the Muslim members of the audience repaired. After the *Namas* Goffran Saheb spoke for a few minutes again. He told the audience that orders had been passed not to arrest anyone while coming to Gandhiji's meeting, at the meeting, or while returning home from the meeting.

Gandhiji, addressing the meeting after Goffran Saheb, began by referring to Shamsuddin Saheb's speech at Chaumuhani a few days ago. They had now heard Goffran Saheb. The Ministers wanted them to live together as friends. The police and the military could not protect them. God alone could protect them. They had, therefore, to look to each other for their safety. Goffran Saheb had told them that the Government did not wish the Hindus to leave East Bengal. Awful things had no doubt happened but they should let bygones be bygones. They must turn a new leaf. When one had suffered as they had, one was liable to become filled with suspicion. But that had to be overcome. A member from the audience had requested him, said Gandhiji, to allow him five minutes to reply to Goffran Saheb's speech which, he said, required correction in several places. But Gandhiji replied that he was afraid he could not allow the meeting to be turned into a public debate. Whatever was said at the meeting was said in good faith and to do his work. But if the friend in question sent him a letter, not couched offensively, he would gladly forward it to Goffran Saheb. He rebuked the audience too for not observing a pin-drop silence while the Muslim members of the audience were performing *Namaz*. Culture and good breeding required that they should observe silence when others said their prayers. There should be mutual respect. All worshipped the same God, whatever their religion. He was glad to see the Congress and the League flags flying together in the prayer ground. Both had great significance. They should realize as Qaid-e-Azam Jinnah Saheb had said that if they kept on quarrelling among themselves the country would remain a slave country and Pakistan would vanish into thin air. He was receiving threatening letters, said Gandhiji. Some Muslims feared that he had come to suppress them. He could assure them that he had never suppressed

any one in all this life. They asked him why he had not gone to Bihar. He had declared his resolve to fast if Bihar did not stop the madness. He was in constant touch with Bihar. Pandit Jawaharlalji, Doctor Rajendra Prasad and others had assured him that his presence there was not required. Bihar, he understood, was practically peaceful now. Tension was still there, but it was going. The Muslims were returning to their villages. The Government had taken the responsibility to build the houses of those who had been rendered homeless. He was also receiving angry telegrams from Hindus asking why he did not fast against the Muslims for the happenings in Bengal. He could not do so today. If the Mussalmans realized that he was their friend, he would be entitled to fast against them also. If he was to leave East Bengal he would go only after peace ruled the breasts of the Hindus and the Muslims. He had no desire to live any longer; otherwise.

#### DASGHARIA

On the morning of the 17th Gandhiji visited the village of Dasgharia, two miles from Kazirkhil, where he was met by a large number of women. They had all been forcibly converted and now reverted to their own religion. The District Magistrate had issued orders and advertized the fact, remarked Gandhiji, that forcible conversions, i. e. conversions out of fear, would not be recognized by law. He, the speaker, did not know if every one of those who had been converted forcibly had been restored to Hinduism. If not, it should be done, if they wanted to replace the present bitterness between the two communities by cordiality.

Some abducted girls were still missing. They should be returned without further delay. A *dhoby* had brought to him his boy of one year this afternoon. He had recovered the child after a month from a Muslim with police help. It was the duty of the Muslim brethren to put an end to such acts. They should make a frank confession of error in the past and promise to avoid it in future. He, who tried to hide his mistakes, could never rectify them. He himself was a votary of truth. Even when he practised law, he told his clients to tell him the truth if they wanted him to take up their case. He would not plead for a false case. The result was that only true and *bona fide* cases were brought to him. He had long ceased to practise law and had even been struck off the rolls of the Bar register for the offence of sedition. But he continued to follow the same principle. His advice to the Hindus and the Muslims was to get rid of all evil in themselves. Without that they would not be able to live in peace or have respect for one another.

Gandhiji's remarks at the prayer meeting which Goffran Saheb had addressed had some curious repercussions. At the prayer gathering on the 17th evening no woman came and very few Hindus, the majority of those present being Muslims. Speaking after the prayer, Gandhiji observed that he had heard that because he did not allow a gentleman to reply to Goffran Saheb's remarks there



and then in the meeting, the Hindus were annoyed and had boycotted the meeting. He was unrepentant. He never said or did anything merely to please others. He had always taught that one should do one's duty irrespective of the reaction it may have on others. A man who always did what he believed to be right never feared anyone.

Later the secretary of the Local Relief Organization came to him and told him that they had not boycotted the meeting but as it was Sunday and the Bazaar-day the women were afraid to come out as there would be many Muslims including *goondas* about.

Speaking at the prayer meeting on the 19th evening which was held at Madhupur, Gandhiji observed that a friend had told him that the explanation was a make-believe. If they had boycotted the meeting he did not mind it. They owed him no apology on that account. And if they had stayed away out of fear, certainly no apology was due to him. But it was a shame for them to be so afraid. Were the men also such cowards that they had stayed away out of fear? Were the Muslims going to eat them up? If they were such cowards, they were not worthy of living in this country. The sister who had gone to him in the morning to request him to hold a women's meeting at Madhupur had put before him three questions. The first question was that in spite of all their efforts they were unable to rescue some of the abducted women. He had told her that she should write to him about it and he would forward the letter to Saheed Suhrawardy. He could even write to the Prime Minister directly. It was a matter which brooked no delay. Secondly she said there were some women in the villages who wanted to come away but they wanted a military escort. He never could be a party to that. He had told the Prime Minister that he for one was not enamoured of the police and the military and that he could withdraw it at any time. The Hindus and the Muslims should be free to break each other's heads if they wanted to. He would put up with that. But if they continued to look to the police and the military for help, they would remain slaves for ever. Those who preferred security to freedom had no right to live. He wanted the women to become brave. To change one's religion under threat of force was no conversion but rather cowardice. A cowardly man or woman was a deadweight on any religion. Out of fear they might become Muslims today, Christians tomorrow and pass into a third religion the day after. That was not worthy of human beings. It was up to the men workers to tell the women that they would be their escort and would protect them with their lives. If still the women were afraid to come away, there was no help for them. He had come to proclaim from the housetops that the women had to become brave or else die. They should make use of the calamity that had befallen them to cast out the demon of fear. Lastly the sister had asked

as to how they could advise the refugees to go back to their homes. He would not ask them, replied Gandhiji, to go back under police or military protection. They had run away out of the fear of the Muslims. Therefore, it was the Muslims who had to come forward and reassure them that they would regard them as their own mothers, daughters and sisters and protect them with their lives. Everybody, continued the speaker, must be entitled to retain his or her own religion without interference. All worshipped the same God although under different names. "If I see my God in this tree and worship it, why should the Muslims object?" It was wrong for anyone to say that his God was superior to that of another's. God was one and the same for all. Hence his formula that from every village one good Hindu and one good Muslim should stand surety for the peace of the village. Then and then alone would he ask the refugees to return and the Ministers had liked his suggestion.

Kazirkhil, 24-11-'46

PYARELAL

### To The Reader

The reader knows by now the circumstances under which Shri Vinoba, Kakasaheb Kalelkar, Kishorlal Mashruwala and Narhari Parikh have been asked by Gandhiji to look to the editing of the *Harijan* weeklies during the time he, Pyarelalji and other members of his party are engaged in the very important task of restoring friendliness among the Hindus and Muslims of Bengal. The four have been asked to carry out this duty jointly and severally. But it so happens that all the four are at present in widely different places and unable to meet together. Shri Narhari Parikh alone is at Sabarmati and most easily available to me. The articles written by any of them will, therefore, come to me without having been previously seen by another of them before they go to the press.

Generally, Gandhiji and Pyarelalji do not allow anything to be published in the *Harijan* without having personally examined the matter. This will not be possible at present. The reader will, therefore, please not assume that any opinion on any matter expressed for the time being in the columns of these weeklies has had the approval of Gandhiji or Pyarelalji before its publication.

MANAGING EDITOR:

### Errata

In the *Harijan* of 24-11-'46 on p. 412 in the last paragraph of 'A wife spinning for her husband' for *સુરભિ* read *સુરભિ*.

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# HARIJAN

Editor: PYARELAL

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AHMEDABAD — SUNDAY, DECEMBER 15, 1946

TWO ANNAS

## A SIGN OF PROGRESS

(By M. K. Gandhi)

Though I have noticed it in the Gujarati columns of the *Harijanbandhu* from a different source, at the risk of repetition in another form I must quote from a touching letter from Shri Parikshitlal Majmudar addressed to Shyamlalji, a copy of which has been sent by the latter.

"I am very glad to inform you that after all, by the grace of God, the ice is at last broken. I am writing this from Bardoli of which you have heard. I can assure you that this year during the Gandhi Jayanti week nearly 40 public wells have been freely opened for the Harijans. Mind you, no pressure has been applied. People have taken to this programme of their own will. It has not been possible for our workers to attend all the places, but local people have invited Harijans and taken them to the public wells. I am still receiving further reports. I myself have attended some functions and personally have become a witness to the marvellous change. I thank God for it. No doubt, it is Gandhiji's efforts and the recent writings that have brought this change. Young men in villages have come forward and helped, the elders have remained behind, but they have either blessed the occasion or kept mum but nobody has opposed. I may further inform you that numerous of inter-communal dinners have been held. There was one such big dinner at Nadiad, the real capital of the Kaira District. Nearly 450 people, out of whom nearly 250 were caste Hindus brought cooked food from home and sat in front of the Ramji temple which has been built for the sweepers by Thakkar Bapa in 1928. 200 sweepers also joined and there was a merry party. Rationing regulations were not broken as people brought food from home. But it was a big gathering, unknown of its kind in the Kaira District.

"One prominent well has been opened in Kadi, a citadel of orthodoxy and 150 people dined with Harijans at Padra in Baroda. There are numerous such incidents but I cannot enumerate them at present.

"I should love to write a long letter in Gujarati to Bapa in this connection but it is difficult for him to read it. Please read this to him if possible."

Of course, compared to what we want to achieve, this progress is a miserable show. But seeing that Gujarat has been so far behindhand in this matter

of removal of untouchability, the little progress of which Shri Parikshitlal takes note with pardonable satisfaction is pleasant, if it is permanent and is a precursor of better things to come. Every nail driven into the coffin of untouchability is a step in the right direction towards the purification of Hinduism.

Srirampur, 30-11-'46

## QUESTION BOX

### COMMUNALISM IN MODES OF ADDRESS

Q. I appreciate the efforts made by the Congress administrations to end communal cries of "Hindu water (or tea)" and "Islami water (or tea)" on railway stations. But, at the same time, does not the practice of using different modes of address for Hindus and Mussalmans, such as Shri, Shriyut or Shriman for Hindus and others, and Janab and Saheb for Mussalmans, started by Gandhiji himself and followed by Congressmen generally, indicate and encourage similar communal separatism,—even though used respectfully? It seems to me that the truth of the matter is that we, that is the members of the various communities, are unable to completely shed the communal consciousness from within us, with the result that we cannot help betraying ourselves somewhere or other in our acts. Will you please give your opinion?

A. It is a good question. Personally I am unable to reconcile myself with communal modes of address.

But having regard to the mistrust prevailing at present among the communities, there is no proper atmosphere for suggesting a change. The mere fact that the suggestion comes from a member of one community might be regarded sufficient for its rejection by another. Yet, if any reader suggests a common mode of address of Indian origin which promises to be acceptable to all, it could be considered.

Personally I would be satisfied by referring to all men as "Bhai or Bhaiji A, or Bhai A-ji, or Bhai A Saheb" and all women as "Bai or Baiji A, or Bai A-ji, or Bai A Saheb", whatever their community—Ji and Saheb being used or dropped as the writer or speaker wished. But the practice started by Gandhiji will be followed in the *Harijan* weeklies, until he directs otherwise.

Vapi, 7-12-'46

K. G. MASHRUWALA



## ACHARYA KRIPALANI'S CONCLUDING ADDRESS

[In the previous number of the *Harijan* we reproduced some very pertinent extracts from Acharya Kripalani's presidential address delivered at the 54th plenary Session of the Indian National Congress held at Meerut on the 23rd November last. We reproduce below equally pertinent extracts from his concluding speech before the delegates assembled at the Session. — *Ed.*]

### APPEAL FOR UNITY

I told you and repeat that we in India—whether we are Hindus, Mohammedans, Parsis, Christians or followers of any other faith—cannot leave this country. There is no other country that can be ours. We have to live together. Let us live in peace and brotherhood. If we do not so live, nature will make us suffer and after great sufferings we will have to reconcile ourselves to the fact that those whom God united, nobody can separate.

Any Hindu, who offends a Mussalman is doing injustice to his community and his country and any Muslim who offends a Hindu is destroying his religion and the freedom of his country.

### NON-VIOLENCE THE ONLY WAY

At the end I would permit myself to address a few words to my younger friends. I have learnt non-violence from Gandhiji. I do not hesitate to tell you that I used to believe in violence and belonged to a group of revolutionaries in 1906 and 1907. Even in the days of my revolutionary life, I hope, I was a brave man and I would not have hesitated to mount the gallows, but I never felt so fearless, so bold, so strong, as when I accepted the creed of non-violence from Gandhiji.

If this country is to rise, it will rise by non-violence and by no other method. We are divided into so many groups—political, economic and religious—that if we use violence against the foreign enemy, we are sure to use that violence against each other also. They who live by the sword shall perish by the sword.

The world has introduced the atom bomb, but something worse will come, unless it takes stock of what it has been doing hitherto.

### SUPERIOR METHOD

I do not condemn people because they use violence. Non-violence is a new creed, but I want to place it before you because I have tried both the methods and found that non-violence is the superior method. The light has been lighted and it will guide us whether you wish it or not. If you are going to solve your problems by untruth, by crooked diplomacy, the world's problems will not be solved. In one word the difference between Socialism and Gandhism is that Gandhiji says that the means shall be as pure as your ends are high. High aims cannot be served by crooked means.

This in a nutshell is the difference between Western Socialism and this Eastern Socialism of this old *Bania*. The world will not be safe from war or strife or bloodshed until this doctrine is accepted, whether you accept it today or tomorrow or after a century. But remember, that the century will be a troublesome century for humanity.

## CONGRESS RESOLUTIONS

[Below are reproduced four of the resolutions passed by the Indian National Congress at its 54th Session held at Meerut, on the 23rd and 24th November, 1946. — *Ed.*]

### 1

#### RETROSPECT

This Congress, meeting after six and a half years of war and upheaval and frightfulness, pays its homage to the memory of all those who have given their lives in the cause of India's freedom and all those who have suffered in the struggle for freedom and the emancipation of India's millions.

During these years the world war raged in all its fury, and in India the armed might of an alien imperialist power tried to crush the spirit of freedom and the passionate desire of the Indian people to gain independence. The Indian people resisted this ruthless onslaught and through travail and agony demonstrated their will to freedom. The complete failure and incompetence of an out-of-date political and administrative system resulted in famine which took its toll of millions of lives.

The end of the World War has not brought peace to the world and the appearance of the atom bomb as a weapon of war, with its frightful and horrible powers of destruction, has brought to a crisis the immoral and self-destructive elements of the present day political, economic and spiritual structure of the world. Civilization is likely to destroy itself, unless it gives up its imperialist and acquisitive tendencies and bases itself on the peaceful co-operation of free nations and on the maintenance of the dignity of man.

In India, as elsewhere, the period of transition from the old world, has demonstrated its failure to the new, to which millions look with hope and for which they strive is full of peril, and reactionary forces are everywhere trying to prevent the establishment of a new order of peace and freedom. This Congress has always stood for the full co-operation of free nations and for the removal of political and economic inequality between nations and peoples. India has been and is today the crux of the problem of freedom of subject peoples. On the complete emancipation of the Indian people depends the freedom of vast numbers of others in Asia, Africa and elsewhere. World peace and progress depend upon the solution of the Indian problem. This Congress, therefore, reiterates its firm determination to continue the struggle for India's complete freedom till she becomes an independent nation cooperating with others on an equal basis for the establishment of peace, freedom and progress everywhere. India, by virtue of her past her present position and her potential power, cannot accept a secondary position in the comity of nations.

For more than sixty years the National Congress has led the people of India towards this ideal and through struggle and constructive effort it has built up the strength of the Indian people. It has based itself on high ideals and endeavoured to put before



the nation moral standards of conduct both on the individual and on the political plane because it was convinced that greatness of achievement comes to a nation only by keeping high objectives before it and by pursuing methods which are worthy of a great people. In these days of bitter and tragic internal conflict and a lowering of these ideals, this Congress reiterates its faith in the high destiny of India and the ideals which have moved the Indian people. Any weakness, complacency or straying from the straight path to freedom may well imperil the independence for which the people of India have struggled and which is now within their grasp.

The Congress, therefore, calls upon the people to put an end to internecine conflict and to face internal and external dangers as a united people in the spirit in which they have fought in the past for India's independence. That struggle has not ended and may yet require many sacrifices.

2

#### SOUTH AFRICA

The Congress endorses the resolution passed by the All India Congress Committee on July 6, 1946, congratulating the South African Indians on their resistance to the segregation policy of the White people of that country, and records its satisfaction at the excellent work done by the Indian Delegation to the U. N. O. General Assembly exposing the narrow racialism of the South African Government to the full glare of world opinion. This Congress emphatically refutes the suggestion of Field Marshal Smuts in this connection that the Indian people are also guilty of racialism such as is shamelessly indulged in by the South African Government. The Indian people and all their leaders are energetically engaged in working out the fullest equality to all the nationals inhabiting this large and great country in all walks of life, political, social and economic, and laws of this country discountenance any discrimination whatsoever, whereas the policy of the South African Government and the White minority of that country is flagrantly racial and discriminatory and is a menace to world-peace and civilization.

3

#### EAST AFRICA

The Indian National Congress endorses the resolution of the Working Committee passed on August 6, 1945, regarding the situation in East Africa. The Congress views with great concern the attempts made in that country to make permanent the restrictions of the war-time period and converting them into a permanent anti-Indian law. The recorded admissions of even the confirmed enemies of Indian progress prove that Indians were in East Africa before any European set his foot on that soil and fully support the claim of the Indians in East Africa that the laws reserving the highlands for the White people and restricting the rights of Indians are most immoral and unjustifiable.

4

#### COMMUNAL STRIFE

The Congress views with pain, horror and anxiety the tragedies of Calcutta, in East Bengal, in

Bihar and in some parts of the Meerut District. The acts of brutality committed on men, women and children fill every decent person with shame and humiliation. These new developments in communal strife are different from any previous disturbances and have involved murders on a mass scale as also mass conversions enforced at the point of the dagger, abduction and violation of women and forcible marriage. These crimes, apparently for political purposes, put an end to all sense of security and are ominous to the peace, tranquility and progress of India.

The responsibility for this widespread brutality must rest with the preaching of hatred and violence for political purposes and the degradation and exploitation of religion for political ends. Responsibility must also rest with those who claim to possess special responsibilities and who, in spite of warning, failed to discharge them and allowed matters to proceed to the extreme limit of endurance.

The Congress would warn the country against all propaganda of violence and hatred. It is not by these methods that the differences between the various communities in India can be settled. They can only be settled by peaceful means. The attempts of the Congress to work out a peaceful and just solution of the communal problem have been repeatedly thwarted by the Muslim League. The advocacy and use of violence will injure the interest of the country as a whole as well as sectional interests. The Congress also warns all communities against revenge and reprisals. The continuance of a vicious circle of reprisal would mean playing into the hands of the internal and external enemies of the nation.

The immediate problem is to produce a sense of security and rehabilitate homes and villages which have been broken up and destroyed. Women who have been abducted and forcibly married must be restored to their homes. Mass conversions which have taken place forcibly have no significance or validity and the people affected by them should be given every opportunity to return to their homes and to the life of their choice.

The Congress reiterates its conviction that the only solution of the communal problem is complete independence from foreign control and appeals to the people not to allow communal passion to sidetrack the national struggle at this last stage of our march to freedom.

#### Hindustani Prachar Examinations

Hindustani Prachar examinations held on behalf of the Hindustani Prachar Sabha, Wardha, will be held on Sunday, the 16th of February, 1947. Applications from candidates desiring to appear at these examinations should reach the Wardha office through the respective centres with the necessary fees on or before the 15th January 1947. Information about rules for opening new centres and for examinations, names of text books prescribed for the various examinations and other relevant information can be had from the Wardha office.

AMRITLAL NANAVATI  
Examination Secretary,

Hindustani Prachar Sabha, Wardha



# HARIJAN

December 15

1946

## POWER POLITICS IN RELIGION

Whenever enthusiastic apostles of a religion have been seized by the ambition to propagate it by taking the State under their control, blood-shed and inhuman barbarities have followed. In ancient times when the king was supreme in the State, the most convenient method was to induce him to accept that faith, and then to get him to proclaim it as the faith of the realm. This was accompanied with special benefits for its acceptors and penalties for the rejectors. The degree of penalty varied from a simple extra tax to excommunication, imprisonment, mutilation of limbs, torturous death, confiscation of property, exile, forcible conversion of women and the weak, and various other forms of devilry which sadistic ingenuity could invent. It was also sought to be propagated in other countries with the help of fire and sword.

When Devadatta, one of the disciples of the Buddha became estranged from him and decided to form a rival sect, he conceived the idea of taking Ajatashatru, one of the sons of the king of Magadha, under his influence. After doing so, he instigated him to put old king into prison, and install himself on the throne. Then, with his assistance he plotted several times to kill the Buddha himself and persecute his followers.

The story of Prahlad — poetically rendered so as to appear the life-story of a single individual — is a detailed account of barbarous persecution of one religious sect by a ruler owning bigoted allegiance to another.

The history of every important religious sect all the world over relates similar stories of persecution, suffered at the hands of the sect wielding political power and in turn inflicted by it upon others, when it itself (if at all) acquired similar power. Thus in India, the *Vediks*, the *Bauddhas*, the *Jains*, the *Lingayats*, the *Shaivas*, the *Vaishnavas*, the *Sikhs*, and several of their sub-sects have each suffered persecution at the hands of the sect in power, and (if they have at all ever acquired political power) inflicted in turn similar sufferings upon the followers of rival sects. Similarly, in Europe and Western Asia, the Crusades, the *Jehads* the persecution of the Christians by the Jews and the Romans at one stage, and of the Jews by the Christians at another, the blood-curdling accounts of the persecution of sects, which dared to differ from the Church (of whatever denomination) in power from the very beginning of the Christian States to almost modern times, and the attempt to suppress Christianity itself in Bolsevic Russia are too well-known features of the history of Europe to be mentioned in detail.

China and Japan have also similar stories to relate.

It is only when the State has put itself above all religious sects and declined to take any notice of the religious faith of its subjects in its public affairs and enjoined similar impartiality upon its servants, that people have enjoyed the liberty of believing as they pleased and learnt to live peacefully with the adherents of other faiths.

After long suffering and hard experience, Indian religious sects developed, as a general habit, the virtue of religious tolerance, and if the term Hinduism has at all to be applied to such widely different systems as Shaivism, Vaishnavism, Jainism, Buddhism, monotheism, polytheism, animism and even atheism etc., perhaps their only common point is toleration towards all faiths.

This truth was first realized by India even before the birth of Christ, though it took some centuries more before it was well imbibed. Probably, by the time Islam first entered the Indian soil, it had taken a firm root. The great Emperor Ashoka, had a full realization of this. Personally he was a devout Buddhist and full of zeal to spread its message throughout the world known to him. Says Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru in his *The Discovery of India*:

"His messengers and ambassadors went to Syria, Egypt, Macedonia, Cyrene, and Epirus, conveying his greeting and Buddha's message. They went to Central Asia also and to Burma and Siam, and he sent his own son and daughter, Mahendra and Sanghamitra, to Ceylon in the South. Everywhere an appeal was made to the mind and the heart; there was no force or compulsion. Ardent Buddhist as he was, he showed respect and consideration for all other faiths. He proclaimed in an edict:

"All sects deserve reverence for one reason or another. By thus acting a man exalts his own sect and at the same time does service to the sects of other people." (P. 145)

The early Muslim invaders of India, more zealous than experienced, still generally clung to the method of propagating Islam by the power of the State. As however they began to settle down, they were gradually getting sober. But before they fully assimilated the wisdom of keeping the State and its officers above all religious sects, they lost their political power. Consequently, the ambition to enlist the power of the State to serve the cause of a religion still persists, and the idea of creating an Indian Muslim State, populated and governed by Muslims, for furthering what are regarded the special culture and interests of Islam, has taken possession of the minds of the Muslim League leaders. So also some Hindu politicians have been possessed by a similar ambition. And thus power politics has re-entered the domain of religion. In Bengal, the Muslim League has already attained some political power, and even before it has been fully consolidated and secured, we have already had the taste of the havoc which a religion-based State can make in the life of the people.

The Hindus, too, cannot take shelter under the plea that theirs was just a reaction to the evil



initiated by the other community in acting as they did in Bihar and other Provinces. They have had ample past experience to realize the evil of power politics in religion. That evil cannot be cured by seeking to create a counter-State to serve the cause of another religion. Hindustan, *akhand* or *khandit*, but meaning a State dedicated to the cause of the Hindu religion and culture is no answer to Pakistan, i. e. a State dedicated to the cause of the Muslim religion and culture. Both these, along with the Sikh, Christian, Zoroastrian and other systems, have got to find ways of coalescing mutually to raise a common national—or rather, human—culture, instead of trying to separate from or exterminate others.

Vapi, 26-11-'46

K. G. MASHRUWALA

### TRIUMPH OF VALMIKI

About half a century ago Mahamahopadhyaya Harihar Shastri of Bengal published a beautiful novel named *Valmiki's Jaya*. It has been translated into Marathi, Gujarati and perhaps other Indian languages also, and can be read even now with delight. The story is based on the legend of Vasishtha and Vishvamisra, rival leaders respectively of the Brahman and the Kshatriya clans of India. It was a struggle for political and social supremacy over the part of India then inhabited by the Aryas. The land is represented in the form of *kamadheni* or the desire-fulfilling cow. A bloody feud raged between the two for, perhaps, several generations with varying success. At first Vasishtha was routed and his hundred sons killed, and his 'cow' taken forcible possession of by Vishvamisra. But it was a short-lived victory. Vasishtha again gathered forces and so completely defeated Vishvamisra, that he was forced to retire into the Himalayas for a long number of years, — perhaps generations. Other Kshatriyas did, of course, carry on some kind of guerilla warfare by invading isolated Brahman colonies, killing the inmates and destroying their *ashrams*. The family of the young and fiery Parashurama — literally the axe-wielding Rama was one of such sufferers. The murder of his father and brothers so enraged Parashurama that he vowed total extermination of the Kshatriyas, and made it good by inflicting, it is said, twenty-one severe defeats upon them, followed each time with indiscriminate and heartless massacre of the Kshatriyas. They were altogether humbled and it appeared as if the world would become completely emptied of them. It appears that even Vasishtha and his followers had not contemplated this result, but the situation had gone beyond their control and there appeared to be no way of checking Parashurama from his revengeful and blood-thirsty projects. It was a dark and hope-shattering situation.

But very unexpectedly, there appeared on the scene a gentle soul in the shape of Valmiki. He was, if at all, a Brahman of an humble clan, but gifted with great poetical and musical powers, and the still greater faith in his mission. He could not bear this internecine war and was determined not

to rest until peace was restored between the Brahmans and the Kshatriyas. He had no weapon but his musical instrument and no carefully worded formula except the one represented by the refrain, '*We all are one, we all are one.*' With his band of singers, he visited every Brahman colony and every Kshatriya kingdom, delivering his message of peace, love and unity. His music and songs touched the hearts of his listeners, resulting in a strong movement for unity and peace. Vasishtha and Vishvamisra were reconciled and, though for a long time Parashurama was intractable, he soon discovered that the cry of '*Down with the Kshatriyas*' had lost its power of appeal and that he could not get any following. He was compelled to retire before the combination of Vasishtha and Vishvamisra, both of whom supported such friendly Kshatriya houses as those of Ayodhya and Mithila. Valmiki's mission having come to a successful termination, he was requested, as the story goes, to compose the story of Ramayana, for strengthening the Brahman-Kshatriya alliance and depicting the advance which the Aryas would make as a result of such alliance.

There can be no doubt that as between the Hindus and the Mussalmans also the formula discovered by Valmiki, namely, '*We are all one, we are all one,*' and the *sangathan* (organization) arising out of that formula, are the only substantial things which will ultimately triumph.

Vapi, 7-12-'46

K. G. MASHRUWALA

### STORY HOUR

(Continued from p. 411)

#### VI

[This one is from R. C. Trevelyan's *Windfalls* (Allen and Unwin).—V. G. D.]

Once the *Bodhisattva* was born as an elephant, who, when he had grown to his full size and beauty and had long been the lord of a great herd of elephants, left his companions and wandered away to a remote forest, surrounded on all sides by a waterless desert. Here he dwelt like a hermit, delighting in the leaves and fruits of the trees, the lotus stalks and the pools of water.

Now one day as he was wandering near the border of the forest, he heard a noise as of a multitude of people moaning and lamenting; so, running swiftly towards the sounds and issuing out of the jungle, he saw at a distance several hundred men, sitting and lying on the ground, overcome by hunger, thirst and fatigue. Though terrified at the sight of so huge an elephant, they were too exhausted for flight, as the Great Being moved slowly towards them, gently waving his trunk in sign of friendliness and saying in a human voice: "Be not afraid. Who are you, sirs? And how came you into this miserable plight?"

At this, recovering confidence, the whole assembly rose and bowed to him; and one of their elders said, "A cruel blast of the king's anger blew us away into banishment in this waste region, O lord of elephants. Yet now by the auspicious sight of thee, we know that we have crossed the desert of calamity."



Then said the elephant, "How many are you, sirs?"

"We were five hundred," said the elder, "when we were driven from our homes; but many of us have perished, overcome by hunger, thirst and despair."

Then moved to compassion, the Great Being said, "Alas, alas, how blind to their own good are those poor helpless rulers! They understand not that the conflagration arising from the oppression of subjects is bound to consume them with all their wickedness and cruelty. Fie upon such ignorance!" And while he stood silent, pondering how he might offer hospitality to his guests, the men with folded hands and tearful eyes implored him to show them how to escape from that dreadful desert, or at least where to find some stream or pool of life-giving water.

Then lifting up his trunk and waving it towards the north, he said to them: "Under yonder steep mountain there is a lake of pure water where you may quench your thirst and rest for a time. Then continuing your way, not far off you will come upon the body of an elephant, who this very day has fallen down a precipice, and lies at the foot of the mountain. Take his flesh to serve you for food, make water-bags of his bowels and fill them with water from the lake. Thus provided, you will soon find your way out of this wilderness without much more hardship."

With that he left them, and hastening out of their sight climbed up the farther side of the mountain to the brink of a great precipice, and there flung his body down to death on the rocks below.

Meanwhile those men, following his directions, soon reached the lake and after drinking and resting awhile, went forward until they found the body of an elephant. Then said some of them, "How like is this elephant to our friend, that lord of elephants!" Others reflected: "This must indeed be our friend who has thrown himself down the cliff, that he might save us from our distress."

Poona, 2-12-'46

### URULI-KANCHAN REPORT

Dr. Bhagwat, who is in charge of the Nature Cure Centre started by Gandhiji towards the end of March last at Uruli-Kanchan, near Poona, has sent a six monthly report (April to September, '46) of the work done by him and his colleagues. The following abridgment will give the reader an idea of the activity going on there.

"The Centre was opened by Gandhiji on the 23rd March 1946. He himself could give his direct supervision for a week only. Later on this work was entrusted to me and other co-workers here. The number of patients which was daily increasing during Gandhiji's presence was much reduced after his departure. The real work of treating patients, started from the second week of April and was going on throughout May and June. The number of patients became smaller and smaller after the rainy season had started, as the villagers were busy in their fields and there was some difficulty of communication too.

"The total number of patients treated at the centre was 567. Of these 23 were treated as in-door

patients, on account of their serious condition. One delivery case of a woman was also successfully treated. Ten minor operations were performed. Other patients were treated as out-door patients by giving them enema, bath, hip-bath etc., and were asked to observe certain dietetic restrictions at home. Out of the above total number of patients about 300 might have taken full treatment till they were completely cured; others left the treatment, when they found that we gave no medicines, or put restriction on their diet.

"The treatment includes plain water enema, hip bath, simple bath, cold or warm pack, mud pack along with regulation of diet. The latter includes lemon juice, honey, oranges and other acid fruits, soaked and germinated beans and nuts, salads, sweet fruits etc. Cooked food includes *bhakari* or *chapati* and vegetables without salt, chillies and spices. *Poornanna roti* and *khichadi* are also used at times. Curds and butter milk are freely used as one time meal when necessary.

"The daily expenditure per patient on an average ranges from 8 annas minimum to 2 rupees maximum according to the circumstances and the financial condition of the patient.

#### Classification of the diseases treated

Disease	Number	Disease	Number
Scabies	84	Head-ache	5
Malaria—enlarged spleen	58	Asthma	5
Constipation	56	Anaemia	5
Fever (ordinary)	39	Round worms	5
Otitis Media	34	T. B. Lungs	4
Wounds	30	Acid Dyspepsia	4
Stomach-ache	24	Piles	4
Conjunctivities	19	Hemiplegia	3
Inflammation	17	Obesity	3
Tooth extraction	17	Pleurisy	2
Diarrhoea	15	Sprain	2
Flatulence	13	Hemicranmia	2
Dyspepsia	13	Mumps	2
Tooth-ache	12	Callstone	1
Cough (Bronchitis)	11	Delivery	1
Uterine Discharge	10	Rheumatism	1
Ring-worm	8	Pneumonia	1
Abscess	8	Biliousness	1
Dysentery	8	Dog-bite not rabid	1
Eczema	7	Fistula in anus	1
		Miscellaneous	31

Total 567

"In our future plan of Hospital work we shall have to make some separate arrangements for a maternity home, and a small surgical theatre. Besides this, we shall also have to organize *go-seva* for supplying pure milk to the patients. For this we shall have to erect a cowshed in the near future for which we will have to undergo an expenditure of about Rs. 5,000. I hope we shall get cooperation from the right sources at the right time."

Vapi, 7-12-'46

K. G. M.

#### Errata

In the *Harijan* of the 24th November, 1946, on p. 411, Column 2, Line 2, for 'Concluded' read 'Continued'.



## A NEGRO SAGE

[The growth of Science during the past hundred years has claimed phenomenal progress in the affairs of our world but as all acknowledge today, it has proved to be a doubtful blessing. In a way it stands condemned today in as much as it has lent itself more to devising means for aggression, exploitation and destruction than for the liquidation of human misery. It has brought in its wake various forms of horizontal as well as vertical violence resulting in terrible wars under which mankind lies exhausted and prostrate today.]

Among the long galaxy of eminent scientists of the Western world a few notable exceptions stand out as beacon lights who have loved mankind and laboured all their lives for its true happiness. One such sage rose to eminence from among the humble and despised Negroes of Southern America. He laboured all his long life for improving American agriculture so as to enrich the sources of meeting the basic needs of the humblest farm labourer, in the shape of more food and comfort. The following has been taken from *The American Pictorial* (1944, special Indian Edition of *Victory Magazine*) for the benefit of our constructive workers. —S. A.]

George Washington Carver was an American, who, in a long lifetime of unselfish achievement, demonstrated, besides the creative greatness of his own mind, the surpassing quality of a man's growth in a free country. He rose from destitute beginnings to be acclaimed as one of the greatest agricultural scientists of modern times. He transformed the farm economy of half a nation, and gave to a grateful world the benefits of his hundreds of practical discoveries and accomplishments in agricultural chemistry.

Carver was born in 1864, near Diamond Grove, Missouri, in the central part of the southern United States. His parents were Negro slaves; but Carver never knew them. When the child was scarcely six months old, he and his mother (his father was already dead) were carried off by bandits. The baby was ransomed for a broken-down race horse, but his mother was never heard of again. In 1865, slavery was abolished by constitutional amendment, and a White planter, Moses Carver, took the infant into his household, gave him his name, and raised him to do domestic chores.

Hungry for education, the boy soon struck out for himself. At first he slept in barns and haylofts, seeking work from farm to farm, but was soon taken in her home by the kindly Muriah Watkins, worked for his food at whatever job she set for him and attended a rural school. He went on to high school, supporting himself mainly by taking in washing. Carver, then in his twenties, journeyed to Iowa, where he opened a small laundry to earn enough money to enter college. Menial jobs supported him through three years at Simpson College. Then Carver went on to finish four years of agricultural studies at the Iowa State College at Ames. There his distinctive knowledge of soils and plants earned him a place on the faculty.

In 1896, George Washington Carver went to Tuskegee, Alabama, to open an agricultural laboratory at the newly-founded Tuskegee Institute. The construction of this laboratory and its 16-acre

experimental farm is an everlasting tribute to Carver's resourcefulness and creative will. At Tuskegee, he was confronted with an empty building, with no funds for equipment; his experimental farm was a bare tract of sandy, impoverished soil. Carver sent his students into the swamps and woods armed with buckets and pails. Day after day they brought back muck and leaf mold to form a topsoil. Carver constructed a stove for heat, made laboratory equipment from materials on hand—kitchen cups, old bottles, inkstands, pieces of iron and wood salvaged from the rubbish heap.

Carver began his experiments with the clay-filled Alabama soil. He showed farmers how to build it up to produce more cotton per acre. On the school farm Carver harvested one of Alabama's first bale-to-the-acre cotton crops. He further contributed to the economic rehabilitation of the South by introducing new, favourable crops. He taught Southern farmers how two sweet potato crops could be harvested each year instead of one. "Everyone told me," he said in later years, "that the soil was unproductive. But it was the only soil I had. It was not unproductive. It was only unused." Today, in addition to cotton and tobacco, the sweet potato and peanut are major crops in the American South.

Carver then demonstrated that these plants had not exhausted their bounty. He took the sweet potato into his laboratory and proceeded to make from it a hundred useful products, such as starch, vinegar, glue, molasses, dyes, and fertilizers. Turning to the peanut, long called worthless, he transmuted it into more than 300 commodities, including coffee, milk, printer's ink, linoleum, flour, medicinal oil, paper and axle grease.

Working always with the natural resources around him, Carver began experimenting with slash pine—an abundant wood in the South—and turned it into paper. This achievement opened what is today a flourishing industry in a number of Southern States. To the shy, kindly, patient scientist, gifted with what his neighbors called "green fingers," there was no such thing as waste. He found a use for wood shavings—synthetic marble. Cornstalks, sawdust and cotton stalks were transformed into insulating boards and paving blocks. Turning to the flowers of the field, he made paper from the vines and stems of wistaria, sunflowers and wild hibiscus.

Carver believed that people could live all their lives on the things that grew within a hundred yards around them. To prove this thesis, he gathered local weeds, flowers, wild fruit and dooryard shrubs, and turned much of this unusual harvest into edible, nourishing dishes, including soups, cheeses, marmalades and roasts. Carver wrote his recipes into pamphlets, which were freely distributed throughout the country.

To convey his methods and accomplishments to the farmer, whom he wanted to be the free beneficiary of his labors, Carver converted a second-hand buggy into a mobile agricultural school. Loading the carriage with exhibits, he borrowed a horse and made regular tours of the Alabama



countryside, lecturing Macon County farmers in fields and barn yards, giving away free his agrarian discoveries. Carver's was the first of the "movable schools", which today, housed in motor truck and trailer and sponsored by the U. S. Department of Agriculture, cover large areas of the South.

Carver had one hobby—if indeed it was. That was art. He won some distinction as a painter of landscapes and natural subjects, and one of his finest canvases—the Yucca Plant—hangs in the Tuskegee Institute gallery. Even this aesthetic interest could not be divorced from his scientific impulse and his philosophy of use. Carver made his paints from the clays of Macon County. He showed farmers they could get good, inexpensive paint for their houses and barns from their own soil. From this Alabama clay he also made face powder, pottery and dyes. Lint scraped up in the cotton gins was shown by Carver to be highly useful; he turned it into paving blocks, cordage and rugs.

Thomas A. Edison, American inventor of the electric light and early motion picture and sound recording instruments, once offered Carver a position in his laboratory. Carver declined, for he believed his life's work to be in Alabama. He cared nothing for money. He gave his professional advice and services without thought of remuneration. His salary cheques at Tuskegee piled up for years in the treasurer's office, and he did not use them until shortly before his death.

When Carver developed a peanut oil of therapeutic value in paralysis cases, he turned it over, without patent, to the medical profession. When a group of peanut growers rewarded him for helping them eradicate a disease which had preyed on their nut trees, Carver returned the money. Once he donated his formula for making synthetic marble out of peanut hulls to a factory in the neighboring state of Mississippi. The factory had difficulty with the process and tried to persuade Carver to join the firm. When he refused, the company moved to Tuskegee, where it could have the benefit of his guidance—which he gave gratis.

In 1939, Carver was awarded the Roosevelt Medal for distinguished work in the field of science. The following year, stooped and white-haired, the reticent, benevolent seventy-six-year old scientist established the George Washington Carver Foundation, built with his life's savings, for the purpose of furthering research in agricultural chemistry. Three years later he died.

The name of George Washington Carver is symbolic of more than scientific achievement and human genius; it has a great deal of significance for those who scrutinize the meaning of freedom, for all those who yearn, for all who aspire to walk in their own ways, independently, and with dignity and glad hope. The United States had been at war a little over a year when George Washington Carver died in January, 1943. Shortly afterward, a Liberty ship slid down the ways bearing Carver's name across its bows—a fitting salute to a man who gave much in return for freedom. It was not a

deliberate, premeditated exchange, for that is not the essence of freedom. Carver lived in a society which let him govern his own growth and destiny. His benefactions were this society's incidental, unsolicited reward. In July, 1943, the Congress of the United States voted funds for a monument to Carver, to be erected near Diamond Grove, Missouri, where he greeted the world as a slave.

### The Official Attitude

A correspondent sends the following:

"It would be worthwhile for the Director of the influential British daily paper who saw you last week at New Delhi to peruse the following, to understand the causes of the present unending trouble.

"His Excellency the Viceroy is closely and conscientiously following the footsteps of his *guru* Allenby. I quote below for ready reference:

"If our avowed policy of training the Egyptians to govern themselves was sincere and meant anything, it was useless to interfere and take the directions into one's own hands as soon as any difficulty arose. If the Ministers and the officials were to learn to govern, if the police were to be efficient in keeping order, if the Egyptian army was to be able to support their authority at need, then, they must face to learn their difficulties and dangers by themselves and must not rely on the British when anything disconcerting or alarming took place." (From *Allenby—a study in Greatness* by Wavell, pp. 49-50.)

"We have only to read "Indians" instead of "Egyptians" and then we ought to give credit for the above policy. Yet we have seen how pitiable were the appeals made to the authorities to intervene during the last two weeks. This proves your theory; but to complete the whole picture and silence the arguments once and for all the following could be read with profit:

"In a letter to his mother on May 20th 1921, (after some disturbances had taken place) Allenby wrote:

"I bide my time as I want the Egyptians to settle their politics for themselves and don't want to interfere with my troops unless the life, limb or interests of Europeans are in danger."

"This is plain, simple and convincing reading. I hope the journalist friend could be advised to guide his kith and kin and the powers that be to leave 'India to God or anarchy' as you had once declared. That is the only one solution but unfortunately its application will always be delayed. The British Forces have not yet left Egypt."

Wardha, 5-12-'46

K. K.

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# HARIJAN

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TWO ANNAS

## SCRIPTURE FOR DEVILRY !

When man seeks to invoke sanction of religious scriptures in order to support his own inner lust, ambition or other forms of self-indulgence, or for inciting others to such acts or conduct; or when he seeks to clothe such acts with religious or moral aims and ideals, it is such abuse of religion and ethics that one would fain desire that no religious or ethical codes had ever existed.

When man feels that a course of action or conduct cannot stand the test of the straight reasoning of a discriminating human being and is seized, nonetheless, with the desire to indulge in it, and to incite others to do so, he is tempted to invoke the authority of religion in its support, and thus, whether or not does he mislead and deceive himself, he certainly misleads hundreds of simple people.

These thoughts have been provoked by two questions asked by a correspondent of obviously thoughtful and studious habits. The questions are:

"(1) The war of the *Mahabharata* is represented as a *dharma-yuddha*, or right war. Yet, it was admittedly an internecine one. It was no better than what we call (in modern parlance) a civil or a fratricidal war. Can such fighting be called a right war? If so, why not call the present communal riots too a right war? Is it not being invoked for resisting unjust demands of one community against the other? How can we go on submitting to them *ad infinitum*? Is not a stubborn fight against such bullying a just and proper war?"

"(2) The great Krishna during the *Mahabharata* war had vowed not to use arms, but relented at a critical moment and took up the *Sudarshana Chakra* against Bhishma. Why should not Mahatma Gandhi similarly relent and allow as much violence for a while?"

The answer is, that until a man has tried to thresh out for himself the ethical aspect of a problem facing him by a process of independent and straight reasoning, there is no occasion to search for religious or historical sanctions; nay, it is improper to do so.

Let us leave alone the issues of *Akhanda Hindustan* or *Pakistan* for a moment and examine the riots in terms of humanity and its interests dispassionately. Let us ask ourselves whether the barbarous acts of massacre, arson and worse, that took place in Calcutta, East Bengal, Bihar and other places, and the stabbings etc., that continue in so many cities and towns are consistent with right human conduct. Do our higher and humane emotions

justify the exhibition of this bestiality? What madness has possessed us, that if we are Hindus and see a crowd of helpless Muslims or if we are Muslims and see a crowd of helpless Hindus, we should thirst for their blood and visit them with fire and sword, ravish their women, indiscriminately kill old and infirm men and women and tender children and then try to justify these acts of devilry by quoting scriptures in their support? What do the poor starving peasants and the *Namashudras* of Noakhali, or Muslim village peasants of Bihar or the fishermen of Kolaba and their womenfolk understand about *Akhanda Hindustan* or *Pakistan*, and why either of the two should endanger their lives, property and honour? Why should these political ambitious demand a toll of their blood and bring ruin upon them? What has a Hindu or a Muslim pedestrian going about his business done to deserve a sudden stab in the back at the hand of the other, to make you feel sympathetic, not with the victim, but with the assailant?

The fact is that the lust of war with its associate vices has not yet been extinguished from the human breast. That is why it flares up time and again under one pretext or another. It is fanned by the ambitions of a few influential individuals and thereafter involves millions of innocent human beings, destroys property worth billions and trillions, and brings untold hardships, penury and ruin on whole populations. Various ingenious reasons are adduced to tempt simple people into the net. The slogan of 'Religion in danger' is one such device. Under its spell they turn erstwhile simple people into ferocious fanatics, worse than the beasts of prey and mad elephants.

If you were to tell the people, "You are beasts, so behave like beasts", it is obvious, few would follow you. But it serves your purpose excellently if you tell them, "This killing is ordained by God and by the Holy Scriptures. It is a sacrifice of the highest merit; it is an act of service to God and is good religious conduct; it is the royal road to attain Divine Grace; it blesses both the killers and the killed; for, if you are killed, you will enter the gates of Heaven; and if you kill or convert, you prevent your opponent from going further astray. If you do not participate in this holy war, your religion and culture would perish." Under the influence of such strong 'spirits' of religious fanaticism men become far more intoxicated and insane than under that of alcohol.



To revert to the correspondent's questions: there is little to compare in the present riots in the country with the war of the *Mahabharata*. That was a family feud over rights of kingship between two rival royal families and followed the then prevailing cannons of war. Both sides, after a formal declaration of war, mustered their warriors on an open battlefield and fought to a finish. The commonly accepted rules of war were generally observed by both the sides. None but the participating warriors was so much as touched. Even fighting warriors observed commonly accepted rules of attack as well as defence. And whenever any one deviated, he was reprimanded and repudiated even by his own side. Thus certain ethical cannons were accepted and duly observed by the belligerents even while at war. Hence it was customary in those days to call such a war a right war, i. e. in consonance with the law (*dharma*).

Nothing of this can be said of the present murders, loots, fires, rapes or conversions. A big mob belonging to one community makes a sudden attack upon a smaller group of the other community or even a solitary wayfarer, and massacres wholly innocent people. None among the attackers is a brave warrior, none among the victims is a guilty culprit. There is no general openly commanding the campaign. The wire-pullers behind these dastardly attacks and acts are men who elect to work in the dark, are anxious to save their own skin, and carry on their nefarious designs by inciting simple and credulous people, or by engaging hooligans with the help of money and other base temptations. They are heartless men of inhuman and anti-social propensities. May be, some of them are leading men in society. Nonetheless, they are not its well-wishers but ambitious monsters stalking the land in human form. They have little concern with any religion whatever.

If the present riots have to be compared with any ancient episode, they may be compared with the cold-blooded massacre of the sleeping sons of the Pandavas and other fighters in the Pandava camp, perpetrated in the dead of night by Ashvatthama and Kripacharya, the solitary survivors of the Kaurava camp. The mutual fratricidal fighting of the Yadavas of Dwaraka also may be cited in comparison.

The other instance cited by the correspondent is the wielding of the *Sudarshana Chakra* by Shri Krishna in violation of his self-imposed vow, in order to save a critical situation. The suggestion is, if Shri Krishna could do it, why not Gandhiji? Why should he not modify his non-violence a little to meet an exasperating situation? And if Gandhiji is not an adept at wielding violence, he should ask some one else to do so!

The question may be answered with a counter-question. Gandhiji in his boyhood, as narrated in his autobiography, resorted to stealing and smoking behind the back of his father. If the correspondent's son were to put him a poser by asking him, "What objection can you have, then, if I stole or smoked? And since I am not going to be

a Mahatma, there can be nothing wrong about it!" How will the father appreciate this? If this story of breaking the vow is true, it only means that even Krishna, great as he was, was still human and liable to err. That is why the great epic proceeds also to record that he was put to shame by Bhisma for the attempted lapse and also promptly stopped by his disciple-friend Arjuna.

We may not forget the good injunction given to graduates in the old universities that even masters are to be followed by the disciples in their good acts only and not in their faults and frailties.

The sooner we get rid of this communal poison, the better for our country. Indeed, this evil is a worse epidemic than plague, typhoid, cholera or small-pox. If one of these latter is on, say, in Bengal, surely, we will not think of introducing the contagion in Bihar or other provinces as an effective preventive; rather, if we are wise and alert, we shall take prophylactic measures to prevent it from spreading elsewhere. For instance, we might devise serums and inoculations to protect healthy persons, drink boiled water, spray disinfectants, segregate the victims, erect quarantines, etc. Can it ever be that the measures to fight the communal virus in Bengal should be to introduce it in another place? Can such an act be ever conducive to the nation's health? It is only when a people bids good-bye to straight thinking that perverse ideas receive a hearing and pass for bold measures and right cures.

Vapi, 3-12-'46 K. G. MASHRUWALA  
(From the original in Gujarati)

#### Commendable

Shri Vidyananda Jayaswal, a local magistrate of Sahibganj (S. P.), Bihar has sent the following report in Hindustani of how his own presence of mind and courage, prevented a deadly clash between the local Hindus and Mussalmans. He says:

"In the evening of 5-11-'46 i. e. *Bakra Id* day, in spite of the curfew order in Sahibganj, people were shouting cries of *Allah ho Akbar* etc. in the butchers' locality. On the other side in the Hindu street people were shouting *Jai Kali Noakhali, Mahavir Swamiki Jai*, etc. with blowing of conch shells. I ran to the butchers' locality where I saw hundreds of Mussalmans armed with naked swords, pick-axes, spears etc., intent upon invading the Hindu locality. The Hindus too had assembled, ready to advance with *lathis*, etc. Had I hesitated even for two minutes, the ground would have been strewn with a number of corpses. Seeing that there was no other remedy to bring the situation under control, I, accompanied by none and absolutely unarmed, rushed into the Mussalmans' crowd and snatched away swords and spears from a number of them; I told them how shameful and foolish their conduct was and exhorted them to retire quietly to their own homes. The non-violent remedy shown by Mahatmaji was successful by the grace of God and all the Mussalmans quietly returned to their houses. I then went to the Hindu locality and tried the same remedy. The effect was so salutary that nothing untoward has happened in our town since then."

Sabarmati, 17-12-'46

N. P.



## MEDIUM OF INSTRUCTION

[The following passages on the subject of the Medium of Instruction and the place of English in the curricula of our schools and colleges are taken from the convocation address of the Nagpur University delivered by Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel at Nagpur on the 30th of November, 1946—*Ed.*]

### MEDIUM OF INSTRUCTION

The University's decision to make the mother tongue the medium of instruction is of great significance. During the last quarter of a century we have realized that the use of a foreign language as the medium of instruction is an obstacle to the mental growth of students. They have to spend a lot of time in acquiring a vocabulary, and even then it cannot be said that they appreciate the correct meaning of the words they use. Words denote objects. A child first sees objects and then learns the words by which he can describe them to others. This process begins early in childhood and continues throughout life. After learning to use one word for a particular object, if a child has to learn another, it naturally feels the strain, specially when it has to memorize the second word with an effort as it does not hear it used by other children. The strain in fact is so great that the child remembers only the word without being familiar with the object which it describes. When a foreign language is the medium of instruction, children have not only to strain themselves to memorize words, but have to struggle to understand what is taught. Thus the habit of cramming is encouraged, while the capacity to comprehend is impaired.

All this is self-evident. But our educational system is such and we have been so enslaved by it that many of us do not fully understand even this simple problem. Thirty years ago the Sadler Commission recommended the use of the mother tongue as the medium of instruction. Later when Mahatma Gandhi appeared on the Indian scene and started his country-wide campaigns, he emphatically declared that instruction through the medium of English, instead of helping us to improve, was leading to our decay. During those days some Vidyapiths or national universities were started. As they were independent of Government control, they were free to follow their own system and use their own medium of instruction. They tried to impart education through the medium of the Indian languages and showed that even higher education could be given in the Indian languages. They demonstrated that it took much less time in teaching a person in an Indian language and the student learnt more about the subjects he studied. Despite this, not one University in British India has started imparting education through the medium of the Indian languages from the lowest to the highest class and done away with English. By deciding to teach in the Indian languages your university has set a very good example. By following in your footsteps other universities can render real help in imparting true education.

I know there are difficulties which have prevented other universities from taking a similar decision. Without effort, no difficulty can be overcome and it is cowardice not to try. True courage consists in overcoming difficulties. Most men are lazy by nature. Laziness is not merely physical, it is mental also. Most of us suffer from mental sloth. We do not try to get out of the rut. We seem to consider it a waste of energy to try to break old traditions. It is because of our inertia that our universities have followed their old traditional ways. Otherwise, there is no reason why we should not have got a sufficient number of text-books in the Indian languages on subjects which it has been difficult to teach in our own languages, particularly in higher classes. Your university has acted with courage and foresight in changing the medium of instruction despite the paucity of text-books. It would be wise to go ahead with the job and grapple with the difficulties as and when they arise. This was the only way of solving the difficulty and your university has shown that where there is a real desire to get things done, means can always be found to do it. I hope you will go ahead with determination. And when instruction is imparted from the highest class to the lowest in the Indian languages, you will see that there is a great saving of the students' time, their knowledge will be more comprehensive and they will enter life with their mental faculties fully developed.

### THE PLACE OF ENGLISH

Introduction of the Indian languages in our schools and colleges does not mean that we do not want to learn or provide facilities for the teaching of foreign languages. No country in the world can live in isolation. Every country has to maintain contact with the outside world. For this, knowledge of foreign languages is necessary. But every national of a country does not come in contact with outsiders. Only a few come in touch with foreigners, and they should learn foreign languages. Knowledge of foreign languages is also necessary for those who want to keep themselves abreast of world thought. Those who want to travel abroad or carry on trade with other countries must have some knowledge of foreign languages. Such people are, however, a fraction of the population of a country and have to attain only that much proficiency which is absolutely necessary.

Every country, however, must have men who can translate in their own language the best of the books in foreign languages and make them available to their countrymen. For this it is necessary for people to learn foreign languages and visit foreign countries. The necessary facilities must be provided for them. We must not at the same time forget that 99 out of every 100 people have to stay in their own country and do not need the knowledge of foreign languages. Thus universities, while providing facilities for teaching foreign languages to one out of every 100 students, must not neglect the education of the remaining 99.

(From the original in Hindustani)



# HARIJAN

December 22

1946

## VILLAGE INDUSTRIES AND THE STATE

[Almost all the Congress Governments have been paying their attention to the subject of village industries, some of the provinces having a special minister for the purpose. The Bombay Government has appointed a committee under the chairmanship of Shri Manu Subedar "to consider and report on the measures necessary for the promotion of rural handicrafts and industries, including different forms of State aid, and also to consider what restrictions, if any, should be placed on the movement of raw materials for industries in rural areas from the point of view of utilizing local resources for local consumption, processing or manufacture." In the following article I have discussed a few aspects of the subject. It is not meant to be exhaustive, but just introduces a number of points which I feel have been rather overlooked.]

In the first place, I would wish to urge that it will not be sufficient, in view of the enormous changes that have taken place in our modern life and of the progress of applied science, to consider only the dead and dying industries of the village. It is necessary also to enquire into the modern life of our people, to take note of the new articles or of old articles in new forms, which they have begun to consume and to consider how many of these or suitable substitutes thereof are capable of being produced in village areas. Some of these would be for local consumption, but others might well be produced for towns also.

Self-sufficiency of the village in respect of essential requirements is a good goal so far as it goes. But it should not exhaust the scope of village industries. If villages are not to be allowed to be emptied of their talented and plucky men and if it is agreed that it is not very desirable to allow towns and cities to expand without limit regarding their population and area, the villages and *kasbas* near about villages should be encouraged to become centres of suitable small-scale industries for supplying some of the necessities of the cities. The guiding principle in this respect should be that wherever the basic material of a finished article is essentially a village produce, the villagers should be encouraged to turn it themselves into a finished product and send it to the town in a finished form.

Thus, for instance, biscuits of various kinds, bread-loaf, preserves, pickles, ready-made *masalas*, *papads*, sweets, tooth-powders, canned fruits, starch, leather articles, herbs, drugs and a host of other things made out of village materials or waste, have now become articles of daily use for both the towns-people and the villagers. Some of them are needed also for large scale industries. The raw material for these is produced in villages or gathered

from adjoining forests, and yet they have to be imported from cities even by the villages producing them. If the State provided facilities for the starting of such industries in the villages and village-towns, they will become thriving places and young men will not be tempted to overcrowd the cities to find remunerative employment.

To achieve this the guidance and assistance by the State should in my opinion take the following forms:

(a) It should be clearly realized that a large-scale industry cannot but ultimately kill a small-scale industry of the same type. It is not merely a question of "Power" *versus* human or animal energy. Even if you provide "Power"—energy to every village, the village-industry will not thrive if there is no limit set upon the size to which a factory might be allowed to expand. Therefore, one of the essential things to be settled is to set down the limit to which a factory, which is capable of being started in village areas, should be allowed to expand in the province. If industrialization of the village is the aim, it goes without saying that you picture hundreds of work-shops scattered all over the province. Necessarily, therefore, its productive capacity must be limited to moderate quantities and, if necessary, the movement of the finished product must also be confined to limited areas in normal times. Of course, each industry would have to be considered by itself, and it may not be possible to lay down any general rule.

(b) Subject to correction, I feel that it is not merely the use of mechanical power, which comes in the way of village or manual industries. The village artisan has always been handicapped for want of capital on easy terms. Take, for instance, the tanning industry. The smallest village tanner, in order to have work throughout the year, must have a sufficient stock of hides, lime, *harda*, bark, colours, some chemicals and various other things purchased at the right season and preserved in well built godowns. If he has to tan leather which will fetch him the full price, he must have a full sized pucca soak-pit to spread his hides in, without folds, instead of an earthen tub, often smaller than a bath tub, which is all that he can at present afford to have. Even for these small requirements, the village tanner is dependent either upon a village money-lender charging a high rate of interest, or a middleman who advances him the necessary materials as and when required but purchases the finished product at his own price. Though nominally an independent artisan, in effect his earnings are less than that of a labourer doing similar work in a capitalist's factory. To call him an independent artisan is a misnomer. Actually he is a sweated labourer engaged on piece-work.

The large-scale industrialist, on the other hand, is not only able to produce goods more rapidly and in larger quantities, but by reason of advances made available to him on easy terms, has an advantage over the villager in every detail of the industry, including sales, though the amount of capital needed by him,



hide for hide, may be greater than that by the villager, and a considerable part of it may have to be spent in purchasing foreign machinery and materials.

If the above description is correct then, if village industries are to be encouraged, the provision of capital on easy terms must be regarded a primary condition for the fulfilment of the aim. By easy terms, I mean, on rates of interest actually less than those on which large-scale industrialists are able to get it. Personally, I am opposed to the institution of interest altogether. But I shall not labour that point here. But I strongly feel that the present practice, which enables large industrialists to get cheaper money than the small one cannot but ultimately kill the small industry. Even co-operative societies, I believe, do not get capital on as easy terms as the capitalist companies. Morally, a man who labours with his own hands ought to be given more credit than one who only drives labourers to work under a shed.

Not being the master of his own industry, the village artisan does not feel much interested in improving the quality of his work, or in learning new and improved methods of work, inspite of the efforts of *gram-sevaks*.

(c) After making the artisan feel assured that, provided he is honest and diligent, he will not have to vegetate for want of funds to start and carry on his business, the next item of assistance needed is instruction in improved methods of manufacture. Village industry ought not to mean crudely manufactured articles. There is no reason why villagers or patrons of village industries should be asked to be satisfied with indifferently or badly made things. There was once a time when village-made things used to be actually superior in make to the same things turned out from factories. "Cheap and nasty" was the attribute of factory-made and not hand-made or village-made articles. It is no longer so. On the contrary, the village article has deteriorated into "costly and crude". Clean, sorted and properly classified raw materials, tools kept in order, scientific method of handling them, precision in size, quality and calculations, proper testing of the turned-out work at every important stage, and a degree of elegance and beauty are some of the essentials, which have been till now largely neglected in our industrial activities. Even the so-called experts often betray not only a lack of knowledge about these matters, but even the sense for them. This is a matter, which requires considerable amount of supervision by instructors and inspectors knowing their job and capable of giving demonstrations to the village artisans. The State should help the industries by organizing this kind of work. The duty of inspectors should not be merely to pass or reject articles submitted for inspection but to give all possible guidance to the under-instructed worker to manufacture better things.

I wonder if we have an adequate number of people fit for this kind of work; a large staff of this kind of officers will have to be created. No

"planning" or "budgeting" may be expected to succeed without such knowing organizers.

(d) Then, village industries must be protected (i) against the inroads of synthetic substitutes (like artificial cloth) which are trying to displace manufactures made from original materials and (ii) against the tendency of capitalist concerns to deprive the villagers and actual workers of the use of their produce in order to obtain better prices abroad either of the natural produce itself or of artificial products made from it. Thus, often, not an ounce of milk finds its way into the stomach of the calf, or the children of the owner of the cow or the buffalo, or the servants of a dairy, but is either sent away to the town for being sold at a higher price, or turned into preserved milk, *pedas*, powder, and even manufactured into various luxury products meant for any use except food. This view of industrialization is harmful, but even industrial concerns organized for philanthropic and charitable objectes are not free from it. Private ownership is only a secondary attribute of capitalism. The eye to make a concern as *profitable* as possible is the chief aim, and it is this, which deprives the masses of even bare necessities.

How this can be done is a pertinent question:

(i) To a certain extent the question leads us into the sphere of the very structure of the Indian Swaraj Government. Decentralization of industry will have to go hand in hand with decentralization of the Government of the country. In a way there is decentralization of Government even today. But it is decentralization of administrative work i.e. carrying out orders and policies dictated from a powerful centre. There is no power of initiation in the village or other suitable but small units, and if villages are to thrive, this must be brought about.

(ii) The masses must feel as realistically as they feel the help of the rain and the sun, that they can themselves plan their life, and there is a Government to help them with capital and transport and other facilities and who are better equipped with instructors of technical knowledge than they themselves are, and that this assistance will be available to them almost as of right and assuredly without favouritism or demand for *bakshis*. Incorruptible, fully trained, courteous and confidence-inspiring public servants are the *sine qua non* of the economic regeneration of the people. Every effort should be made to raise the character of public servants and they should be transformed into real servants of the people out of their present mentality of having the *amaldars* over them. While on the one hand their services must not be at the mercy of local or provincial party-groups, on the other hand they must also be made responsible to the local administration instead of being its dictators.

(iii) This itself is impossible without simultaneous rise in the moral character of the people generally and of the politicians in particular. The evil of power-politics in the interest of groups and



cliques is a great demoralizer of public life, and not much good will ensue as long as it continues.

(iv) Owing to the absence of the above conditions, the co-operative movement, which has done so much good in the Western countries has not been so successful in ours. Even village or decentralized Swaraj will not be a substitute for co-operative societies, which must become the principal pivot of industrial efforts in the village.

(v) Much has to be done in the direction of improvement of village machinery and tools. Two opposite movements have been going on simultaneously in this direction. One lays emphasis on making machines and tools as simple as possible, even in the direction of discarding the simple tools used from immemorial times. This is good in so far as it points to the fact that want of tools and implements need not make people feel helpless in producing their essential necessities and a start can be made in village industries without awaiting the arrival of readymade implements. The will is more needed than the tools.

The other movement lays emphasis upon increasing the productive capacity of the worker by placing at his disposal better implements and tools, even if they are to a certain extent more complicated and depend upon tool-manufacturing factories for their supply and repairs.

I think both the movements have a place, but in the long run the second is more important and permanent. Our wants have increased not only in the number of different articles consumed, but also in the quantity of each article consumed. And so quantitative increase in production cannot be ignored. Whether and how far this must necessarily lead to the use of power-driven machinery is a thing which cannot be foretold now. If our ambition is not to capture foreign markets — often done even by keeping one's own countrymen unprovided — but to make the country self-sufficient and to liquidate unemployment in the first instance, power-driven machinery may well have to be tabooed in the manufacture of a good many articles. The use of power-energy must come after human energy, if in spite of full employment, it is found insufficient to cope with the demand. And so, inventive ingenuity must, at any rate for the present, be largely concentrated on increasing the productive capacity of the machine driven by human or animal power only. But within this limit, there is no harm in perfecting it as fully as possible.

Particularly, improvements in machinery, which, even if they do not help a strong man, place a weak man on a par with the strong one, should be most welcome. For instance, it is possible that a strong man may be able to spin as much yarn as he needs on the *takli*, and almost in the same time, as a weak man would do on a *dhanush takli* or the *charkha*. If, therefore, self-sufficiency is the only aim, a strong man would not care to go in for the other implement. But it would make the weak man desiring to be self-sufficient quite helpless. While with the *dhanush takli* or the *charkha*, he would be able to

meet his own demand. This is but a simple example. But if we consider production of wealth for the nation, and the employment of the weak and the old people, inventive genius would find a large field opened before it. Every encouragement should be given to persons making such improvements in tools as places the weak-bodied, the under-nourished or the cripple as much as possible by aid of mechanical means on a par with the able-bodied adult.

Important as it is, I refrain from referring to the Wardha Scheme of Education. It is sufficient to say that I regard its diligent and intelligent application to be important not only for the economic regeneration of the country, but also for the whole education of man.

I also omit to dwell at length on the necessity of unifying or, at least, coordinating the activities of the various departments of Government, and simplifying the administrative machinery.

Both the points, I take, have been adequately stressed already by others.

Vapi, 29-11-'46

K. G. MASHRUWALA

## Notes

### Personal

None of us four, who have been asked by Gandhiji to look to the editing of the *Harijan* weeklies while he and his companions are engaged in restoring friendship between the Hindus and Muslims of East Bengal, feels at ease in writing for the English edition. Though I happen to be a more frequent contributor to the English columns than either Shri Vinoba, Kaka Kalelkar or Narhari Parikh, my command over English is even poorer than theirs. My vocabulary is too small for a modern writer, and I am never sure about the correctness of my grammar and idioms. But for the helping-hand of Gandhiji himself or Shri Mahadev Desai, or Rajkumari Amrit Kaur or Pyarelalji, I could have rarely found place in the *Harijan*, which has always set a standard in good English. I have no such helpers here, and I am afraid that amongst us four, I may have to do a greater part of the job. There is, therefore, every likelihood of the standard of English deteriorating. I request the reader to overlook whatever linguistic defects he might notice in the English edition. He will remember that English is not our mother-tongue. I would also advise editors of provincial editions of the *Harijan* to prefer the Hindustani edition (*Harijansevak*) to the English to translate from for their weeklies.

Vapi, 9-12-'46

### India Vindicated

India has reason to rejoice and feel justly proud over the signal successes scored by Shrimati Vijaya Lakshmi Pandit and her able colleagues at the Assembly of the United Nations Organization against South Africa. Her task was by no means easy. She had to win her case against the veteran Premier of South Africa Field-Marshal Smuts — one of the ablest and most reputed statesmen of the day, who put up tough fight at every stage. He had the backing of the British Government itself



and of other major partners of the British Commonwealth. Shrimati Pandit's spirited but dignified advocacy of a just cause won universal applause and helped India to gain the sympathy of many member countries. It was significant that while China, Russia, France and most Asiatic countries supported India at various votings, U. S., Great Britain, Canada, Netherlands, Belgium etc., were found ranged against her.

The veteran General Smuts encountered an equally spirited opposition from the Indian Delegation on the South-west Africa annexation issue. And here too, the South African Premier was deservedly defeated.

It is remarkable that almost from early commencement of India's struggle in South Africa, a major part of our success has been due to the part played by Indian women. The names of the late Kasturba Gandhi and Shrimati Sarojini Devi will always be cherished with reverence and pride. And now again it was a daughter of India—perhaps the only lady delegate in the UNO—who dominated the scene. She has indeed raised India's prestige in the eyes of the world.

The 31 Nations who supported India also deserve our warmest thanks. By championing the cause of fundamental human rights and relationship they have enhanced the prestige of the UNO and inspired hope among the oppressed nations.

Vapi, 12-12-'46

### Destruction of Monkeys

A correspondent has sent a newspaper cutting which runs as follows:

"There was some prejudice in the beginning against the killing of monkeys, but now the Government of Orissa find that the scheme for the removal of the monkey pest has achieved a very great success," says a Press Note.

"Monkeys have probably been the greatest menace to agriculture in Orissa," the Note continues. "The Government offered under the scheme a reward of Rs. 3 per monkey killed.

"The Government now consider that the time has come to take steps and concentrate on the killing of male monkeys with a view to reducing the monkey population of the province. The Government, therefore, have decided to award in future Rs. 4 per male monkey killed, including very young ones, and Rs. 2 per female monkey."

The correspondent feels shocked and requests Gandhiji that he should, as a humanitarian, take up this question in the *Harijan* and use his influence with the Congress Governments to immediately put an end to this campaign against the "poor voiceless life in the form of the monkeys in Orissa."

With all my love and compassion for the dumb creation and my personal inability to take even insect life, I hold that it is not possible to ask the Orissa Government to refrain from their project. There appears no practical way of effectively protecting agriculture without killing the animals that are a menace to it. Monkeys are not the only offenders. Rats, rabbits, deer, and wild boar belong to the same

class, and man is obliged to take organized measures to destroy each one of them. Man has to choose between living the same kind of natural life as other animals and destroying rival animals so that he may live according to his ideas of "civilized life".

Vapi, 9-12-'46

### Labels of Caste and Religion

A correspondent writes to the following effect:

"People insist upon regarding me a *Saraswat Brahman* and a Shaivite Hindu. Whenever I have an occasion to appear before an officer or be described in public documents, I am asked to state my caste and religion. Now, I have not the least desire to be regarded a *Brahman*, far less a *Saraswat Brahman*, and though I am a believer in God and from my childhood used to call upon Him by such names as *Shiva*, *Shankara*, *Mahadeva* etc., I do not regard myself a Shaivite or even a Hindu, but consider myself to be just a believer unattached to any religious sect. What shall I do to remove and disown the labels put upon me by the society?"

So far as public officers and documents are concerned, it is open to the correspondent to describe his caste as nil, and his religion as, say, a theist. Perhaps it is possible for government to dispense with the rules requiring persons to state their caste and religion in public documents and before officers.

But this will not be the end of the matter. The mere declaration by a person that he has renounced his caste or creed or both, unaccompanied with any practical act, will not make the society in which he moves to disregard them. Has he formed any family and social relations with a considerable number of people outside his caste and religion? If all his relations are practically confined to his reputed caste and sect, let alone the general public, the members of his own family will not be able to forget that he still belongs to a particular caste and sect—though in an unorthodox manner—and notwithstanding his protests to the contrary. But his good intention will bear fruit in time, if it develops into appropriate conduct.

It should also be remembered that the recording of a person's caste, creed etc., need not have become an important item in public offices and documents but for the fact that the various communities are governed by their own laws of inheritance, succession, marriage, divorce etc., and persons can plead even special customs, which courts are bound to recognize. Consequently, even if a person is himself unwilling to be labelled with any particular caste or creed, his relatives and the society round about him are interested in having these details on record. Reformer legislators should consider whether a law could be enacted, which would enable a person to renounce his privilege to be governed by a personal law in these matters and place himself and his relatives under the operation of non-communal laws like the Indian Succession Act etc.

Vapi, 5-12-'46

K. G. M



## HINDUSTANI AND THE GOVERNMENT

The Hindustani-policy of the government needs re-orientation; what is going on today is half-hearted and marked by lack of vigour. This is perhaps the legacy of disturbed years that have completely disorganized the work. Now that the popular government is once more in the saddle, there is an opportunity of re-shaping the entire policy. The cause of Hindustani being just, our own government need only imagination and vision without adopting the British methods of forcing a foreign tongue on an unwilling people. With this in view, the Gujarat Hindustani Prachar Samiti recently made certain recommendations to the government in the form of a resolution. The following is a summary of them :

Happily, the Government of Bombay had made at least this much abundantly clear in 1939 that, Hindustani, as a language, is distinct both from Hindi and Urdu and that, it being written in the *Devanagari* or the *Urdu* script, arrangements should be made to teach both the scripts in schools. Considering this principle to be a correct one the Samiti makes the following recommendation to the Government :

1. The teaching of Hindustani should now be extended

- (a) up to the Matriculation standard at the secondary stage,
- (b) at all the years of the *lokashala*, and
- (c) in training colleges meant for primary and secondary teachers.

2. The present policy of giving the student option of learning either of the two scripts, and exempting Hindi and Urdu schools from the obligation of teaching Hindustani, takes the very bottom out of the original idea and runs counter to the spirit in which the basic principle was accepted in 1939.

That there is in this policy a veiled recognition of the existing hair-splitting and disrupting controversies in this field is quite obvious. The view that a government cannot run in advance of public opinion is also understandable. The Samiti cannot therefore recommend compulsory learning of Hindustani (with both the scripts) in schools. Still, the moral obligation underlying the 1939 pronouncements cannot be evaded lightly, and the government policy must needs undergo a radical transformation.

3. Learning the Hindi or the Urdu style must not be permitted to become an excuse for seeking exemption from learning Hindustani. The option may not be in choosing the script as at present, but between learning Hindustani, the national language of the people, with both the scripts and not learning it at all. This rule must equally embrace the Hindi and the Urdu schools.

4. Adoption of this policy necessarily means that the Hindustani teacher must be capable of giving lessons in both scripts. The Samiti is happy that this is what the government desires.

5. It is, however, not enough that a teacher knowing Hindi or Urdu up to a certain standard may learn the other script and impart a requisite number of lessons in it. Exclusive recognition should be given to teachers trained on lines devised by the Hindustani Prachar Sabha, the interim arrangement of recognizing examinations only in Hindi or Urdu not being necessary with the implementing by the Government of a principle already accepted by them.

6. Such arrangements for the teaching of the national language (with the option regarding the script) as exist today in our schools, are on a compulsory basis; a change over to the optional system may therefore appear to be threatening what little that is being done today. But a firm and unequivocal declaration of policy by the popular government accompanied by its adoption in practice would be a powerful factor in creating public opinion in this regard.

The Samiti recommends the following measures :

(a) Government servants should be encouraged to learn both the scripts and those passing Hindustani examinations given credit. Departmental regulations may require them to acquire certain minimum qualification in Hindustani.

(b) 'Optional Hindustani' (with both scripts) may be introduced at the Matriculation, the Vernacular Final etc., and those offering this subject given preference in service.

(c) Institutions creating public opinion for the spread of Hindustani should be encouraged and assisted, and given exclusive recognition.

(7) The teaching of English which, it is now recognized by the progressive opinion in the country, starts too early at present, may be a great hindrance to the adoption of this policy. But since the national language must have a place next only to the mother tongue, in a programme of educational reconstruction, English must be unseated from the position it has usurped and assigned its proper place.

The Samiti realizes that this is a revolutionary step; hence the urgency.

(Abridged from the original in Gujarati)

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# HARIJAN

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TWO ANNAS

## WORKING COMMITTEE'S STATEMENT

The Working Committee have given careful consideration to the statement issued by the British Government on December 6, 1946, as well as other statements made recently on their behalf in Parliament. These statements, though made by way of interpretation and elucidation, are clearly additions to and variations of the British Cabinet Mission's statement of May 16, 1946, on which the whole scheme of the Constituent Assembly was based.

The statement of May 16, 1946, laid down in paragraph 15 as basic principles of the Constitution that "there should be a Union of India embracing both British India and the States," that "all subjects other than Union subjects and all residuary powers should vest in the Provinces" and that "Provinces should be free to form Groups." The Provinces were thus intended to be autonomous, subject to the Union controlling certain specified subjects. Paragraph 19 laid down, *inter alia*, the procedure for Sections to meet, for decisions to be taken as to whether groups should be formed or not, and for any Province to elect to come out of the Group in which it might have been placed.

In their resolution of May 24, 1946, the Working Committee pointed out what appeared to be a divergence between the basic principles and the procedure suggested, in that a measure of compulsion was introduced which infringed the basic principles of Provincial Autonomy. The Cabinet Mission, thereupon, issued a statement on May 25, 1946, in which it was stated that "the interpretation put by the Congress Resolution on Paragraph 15 of the statement, to the effect that the Provinces can in the first instance make the choice whether or not to belong to the Section in which they are placed does not accord with the Delegation's intentions. The reasons for Grouping of the Provinces are well-known and this is an essential feature of the scheme and can only be modified by agreement between the two parties."

The point at issue was not merely one of procedure, but the fundamental principle of Provincial Autonomy and whether or not a Province or part should be coerced against its will.

The Congress made it clear later that their objection was not to Provinces entering sections but to compulsory Grouping and the possibility of a dominating Province framing a constitution for

another Province entirely against the wishes of the latter. This might result in the framing of Rules, and the regulation of Franchise, Electorates, Constituencies for elections and the Composition of the Legislature which might seriously prejudice or even nullify the provision for a Province subsequently to opt out of a Group. It was pointed out that this could never be the intention of the Cabinet Mission as it would be repugnant to the basic principles and policy of the scheme they had propounded. The Congress approach to the problem of Constitution making has all along been that coercion should not be exercised against any Province or part of the country and that the Constitution of Free India should be drawn up by the cooperation and goodwill of all Parties and Provinces concerned.

In a letter dated 15 June, 1946 from Lord Wavell to Maulana Azad, the President of the Congress, it was stated that "the Delegation and I are aware of your objections to the principle of Grouping. I would, however, point out that the statement of May 16 does not make Grouping compulsory. It leaves the decision to the elected representatives of the Provinces concerned, sitting together in Sections. The only provision which is made is that the representatives of certain Provinces should meet in Sections so that they can decide whether or not they wish to form Groups."

Thus the principle which was emphasized again was that Grouping was not compulsory and in regard to Sections a certain procedure was indicated. This procedure was not clear and could be interpreted in more than one way and in any event a point of procedure could not over-ride a basic principle. We pointed out that the right interpretation should be one which did no violence to that principle. Further, in order to smooth the way to the co-operation of all concerned in the working of the proposed scheme, we not only made it clear that we were prepared to go into the Sections, but we also suggested that if our interpretation was not accepted, we would be agreeable to a reference on this point to the Federal Court.

It is well-known that the proposal in regard to grouping affected injuriously two provinces especially, namely, Assam and the North-West Frontier Province, as well as the Sikhs in the Punjab. Their representatives expressed their strong disapproval of this proposal. In a letter to the Secretary of State dated 25th May, 1946, Master Tara Singh gave expression to the anxiety and apprehensions



of the Sikhs and asked for clarification in regard to certain matters. The Secretary of State sent an answer to this letter on June 1, 1946, in the course of which he said: "I have considered carefully the detailed points you raise at the end of your letter. I fear the Mission cannot issue any additions to, or interpretation of, the statement."

In spite of this explicit statement, the British Government have on December 6, issued a statement which is both an addition to, and an interpretation of, the statement of May 16, 1946. They have done so after more than six and a half months, during which period many developments have taken place as a consequence of the original statement. Throughout this period the position of the Congress was made repeatedly clear to the British Government or their representatives, and it was with full knowledge of this position that the British Government took subsequent steps in furtherance of the Cabinet Mission's proposals. That position was in conformity with the basic principles laid down in the statement of May 16, 1946, which statement the Congress had accepted in its entirety. Further the Congress had expressed its willingness to refer, if necessity arose, the point of interpretation to the Federal Court, whose decision should be accepted by the parties concerned.

In the course of his letter dated June 28, 1946, addressed to Mr. Jinnah, the Viceroy stated that the "Congress had accepted the statement of 16th May." In the course of a broadcast on August 24, 1946, the Viceroy, in appealing to the Muslim League to co-operate, pointed out that the Congress are ready to agree that any dispute of interpretation may be referred to the Federal Court.

The Muslim League reversed its former decision and rejected the British Cabinet Mission's scheme by formal resolution and even decided to resort to direct action. Their spokesmen have since repeatedly challenged the very basis of that scheme, that is, the Constitution of a Union of India and have reverted to their demand for a partition of India. Even after the British Government's statement of December 6, 1946, the leaders of the Muslim League have reiterated this demand for partition and the establishment of two separate Independent Governments in India.

When the invitation of the British Government was received by the Congress at the end of November last to send its representatives to London, the Congress position was clearly indicated again. It was on an assurance of the Prime Minister of Great Britain that a representative of the Congress proceeded to London.

In spite of this assurance and of previous assurances to the effect that no additions to, or interpretations of, the statement of May 16, 1946, were going to be made, the British Government have now issued a statement which clearly, in several respects, goes beyond the original statement, on the basis of which progress has been made till now.

The Working Committee deeply regret that the British Government should have acted in a manner which has not been in keeping with their own assurances, and which has created suspicion in the minds of large numbers of the people in India. For some time past the attitude of the British Government and their representatives in India has been such as to add to the difficulties and complexities of the situation in the country. Their present intervention long after the members of the Constituent Assembly had been elected has created a new situation which is full of peril for the future. Because of this, the Working Committee have given anxious and prolonged thought to it.

The Congress seeks to frame, through the Constituent Assembly, a Constitution of a Free and Independent India with the willing co-operation of all elements of the Indian people. The Working Committee regret that the Muslim League members of the Constituent Assembly have refrained from attending its opening session. The Committee, however, appreciate and express their gratification at the presence in the Constituent Assembly of representatives of all other interests and sections of the people of India and note with pleasure the spirit of co-operation in a common task and a high endeavour which has been in evidence during the sessions of the Assembly. The Committee will continue their efforts to make the Constituent Assembly fully representative of all the people of India and trust that members of the Muslim League will give their co-operation in this great task. In order to achieve this, the Committee have advised Congress representatives in the Assembly to postpone consideration of important issues to a subsequent meeting.

In their statement of December 6, 1946, the British Government in giving their interpretation of a doubtful point of procedure have referred to it as a "fundamental point" and suggested that the Constituent Assembly may refer it to the Federal Court at a very early date. Subsequent statements made on behalf of the British Government have made it clear that they are not prepared to accept the decision of this Court should it go against their own interpretation. On behalf of the Muslim League also it has been stated that they will not be bound by the decision of the Federal Court, and a demand for partition of India, which is a negation of the Cabinet Mission's scheme, continues to be put forward. While the Congress has always been willing to agree to a reference to the Federal Court, any reference now, when none of the other parties are prepared to join in it or to accept it, and one of them does not even accept the basis of the scheme, becomes totally uncalled for and unbecoming, and unsuited to the dignity of either the Congress or the Federal Court. By their repeated statements, British statesmen have ruled this out.

The Working Committee are still of opinion that the interpretation put by the British Government



in regard to the method of voting in the Sections is not in conformity with Provincial Autonomy, which is one of the fundamental basis of the scheme proposed in the Statement of May 16. The Committee are anxious to avoid anything that may come in the way of the successful working of the Constituent Assembly and are prepared to do everything in their power to seek and obtain the largest measure of co-operation, provided that no fundamental principle is violated. In view of the importance and urgency of the issues facing the country and the far-reaching consequences which must follow any decisions, the Working Committee are convening an emergency meeting of the A.I.C.C. in Delhi early in January to consider the latest developments and to give such directions as it may deem fit.

### ON TRACTORS AND CHEMICAL FERTILIZERS

[The following taken from Janab Jabir A. Ali's article in the *Rural India* of November, 1946 will be read with interest. V. G. D.]

Past practice of agriculture in India has given us the use of the wooden plough and cattle manure. . . Centuries have proved the effectiveness and soundness of these. Now comes the scientist and manufacturer and these dazzle us with the prospects opened to us by the iron mouldboard plough and chemical fertilizers, and later comes the omnipotent tractor. . .

The iron mouldboard plough turns over the soil, and the soil from a depth of 7 or 8 inches is brought to the surface. The humus-filled top-soil is diluted with soil more or less devoid of humus, and thus rendered less fertile. This loss is attempted to be made good by addition of artificial fertilizers, but the humus lost can be put back into the soil only by the application of organic matter like composts. As cattle manure is now scarcer than before, the soil deteriorates and eventually becomes useless for profitable cultivation. This is what has happened in America on a large scale. The tractor which ploughs to a depth of 12 and 14 inches intensifies and expedites agriculture. Cattle having disappeared from farms, the supply of farmyard manure is falling short, and cannot be replaced by any substitute at all.

. . . In India the tractor and the chemical fertilizer are fast coming into fashion and are looked upon as signs of enlightenment and of up-to-date agriculture. This is dangerous. The quick work of the tractor and the immediate results of the use of fertilizers are so alluring that one is not inclined to probe deeper and to make sure that this is not just an illusion.

Whether we use a tractor or not, one thing is certain: to keep up the fertility of the soil, the use on a general and large scale of organic manures is the *sine qua non* of agriculture. . . . Composting has come to stay, but it is neither sufficiently understood, nor has it been adopted on a sufficiently large scale. The best help the National Government can give to our farmers is through propaganda and supply of compost. We have immense quantities of vegetation, animal waste, oil cakes, woods of all

kinds at present going to waste and sometimes becoming a nuisance. All this valuable material must be composted and well distributed. We have the sewage and nightsoil of towns, which municipalities must utilize. Then again in and around large towns we have milch cattle in large numbers whose dung and litter should be turned into compost. We shall thus not only grow more food but also grow more nutritious food.

What then of our huge Nitrogen fertilizer plants? Chemicals will always be used on a small scale and have their use, but I for one have no doubt that in the long run, if used continuously and in large measure, they are bound to have a deleterious effect on the soil and will do a lot of harm. They adversely affect the growth of useful bacteria and fungi in the soil. Shall we say they are good in emergencies but not as daily food for plants? Let me quote from Sir Albert Howard:

"The toll of disease is extraordinary and a matter of the utmost anxiety to the farmer. The public is not sufficiently aware of this unsatisfactory state of affairs. If these are the results of agricultural science, they are not encouraging and they are certainly not impressive. They are undoubtedly a phenomenon of the last forty or fifty years and appear alongside of the modern use of artificial manures.

"Artificial manures were born out of the abuse of Liebig's discoveries of the chemical properties of the soil and out of the imperative demands made on the farmer by the invention of machinery."

Experience all over the world and especially in America has shown clearly that the free use of artificial manures combined with deep ploughing has completely destroyed the fertility of millions of acres of good soil. In every case the basic cause has been the absence of humus. In our country we are on the threshold of advance along western lines. Let us hope we shall not fall into the same pits as modern farmers in the West have done. We have not even the excuse of certain countries that we have not sufficient organic matter available. All the organic matter we need is there, but it awaits proper handling and distribution. We must look to Government to create an efficient organization and composting arrangement, as well as retain for us in India all the oil-cake, bone, blood etc., which are now being exported.

### PLEASE NOTE

Though we have repeatedly drawn the attention of the subscribers to not sending their subscriptions by cheques, it seems it suits some of them better. We, therefore, have to draw their attention to two things: one, to avoid sending cheques as far as possible and two, if they prefer sending cheques to remit an additional amount of annas eight to cover the discount charged by banks which varies with different banks. When this additional expense is not remitted the subscription amount becomes a fraction which is not amenable to adjustments in calculations of the subscription amount.

MANAGER



# HARIJAN

December 29

1946

## WHAT WILL SOUTH AFRICA DO?

(By M. K. Gandhi)

The deputation headed by Shrimati Vijayalakshmi Pandit and sent to the U. N. O. Conference by the Interim Government has undoubtedly done very effective work with marked ability and success. That is clear from the following cablegram sent by Shrimati Vijayalakshmi Pandit from New York :

"Today with your blessings justice of South African Indian cause was vindicated. Committee voting twentyfour to nineteen in our favour. Went to General Smuts after meeting and shook hands. He expressed appreciation at manner in which I had conducted case."

It remains now to be seen how the Parliament of the Union of South Africa and its European public respond. Field Marshal Smuts was able to hurl at the Indian deputation the taunt that India treated her so-called "Untouchables", legally described as the "Scheduled Classes", much worse than the Union treated her Asiatics or for that matter the Africans. There would be much to be said for the Field Marshal's taunt if it was true. It is true of South Africa that her treatment of Asiatics has legally deteriorated from time to time, so much so that it has now become well-nigh unbearable. Almost every promise made by the Union Government to the Government of India has now been broken. In India, on the other hand, there never has been any law carrying the bar sinister against the Scheduled Classes. It can be proved up to the hilt that the law has always sought to protect the Scheduled Classes. There is no legal bar, so far as I am aware, against any of the Scheduled Classes being regarded as equal in status to the tallest Indian. What is however true to the shame of orthodox Hinduism and the *Sanatani* Hindus is that religious custom has denied to these Untouchables the rights which the law has allowed, and it is unfortunately also true that sometimes custom overrides the law. But public opinion is progressively rising against this barbarous custom and it is merely a question of time when the custom will be swept out of existence. Let us, therefore, hope that instead of taking doubtful advantage of the things in India which no one defends and against which public opinion is progressively rising, the Europeans of the Union of South Africa will recognize that if the U. N. O. Conference is any index of world opinion, it is decidedly against the European prejudice which has hardened into law.

Shrirampur, 12-12-'46

## REDISCOVERING FAITH

I take it that the readers of the *Harijan* follow through the daily press the movements and activities of Gandhiji in East Bengal. I consider his mission as one for rediscovering for the nation their lost faith.

Clinging fast to observances — good, bad or indifferent, but all termed religious — there is plenty of in all societies. The loss of bangles, vermilion mark, tuft of hair or beard causes, indeed, inconsolable dejection. And yet live faith has disappeared from the people. For, what is the worth of a faith, if it does not generate strength in the person affirming it, to stand for it alone; to live for it and, if need be, to lay down his life for it? Faith inherently implies the birth of a new sense of self-esteem and an unconquerable will to resist with one's very life any force which haughtily and unjustly seeks to crush it. There is no faith, worth the name, which does not create such strength in its followers, and when it loses that capacity, it degenerates into a mere bundle of beliefs, observances and customs to be adhered to while life is easy and there are no adverse conditions to face. Those customs and observances by themselves might not be worth anything, and, but for mental inertia, some of them might have been even voluntarily discarded long ago, as indeed, several modern men and women have discarded the bangles, the vermilion mark, the sectarian marks on the forehead, the tuft of hair or the beard. It was some strong faith, which created some of these customs and observances and made them the external badges of a purposeful life. But, if a people have lost that fundamental substance within, the mere retention or restoration of external symbols will not rekindle the spiritual fire, which ultimately every faith is.

It is the rediscovery of this lost faith, which is the main problem of all down-trodden peoples in general, and of our women in particular. Arson, loot, abduction, rape, forcible conversions etc. are not altogether new events in the history of the world. Time and again these things have happened in India also. The atrocities committed by the military and the police in the Punjab during the week of the Jallianwala Massacre were except for abductions and conversions, similar to, if not worse than, those in East Bengal. The victims there were not the mild Bengali Hindus, but martial Punjabis — Hindus, Muslims and Sikhs. During the repressions of 1942-44 women suffered similar indignities not at [Chimur alone—which on account of Shri Bhansali's memorable fast got publicity—but in many more places. On every occasion we find that, speaking broadly, men lacked not so much the physical as the moral courage to protect their women, and the women too lacked that strength of faith—that self-respect born of a purpose in life—which generates a will to resist even in the physically weak. If adequate physical strength and means were not available to their men, it cannot be expected that women could have protected themselves by a show of physical strength. And if men



too lacked the moral courage to stand by their women and the weak and protect them as best as possible until every one of the guardians died, but instead, ran away for the sake of their own lives, it is clear that God alone could help such women. I do not use the words "God alone" euphemistically for "none"; I use it to indicate that inner spirit which produces martyrs and to crush which all tyrants aspire.

Gandhiji's whole life has been devoted to enable India to rediscover this faith. He himself realized, first, the loss of this faith, when at the age of less than 25, he had to endure his first insult by the Political Agent of Rajkot. The insult by itself was relatively a trivial affair and might be explained away as the rudeness of a not well-bred individual officer. Indeed, even the Lion of Bombay, Sir Pherozeshah Mehta, could give him no better counsel than to pocket it and forget it. Gandhiji pocketed it no doubt. He could not have done anything else at the time, and later on learnt to pocket even greater insults than this one. But he could not forget it, and sought for a sure specific against it ever since. This he discovered on a public coach in South Africa under the hard blows of its White conductor. Even as the hammering of a cocoanut with a stone brings out the sweet kernel within, so every blow that fell upon him, as it were, broke the outer shell and revealed to him the fire that lay hidden beneath. He discovered that a man might be beaten to death by another and tortured in a hundred ways, but he could not be made to yield to the latter against his own will. It was the fear of death, torture, loss of property, of social relations and comforts of life etc. which made man give up his independence, principles and sense of self-respect, and if that fear was once cast off, a single individual became as strong as an army. Conversely, without it, even trained soldiers would put up with all sorts of indignities and flee with as much panic as that of the terror-stricken and suspicious people of Bengal and Bihar.

And, when Gandhiji rediscovered this faith, he transmitted it to the men and women of South Africa. With what results, let his opponent, Field-Marshal Smuts, himself say:

"Gandhi . . . showed a new technique—one which he afterwards made world famous in his political campaigns in India . . . For him everything went according to plan. For me—the defender of law and order—there was the usual trying situation, the odium of carrying out a law which had not strong public support, and finally the discomfiture when the law had to be repealed. For him it was a successful coup. Nor was the personal touch wanting, for nothing in Gandhi's procedure is without a peculiar personal touch. In gaol, he had prepared for me a very useful pair of sandals which he presented to me when he was set free! I have worn these sandals for many a summer since then, . . ." (Quoted from Shridharani's *The Mahatma and the World*).

If by 'technique' we simply understand such items as civil disobedience, non-cooperation, non-payment of taxes and the like, we shall commit the mistake of appreciating a book for its jacket, binding and the quality of the paper instead of its matter. These items are only outward symbols, even as the vermilion mark and the bangles are but outward symbols of a woman's *saubhagya* (wifehood). The technique of civil disobedience by itself could not have given to the women of Bombay the strength to hold to the flag against the horse-hoofs of the mounted police, or those of Borsad to endure ruthless lathi charges and dragging by the hair by policemen. Various similar instances might be cited. It was the rediscovery—may be, only faint and temporary, nevertheless real—by a section of the Indian public of their faith, which gave them the strength to suffer hardships, and to challenge a mighty empire, as it was the lack of it which was responsible for the almost dumb and abject submission to wickedness and indignities on other occasions.

One will hardly find a place in India, in which a handful of Hindus, or a handful of Mussalmans or Christians will not be found living in the midst of a considerable number of men of another community. Must those who are few in numbers in a village or street abandon those places, if they do not wish to abjure their own faith and accept that of the local majority? Also, must one who wants to change his religion should also change his place of abode? And, if this is considered to be the only course, does it also not mean that any one who wants to visit a place inhabited by the people of another community would have to do so only under police or military escort? If the answer is, 'yes, such a position has got to be accepted,' then, a person with a living sense of human dignity and of the importance of mutual trust and amity in life, will simply refuse to accept that position lying down. Even cows and buffaloes, goats and sheep herd together, graze together and live peacefully in a common yard. Pigeons, sparrows and various birds of heterogeneous species fearlessly mix together in the field. Can a man be reconciled to a situation which reduces him to a level lower than that of birds and cattle? There is something fundamentally wrong with that situation, and it has got to be remedied. It must be possible for a single individual to live peacefully, unmolested and without fear or without artificial protection amidst people of different religious persuasions. If he cannot do so, there is something wrong about his faith, and if the other community does not allow him to do so, then too there must be something wrong about his own faith as well as the faith of that other community. In either case, he must rediscover his faith for the sake of both.

This, to my mind, is the nature of Gandhiji's present quest. The down-trodden humanity—and woman is a large part of it—must be redeemed from the feeling that they lived and propagated the race, simply because they were not dead or



that they could live only under the protection of an external strength, which might fail. But they must be made to realize that unfailing strength lies within themselves. That realization will generate in their breast the determination to risk their lives at any moment in vindication of it and of everything which they hold, for the time being, sacred, and which they identify with God, their entire being, their self-respect and honour. "A determined man," says Romain Rolland, "who is prepared to risk his life at any moment can lift the world off its hinges."

The chorus of a psalm which I often used to hear during my college days is indelibly impressed upon my memory:

Dare to be a Daniel,  
Dare to stand alone;  
Dare to have a purpose firm,  
Dare to make it known.

Vapi, 16-12-'46

K. G. MASHRUWALA

### FOR PEACE AND HARMONY

Mr. O. W. Francis of Hazaribagh, Bihar, in a letter to Gandhiji appreciating his exhortations to the people to pray and to do so from the heart, as also his efforts in the district of Noakhali "to help bring peace to the hundreds of the down-stricken families whose homes were devastated," and engender by his soothing influence, "a brotherly feeling between the Hindus and the Muslims of Shrirampur, encloses the following lines" written by a man of the Religious Order, just after the great Calcutta Killing":

O God, grant peace and harmony

To our unhappy land, its distraught, sorrow-laden lives.

Pour Thou Thy sovereign balm of healing.

Into the gaping, festering wounds of discord and strife.

How sorely we need the strength that comes of Unity;

Yet how deep-rooted are the hatred and jealousy,

Suspicion and the pride of power,

The bitter feuds that reach hands to each other's throats.

The fury of fanatic, blood-thirsty creeds!

Are we not all Thy children, members of one household?

And art not Thou our goal of this earth's pilgrimage,

Where brother linked to brother, we should bend to  
common tasks,

And struggle against disease and squalor,

Dire misery and abject ignorance?

To Thee the famished raise their pitiful cries;

Thou hearest the groans of millions tortured with  
disease;

The wails of victims marked for the early grave  
escape Thee not.

Alas! our hapless land has become a vast hecatomb;

Its sons and daughters a sacrificial holocaust.

What would change it into a smiling land of joy,

But the earnest striving of all hands,

With all hearts bound in the unity of love?

Why should religion separate us man from man?

It should draw us to Thee, draw us together,

It should teach us to love,

For Thou, O God, art Love.

Vapi, 17-12-'46

K. G. MASHRUWALA

### ALL IS NOT GOLD THAT GLITTERS

At night, from Kisan Ashram we can see the lights of Mussoorie, a long sparkling line of electricity away up in the mountains. Fine houses are there, all lighted up, motor and rickshaw roads with electric standards every few yards, lines of glittering shops filled with all the fashions of East and West, cinemas, dance halls, all brightly lighted and cleanly swept. But those who keep this gay world clean are huddled up in dark, damp rooms, cheek by jowl with public urinals and latrines. No electric light is there, no bathrooms; nothing but squalor and misery.

The rich folks who do no physical or dirty work have baths and basins, taps, towels and soap. But the *bhangis* who clean their commodes and chamber-pots, sweep their drains and carry away their dirt and rubbish, have nothing but the "pail-depot" for bathing, washing and drinking. And the "pail-depot", gentle reader, is the tap and drain where all the foul pots and pails of their scavenging work have to be washed!!

Oh moneyed folks of rich Mussoorie! whose easy lives have produced this need for "sweepers", come with me and visit the quarters allotted to the human beings who keep your beautiful houses sweet and clean.

Come out of the smart bazaar down this steep narrow path—they say it is dangerous at night, there being no light on it. Here is the line of living quarters, (there are some twenty such in Mussoorie). You hold your noses—yes, there are public latrines just along here. But first look into one of these rooms. You can't see properly—of course not, there are no windows. And you hesitate to step inside. But you must come in. Mind! don't tread on the *roti* a wretched woman is trying to cook on a *chulha* just behind the door, and don't fall over the bed which is almost on top of the *chulha*! The wonder is it does not get burnt! Now your eyes are getting more accustomed to the light, look further into the room. More beds—old boxes, baskets, ragged clothes, all crammed up together, and human beings perching and squatting here and there. Let us calculate the size of the room—not more than 10 ft. by 15 ft. And how many people live in it? Fifteen men, women and children. The smoke from the *chulha* is suffocating you—you'd better get out into the fresh air. But where is the fresh air even outside? What is this on the outer side of the wall of the room? A row of public urinals, and next to them the public latrines. Don't be faint-hearted, having got so far you must face it out to the end. Here is the "pail-depot" beyond the latrines, where the muck pails are cleaned. "Would you like to have a drink of water? This is the best they can offer you: Here men, women and children have to drink, wash and bathe. You are beginning to feel a bit queer? I think you would like to get away. Alright, but just peep into one more room beyond the "pail-depot". Step down carefully, the floor is rather low and the foul water



from the "pail-depot" drain makes it very damp. This time there is a window, but don't go too near it, the wall is dangerously cracked and will tumble down the mountain side one of these days.

That is enough — come away to your well swept bungalows in your pretty gardens. But may the recollection of what you have experienced today give you no peace until these pitch-black stains have been wiped away from rich Mussoorie's glittering heights!

Kisan Ashram, 28-10-'46

MIRABEHN

### GANDHIJI'S ADVICE TO ASSAM

Gandhiji's views on the Constituent Assembly and the situation created by H.M.G.'s statement of December 6, are contained in an account of an interview given by him to two Assam Congressmen, Messrs. Bijayachandra Bhagwat and Mohendra Mohan Chowdhury, who saw Gandhiji on behalf of Mr. G. D. Bardoloi, the Premier of Assam on December 15.

Asked for guidance in regard to the question of Grouping, Gandhiji replied:

"I do not need a single minute to come to a decision, for, on this I have a mind. I am a Congressman to the very marrow, as I am mainly the framer of the constitution of the Congress as it stands today. I told Bardoloi that if there is no clear guidance from the Congress Committee, Assam should not go into the sections. It should lodge its protest and retire from the Constituent Assembly. It will be a kind of *Satyagraha* against the Congress for the good of the Congress.

"Rightly or wrongly, the Congress has come to the decision that it will stand by the judgment of the Federal Court. The dice are heavily loaded. The decision of the Federal Court will go against the Congress interpretation of Grouping as far as I can make out, for the simple reason that the Cabinet has got legal advice which upholds their decision.

"The Federal Court is the creation of the British. It is a packed court. To be consistent, the Congress must abide by its decision whatever it may be. If Assam keeps quiet, it is finished. No one can force Assam to do what it does not want to do. It is autonomous to a large extent today.

"It must become fully independent and autonomous. Whether you have that courage, grit and the gumption, I do not know. You alone can say that. But if you can make that declaration, it will be a fine thing. As soon as the time comes for the Constituent Assembly to go into sections you will say, "Gentlemen, Assam retires." For the independence of India it is the only condition. Each unit must be able to decide and act for itself. I am hoping that in this, Assam will lead the way.

#### SAME FOR THE SIKHS

"I have the same advice for the Sikhs. But your position is much happier than that of the Sikhs. You are a whole province. They are a community inside a province. But I feel every indi-

vidual has the right to act for himself, just as I have."

Q. "But we are told that the framing of the constitution for the whole of India cannot be held up for the sake of Assam. Assam cannot be allowed to block the way."

A. "There is no need to do that. That is why I say I am in utter darkness. Why are not these simple truths evident to all after so many years? If Assam retires, it does not block, but leads the way to India's independence."

Q. "The British Government has said that the constitution framed by the Constituent Assembly cannot be imposed on unwilling units. So, if some parts do not accept it, the British Parliament won't accept it."

A. "Who is the British Government? If we think independence is going to descend on our heads from England or somewhere, we are greatly mistaken. It won't be independence. We will be crushed to atoms. We are fluctuating between independence and helpless dependence. The Cabinet Mission's plan lies in between.

"If we act rightly there will be the full blown flower of independence. If we react wrongly, the blossom will wither away. Mind you, the League standpoint is quite correct. If they stand out, the Constituent Assembly cannot impose its constitution on an unwilling party. The British Government has no say in the matter, one way or the other.

"The British cannot interfere with the working of the Constituent Assembly. Supposing the vast majority, including the Muslims and others form a constitution, you can defy the British Parliament if it seeks to interfere. Power is in your hands. Some such thing happened in Ireland only recently. And De Valera is no non-violent fighter. The position of India is far better than that of Ireland. If we have not the penetration, we will lose the advantage we have, as it is apparently being lost today.

"If Assam takes care of itself, the rest of India will be able to look after itself. What have you got to do with the constitution of the Union Government? You should form your own constitution. That is enough. You have the basis of a constitution all right even now.

"I have never despised the 1935 constitution. It is based on provincial autonomy. It has the capacity for fullest growth, provided the people are worth it. The hill people are with you. Many Muslims are also with you. The remainder can be too, if you act on the square.

"You will have to forget petty jealousies and rivalries and overcome your weaknesses. Assam has many weaknesses as it has much strength, for I know my Assam."

"With your blessings we can even go outside the Congress and fight," the Assam Congressmen interposed.

Gandhiji replied that in 1939 when there was the question of giving up the Ministry, Subhas



Babu opposed it as he thought Assam's was a special case. I told Bardoloi that there was much in what Subhas Babu had said and although, I was the author of that scheme of boycott, I said: Assam should not come out if it did not feel like it. But Assam did come out. It was wrong.

The Assam Congressmen said that the Maulana Saheb had then said that exception could not be made in the case of Assam.

Gandhiji replied: "Here there is no question of exception. Assam rebelled and that civilly. But we have that slavish mentality. We look to the Congress and then feel that if we do not follow it slavishly, something will go wrong with it. I have said that not only a province but even an individual can rebel against the Congress and by doing so save it, assuming that he is in the right. I have done so myself. Congress has not attained the present stature without much travail.

"I remember in 1918, I think, there was the Provincial Conference of the Congress workers of Gujarat at Ahmedabad. The late Abbas Tyabjee Saheb was in the chair. All the old guards were there. The Ali Brothers had not yet joined hands with me fully then, as they did later on. The late Shri Vitthalbhai Patel was there, and I moved the non-co-operation resolution. I was a nonentity then. A constitutional question arose. Could a provincial conference anticipate the decision of the Congress? I said "yes". A provincial conference and even a single individual could anticipate the Congress for its own benefit. In spite of opposition of the old hands, the resolution was carried. That paved the way for the Congress to pass a similar resolution at Calcutta. India was dumbfounded at the audacity of a provincial conference passing the revolutionary resolution.

"We had formed a Satyagraha Sabha outside the Congress. It was joined by Horniman, Sarojini Devi, Shankarlal, Umar Sobhani and Vallabhbhai. I was ill. The Rowlatt Act was passed. I shook with rage. I said to the Sardar I could do nothing unless he helped me. Sardar was willing. And the rest you know. It was rebellion, but a healthy one. We celebrate the 6th of April to the 13th. You have all these historical instances before you.

"I have given you all this time to steel your hearts, to give you courage. If you do not act correctly and now, Assam will be finished. Tell Bardoloi, I do not feel the least uneasiness. My mind is made up. Assam must not lose its soul. It must uphold it against the whole world. Else I will say that Assam had only manikins and no men. It is an impertinent suggestion that Bengal should dominate Assam in any way."

Asked if they could tell the people that they have rebelled against the Congress with Gandhiji's blessings Gandhiji said, "Talk of God's blessings. They are much richer. Tell the people even if Gandhi tries to dissuade us, we won't listen."

## PEACE PLAN IN NOAKHALI

Gandhiji's peace plan in Noakhali was interpreted by Satish Chandra Das Gupta, chief of the Sodepur Ashram, to an Associated Press of America correspondent visiting Gandhiji's Shrirampur headquarters this week.

With Shrirampur at one end, the plan is being executed around an area of 20 square miles. Fifteen peace workers, divided into ten stationary peace units, have been working on the plan since November 24 in several rural areas of the Ramganj police station.

Shri Das Gupta said that Gandhiji's peace plan is centred around four corner-stones: (a) Spiritual effort. (b) Man is essentially good. (c) Love. (d) Non-violence of the brave.

He said, "The peace mission is intended to establish that there is really no bar for unity between the Hindus and the Muslims. It aims at instilling bravery in the hearts of the Hindu minority and repentance in the hearts of the miscreants. Unity can never come about so long as fear, on the one hand and hatred, on the other, are the guiding passions.

"The peace-worker's task is to produce such a revolutionary change in the disturbed atmosphere that there should be no more possibility for any mischief in future."

Discussing the *modus operandi* Shri Das Gupta said: "Peace workers must be pledged to truth, love and non-violence. They must reside in the disturbed village and move with everyone, including the miscreants, as blood brothers.

"The peace-worker should entertain no idea of defence, even if he is attacked. His only defence would be to die at the hands of his opponent.

"This sense of bravery revolutionizes the entire atmosphere. Cowards shed their cowardice and enemies shed their hatred. Peace prevails again, not the transient peace imposed at the point of the soldier's gun or the policeman's baton, but a real, lasting and sustaining peace."

Dealing with the extent of success achieved so far, Shri Das Gupta said: "The Hindus now have begun to move about fearlessly and the Muslims are shedding their hatred and anger."

Asked if more Congressmen in India should follow this plan, Shri Das Gupta replied: "If they do and if they put into test the weapon of the non-violence of the brave, the face of the world would be changing fast."

Calcutta, 21-12-'46

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# HARIJAN

12 Pages

Editor: PYARELAL

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TWO ANNAS

## WHO SHOULD DO IT ?

A medical man deplores the rapidity with which smoking is spreading among modern youth of both the sexes. Newspapers carry more cigarette advertisements now than they did a decade back, displaying pictures of girl-smokers, thus indicating the clientele sought to be particularly appealed to. The habit has grown to the extent of chain-smoking in some people. Medical opinion is unanimous, the correspondent says, in declaring tobacco as greatly responsible for diseases like the cancer of the tongue, some lung and heart troubles, neurosis etc., and regrets that Gandhiji has not done anything to check this evil.

The same post has brought a letter from a young lady who complains that Gandhiji and the present Congress Government do not pay sufficient attention to the cinema evil. How she wishes both Gandhiji and Jawaharlalji had frequented modern talkies and seen for themselves the moral ruin wrought in the lives of our young and adolescent boys and girls by these picture shows ! They, she says, make appeal to the sex, as if it were, in a practical manner and instil into young impressionable minds lascivious thoughts, low ideals of sexual morality, and of decent behaviour. "The evil effects of cinemas", she says, "are no less harmful than those of drink and if it is right to prohibit the latter, it is equally necessary to restrain the former. Our popular Governments should lose no time in putting their foot on this evil."

The two correspondents represent a section of public opinion and there is much truth in what they say. Let popular Governments take note of them. But it is necessary for moral reformers also to understand the limitations of Mahatmas and popular Governments. In the ultimate analysis, no evil is eradicated from a nation unless the nation itself wills to do it resolutely.

A Mahatma does not seek coercive power. He can only teach the nation what is good and wholesome for it, and what is bad, and set an example through his own conduct. On the other hand, the only method known to modern Governments is punitive legislation. Neither of these, nor both combined can succeed unless and until they are effectively reinforced by strong popular will. Even if a practice or act is acknowledged on all hands as a manifest evil, both will fail to remove it, if people do not co-operate with the reformer or the

law against an influential section resisting its removal. Governments can partially check an evil if it is confined to, at the most, say, 5 or 7 per cent who are selfish, anti-social or ignorant. Reform-legislation succeeds only when a great majority of the people have already adopted the reform, but a small intransigent section tries to obstruct it.

If we look into the facts of the two specific evils complained of, it will be observed that the public in general is not quite averse to any of them, though several of them after they have taken a full measure of it may agree with a physician or a moralist that these are really bad and degenerating entertainments. And after having agreed with him they will again indulge in them. Professors and students, a father and his grown up children, and even religious *mahants* and their disciples smoke together, or visit together films of a lascivious type. Even a person who does not smoke has often to provide cigarettes for his friends, or at least to tolerate smoking in his presence, and the head of a family, who himself does not like cinemas, allows money to younger members of the family to indulge in them. It is not so with drink. In a matter in which public opinion is at this stage, one should not expect restraining laws to be very successful even if passed.

A popular democratic Government or legislature should be distinguished from an association of reformers or pure-life-preachers. The former represents not the ideal but the average man, and the passions and prejudices, outlooks and tastes of average people, who return their representatives not necessarily for their high moral ardour or character, but for their capacity to understand and give sympathetic and forcible expression to the thoughts, passions, (even prejudices and vices) and worldly aspirations and happiness of the average man. The pioneer work of bringing about a reform in the life and habits of the people has to be done by preachers, publicists, good journals and enlightened writers.

Even if a popular Government represented all parties in a nation, people will enjoy freedom and happiness only to the extent they give up the habit of looking to the government to do everything for them. An elephant may be employed to remove boulders blocking a way, not to clear pebbles or cleanse dust-bins at street corners. This must be done by the men themselves.

Sabarmati, 27-12-46

K. G. MASHRUWALA



## "UNEQUAL MARRIAGES"

Shrimati Lilavati Munshi has already succeeded in getting non-muslim bigamous marriages declared void in the province of Bombay. Now she has brought a Bill for the prevention of "Unequal marriages", i. e. marriage of a woman of less than 18 years with a man of more than 45. The Bill seeks to punish principal participants of such a marriage. It does not declare the marriage void or voidable as in the case of the Anti-Bigamy Act.

There is a good deal of complication in regard to the law of minority in our country. Normally a person attains majority on the completion of 18 years. But if he happens to lose the protection of his natural guardian before that time and it becomes necessary for a court to appoint a guardian over him, his capacity to manage his own affairs is not recognized until he completes twentyone years. But for the purpose of marriage a girl is deemed to have come to age at 14, while guardians might bind a person in marital ties even if he or she is a mere infant. Even the Sarda Act, which seeks to prevent child-marriages, does not make the marriage itself illegal. It simply imposes a penalty upon some people in the form of a fine or imprisonment. But whether the penalty is exacted or not, the marriage itself is binding upon the bride and the bridegroom. It is not void.

Shrimati Munshi's "Unequal Marriages Bill" is of the same types. If the marital rites are performed before the law is able to intervene, the only consolation the minor girl or her friends can have is to get some people punished.

It seems to me that this is not sufficient. A conviction under such an Act must be accompanied with some such remedy as the following: The order of conviction should operate as a preliminary decree of dissolution of marriage. The girl should be entrusted to the care of a proper guardian or institution until she attains majority. A date, not later than three months after she attains majority, should be fixed for appearance for final orders. On that date, the girl's wishes should be ascertained. If she wants the marriage to be dissolved, the final decree should declare it so; if on the other hand, she wants to abide by the marriage, the preliminary decree should be cancelled. It goes without saying that during the interval neither of the parties can contract another marriage.

If legislation seeks to protect the woman, it should give effective protection. It can bring no happiness to a wife who has to live with a husband, who is punished on her account. Indeed, it does not matter if the affair is treated as falling within the civil jurisdiction of courts rather than the criminal one, provided the protection given to the woman is complete.

Then, as the Bill stands, a girl of say 14 could be successfully married to a man of 44, while one of 17 could not be married to a man aged 45. I think it would be simpler to apply the legislation to all cases in which a minor girl is sought to be married

to a man more than, say, two times and a half years senior to her in age on the date of marriage. Sabarmati, 27-12-'46 K. G. MASHRUWALA

## GANDHIJI'S PRESENT ROUTINE

Following has been taken from the Associated Press:

Seventy seven-year-old Gandhiji experimenting with his *ahimsa* in the far off East Bengal village of Shrirampur, is working at the rate of 18 to 20 hours every day.

Gandhiji rises with the lark at 4 o'clock in the morning and conducts a small prayer. Drinking eight ounces of warm water mixed in one ounce of honey, Gandhiji starts work which is reading, writing or interviewing.

Two hours later, he takes eight ounces of fruit juice, either of orange or *mosambi*, whichever is available.

At 7-30. a. m., accompanied by some of his close associates, he strolls on for about 90 minutes along the narrow, dew-soaked village footpaths. This is the time when invariably news hawks hover around him. He is now increasing his walking hours and the speed of walk, obviously preparing himself for his contemplated walking tour.

He returns back at about 9 o'clock and has massage for about two hours, followed by a hot water bath.

His first full meal at 11 a. m. consists of eight ounces of goat's milk, boiled vegetables, about three tolas of paper-thin *chapatis* and some fruits. Sometimes he takes vegetables boiled with rice as an alternative to *chapatis*.

### His Visitors

While at meals, he conducts interviews. His visitors vary from learned scholars of both the communities to widows and orphans soliciting his advice and help.

Often he sleeps for about half an hour in the afternoon and wakes up with clocklike precision. He takes about 12 ounces of tender cocoanut water along with the kernel if it is tender too.

He puts a mud pack on his stomach for about half an hour, part of his nature cure. He spins after a while, talking to his visitors and cracking jokes with children that throng around him.

After his evening prayer at 5 p. m., Gandhiji goes out for his second walk in the course of the day.

Immediately on return he plunges into work again and his second heavy meal does not vary from the first taken in the forenoon.

It is a wild conjecture as to when he would retire. It may be anytime between 10 p. m. to 1 or 2 a. m.

One day in the lean hours of the morning at 2-30 a. m. the A. P. A. correspondent saw light burning in Gandhiji's cottage and there was sign of life too. Peeping in, he found Gandhiji at work. His day had begun.



## RETURN TO PRIMITIVE CIVILIZATION !

When during the last world war cities were being devastated by bombs dropped from the air, men had to take shelter for safety in chambers dug underground. A writer had remarked at the time that man was returning to the cave-age civilization !

The following description of life in an Indian city sent by a correspondent shows that we in India, at any rate, have made considerable advance over that stage and are now somewhere near the civilization which prevailed a few centuries before Christ amongst the primitive tribes of Africa and Western Asia

"There is no mutual trust. But if something new does not happen to start trouble afresh, we might get accustomed to our present mode of life.

"In business quarters police is stationed at fixed places. Hindus gather on one side and Muslims on the other to transact business. For hours they do business, standing all the time. They buy and sell goods worth lacs of rupees. Coolies of one community deliver the goods to those of the other near a fixed boundary. In the evening after completing the day's work, the Hindus retire to their *Hindustan* and the Muslims to their *Pakistan* ! Thus business is transacted without people of one community entering the region of the other.

"Of course, business suffers. Free movement in the bazaar and amongst customers is not possible, and it is also difficult to get sufficient working hands...."

So civilization has now to proceed further from this stage of neutral zones to a higher one, when men of one community might move freely into the region of another on bazaar days at least; or, as it used to be in the pre-Islamic Arabia, reserve some periods in the year when by common consent all hostilities should cease ! It would be a great progress, indeed, over the present situation if this could be done. The next step thereafter would be the organization of some such guard as the one known as *Hil Ful Fuzul* which the Prophet Mahammad is said to have organized in Mecca, for the protection of the life and property of foreigners (in our case, people of another community) happening to enter their zones on non-reserved days !

What a tragic pass we have come to ! If this disgraceful condition is to be ended, it is clear that some people on both sides have to take the risk of trusting one another. Businessmen know that all business ultimately rests on trust, and they know the risk involved in so trusting. Yet they transact business worth thousands of rupees and part with valuable property on mere verbal contracts. There the risk consists in possible loss of money and some times of credit also. They must go a stage further and also begin to take the risk of a possible harm to life.

Vapi, 17-12-'46

K. G. MASHRUWALA

(Abridged from the original in Gujarati)

## NATIONALIZATION

Since some little power has passed into the hands of popular ministries there has been a great deal of talk of "nationalizing" various industries and services. The discussions that have taken place reveal the fact that many are not clear in their minds as to the true objective of nationalization. Here it is proposed to set out a few principles that should govern "nationalization".

"Nationalization" presupposes that real power rests with the people, i. e., with the masses. There should be in the first place, a wide foundation of experience in the management of our affairs. This has to be obtained by the villagers looking after their common needs through well organized *panchayats*. From such experienced men the districts will draw their administrators and these will also supply the requirements of the province in regard to public men and legislation. Such well-based and properly conducted provincial administration will be able to keep under control the Central Government and make it function in the interests of the villagers.

When the Government of the land is in the hands of such tried patriots who will be trusted to hold the interests of the millions as their first care, then alone can we claim to have a National Government and "Nationalization" will then ensure that the interests of the masses will be taken care of.

In the absence of such a village-based and -controlled Central Government "Nationalization" may lead to the greater exploitation of the "have-nots" by the "haves".

For instance, there has been a lot of talk recently about "Nationalizing" the airways. These airways at present, are not within the reach of the villagers. They do not need them, nor are they likely to use them. As it is, at the present time, the "haves" own them and use them. So Government control now will mean that the Government will spend its money and thought in making "the airways" easily available to the "haves" while other "haves" will provide the service. Aerodromes may have to be constructed and various roads, etc. provided. For this, these private bodies would like to exploit the Government resources and obtain their assistance under the plea of Government control or "Nationalization". The funds available to the Government should be earmarked for the provision of facilities for the masses and hence we can not divert them for the betterment of airways. Let private enterprise go on as they have done. Some "haves" will exploit other "haves", and later on when village-based National Government comes into existence, we shall have time enough to consider "Nationalization" of such services.

J. C. KUMARAPPA

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# HARIJAN

January 5

1947

## A LETTER FROM GANDHIJI

In the course of a letter to Shri Narandas Gandhi of Rajkot, Gandhiji writes:

"I have reverted to my usual diet and so there is no cause for worry. As a matter of fact, when a man leads a thoughtful life, there is no room for worry. My present mission is the most complicated and difficult one of my life. I can sing with cent per cent truth:

'The night is dark and I am far from home,  
Lead Thou me on.'

"I never experienced such darkness in my life before. The night seems to be pretty long. The only consolation is that I feel neither baffled, nor disappointed. I am prepared for any eventuality. 'Do or Die' has to be put to test here. 'Do' here means Hindus and Mussalmans should learn to live together in peace and amity. Otherwise, I should die in the attempt. It is really a difficult task. God's will be done.

"All the companions have merged themselves into this sacred work quite willingly. If any one of them feels defeated, he or she is free to leave. Each one has chosen his or her own village. Each has with him a Bengali interpreter. Kanu (son of Narandas) also is posted in a village, different from that of Abha, (Kanu's wife). I am here in a remote and unhappy village. Parasuram could not be left alone on account of the difficulty of language. So he accompanies me. He is a silent worker and a very clever stenographer. My other companion is a Bengali professor. Both attend to my personal needs also. Most of the other companions are at a distance of ten miles from me. They can see me, when necessary. Pyarelal, Sushila Nayyar and Sushila Pai are in different villages. Kanu is quite happy and is carrying on *Ramadhun*. He has very regular habits, and is endowed by God with a good physique. Abha is with Thakkar Bapa. She is sixteen miles away. Bapa is taking keen interest in her. He is pleased with her spirit of service. She is preparing Gujarati *chapatis* for him. Being a Bengali, she is able to do good work amongst Bengali women. She was extremely sorry to leave me. But duty lay that way. So I have kept her away from me. I must own that I was getting accustomed to her service almost as a matter of habit. But a habit of taking service from a particular individual is inconsistent with hard austerity. You will see thus, that whatever I do, I do from a sense of pure duty. You all should rejoice at this. Now, I have written long enough. You must all engross yourselves in your respective tasks.

With blessings,

5-12-'46

BAPU".

(Translated from the original in Gujarati)

## ASSAM

Assam, the Cinderella province of India, has got a bright future before it, unless misfortune makes it succumb to cruel experiments which British diplomacy often makes on human beings. In spite of the greatest variety of races and languages, Assam is a homogeneous province. In the words of Sir Andrew Clow, the Governor of Assam, "nowhere else in India has there been such a mixture of races as in the Assam valley; and nowhere have the peoples lived in more harmony."

This harmony, does not seem to suit imperialist politics. The two Surma Valley districts of Sylhet and Cachar have been tacked on to Assam. The population in these two districts speaks Bengali. These districts therefore properly belong to Bengal. Owing to the Khasi and Jaintia Hills there is not much communication between the Surma valley and the Assam Valley. One could understand a suggestion to restore the Surma Valley districts to Bengal. But that of presenting the whole of Assam to Bengal is without the least shadow of justice. The inference is irresistible that it is a part of the game for keeping the British hold firmly on India. With the fullest knowledge that the people of Assam are opposed to it, their province is grouped with Bengal. After compelling Assam to sit in a section, which it does not wish to sit in, it is being told that later on, it will have the freedom to opt out. Who can say how many complications will arise, making it extremely difficult for it to opt out? The Muslim League, with a definite policy of division of India, and a solid majority in Bengal, might be able to manipulate a tight constitutional stranglehold on Assam. What a cruel experiment on human beings it is!

Similarly, in the Western zone, the Sikhs in the Punjab and the Pathans of the Frontier are forced into a group with the Punjab and Sind! And, in the face of all this, the British Prime Minister has the temerity to declare that the British do not wish to force any constitution on a large body of people against its will!

There is yet another sinister movement afoot. Some British officers are working in the direction of making a separate province of the Naga people and other hill tribes. The British officers know only too well the result of such a policy. Some Naga leaders may feel elated at the prospect but the soberer among them, having a better understanding of the situation, have met and passed a resolution known as the Vokha resolution in which they say:

"1. This Naga National Council stands for the solidarity of all the Naga tribes including those of the unadministered areas;

"2. This Council strongly protests against the grouping of Assam with Bengal;

"3. The Naga Hills should be constitutionally included in an autonomous Assam in a free India, with local autonomy and due safeguards for the interests of the Nagas.

"4. The Naga Tribes should have a separate electorate."



Let it not be supposed that these hill people are novices in the art of self-government.

Even under the British rule, they govern themselves in the villages. It is only on the rarest occasions that cases other than those of murder or such heinous crimes go to the British courts. The method they follow is this :

In respect of disputes within a particular *Khel*, the *Gaonbura* of the *Khel* settles the disputes. If the dispute involves people of more than one *Khel*, the *Gaonburas* representing those *Khels* come together and settle the dispute. If the disputes are of considerable importance, all the headmen come to the *Panchayat* hall and settle them together. Normally all disputes are settled in this manner, and it is only in an extremely small number of cases that reference is made to the British courts.

Most of these *Gaonburas* are elected and even where they are hereditary (as they are in certain cases) they are subjected to a kind of referendum.

The Ao Nagas have a kind of Government by the people. The people are divided into three groups according to their age limit. The elders act as counsellors, the middle-aged group do sturdier social service and the younger ones perform minor and less important social duties — one set of persons in age limit superseding the other with the afflux age.

Each of the hill tribes has a language of its own. They have been taught to use English as a language of common intercourse, which very few of them understand. They are prepared to replace English by Assamese which is, naturally, much better understood in those parts.

If it be true that the British have decided to quit India, one fails to understand why they should still create situations which would foster disunity in this country. They know that the destiny of the hill people is indissolubly linked up with that of India as a whole. They know that if the Tribes people are left to themselves they will lack a foreign policy and also sufficient internal cohesion. What they need is an assurance of complete autonomy. The hill Tribes, with the help of sympathetic officers, can easily forge their own unity and solidarity.

Every effort must be made by the more advanced sections of Assam to give the tribes a life-building education. They must be taught improved methods of agriculture. Their communications must be improved. The mischievous distinction of excluded and included areas must be abandoned. Protection against outside exploitation should be secured through appropriate legislation, if necessary. Cottage industries should be developed and marketing facilities afforded through co-operative societies. Non-political and non-proselytizing social service agencies may be encouraged to function in these areas to help these people towards a planned development.

Assam must assert itself and refuse to be yoked to Bengal. Assam can voluntarily and freely co-operate with both Bengal and Bihar as it has been doing all these years. Assam must remain an autonomous unit within an undivided and free India.

Wardha, 12-12-'46

KAKA KALELKAR

## SHRIRAMPUR DIARY

*Shrirampur, 20-11-'46*

Speaking after the prayer at Shrirampur to an audience of about a thousand persons, Gandhiji said that he had never imagined he would be able to come and settle down in a devastated village in Noakhali so soon. This had become possible through Satish Babu's efforts. He had come here alone, with two companions only. One was to act as his interpreter and teach him Bengali, while the other Shri Parasuram, who was from Malabar, had been brought along because the latter knew no Bengali and also Hindustani roughly and so could not be set up in a village alone. For all practical purposes he had thus come here alone. His companions had been left behind at Kazirkhil, and each of them was likewise to choose one village for himself. His idea was that every Hindu worker thus sent should be accompanied by a single Mussalman worker, and both of them together would mix with the local people and gradually create the atmosphere when the refugees from here shed their fear and would be able to come back and live in peace and friendship once more. For a Mussalman worker he depended on Saheed Saheb and Shamsuddin Saheb. But he could not afford to wait until such a worker was available. He had therefore come here as soon as he found the opportunity. It was good that some Mussalmans were present in the meeting and two local Mussalman friends had already invited him to visit their homes. They had assured him that they also wanted the Hindus back in the village; but the Hindus were not yet in the proper frame of mind to do so.

Fear is a thing which he disliked; why should one man be afraid of another man? Men should stand in fear of God alone, and then he can shed all other fears. Pyarelal had come to the meeting a short while ago. On his way, he met about 150 refugees who were going away from the village with their belongings. On enquiry the refugees had told him that they were afraid, when the military and police would leave, there would be fresh trouble. Whilst, therefore, the roads were safe, they took the opportunity of moving away to some place of safety. But the man who is possessed by fear will not find safety anywhere. What help can the military or the police give to such a man? To depend on military and police aid is to add to one's helplessness. He would therefore like these refugees to develop personal courage so that they would consider it beneath their dignity to fly from fancied danger merely for fear of losing one's life. Therefore, the better course for intending refugees would be to derive personal courage from men like him who went to the affected villages, assuming of course that these had the requisite courage.

But whether such courage he could personally infuse in another man or not, he did not know. So long he had lived amidst a number of companions. But now he had begun to say to himself, "Now is the time. If you want to know yourself, go forth alone." It was therefore that he had come practically



alone like this to the present village. With unquenchable faith in God he proposed to persevere so as to succeed in disarming all opposition and inspiring confidence.

He would live here amidst the Muslim villagers, form intimate acquaintance with each family, know their mind, and help them also to know his mind. When they thus knew one another intimately, then would perhaps come the time when the atmosphere would change and sweetness prevail in the relation between Hindus and Mussalmans, where sourness was prevailing today.

*Shrirampur, 24-11-'46*

Gandhiji in the course of his prayer discourse said, "I am sorry I had to start the weekly silence earlier than usual. Such was Shamsuddin Saheb's order. But wherever I may happen to be, my heart is here. I can have no peace until the Muslim brothers and sisters of this village do not call back the Hindus who used to live here, and they return to their homes. They should treat this as a duty and try to fulfil it."

*Shrirampur, 27-11-'46*

Yesterday's (26th) prayer meeting took place in the small village of Shrirampur where Gandhiji has taken up his abode. He said that even if a solitary refugee had to return to his village populated by Muslims, he would unhesitatingly advise his return. Whether it was men or women, if they were to become brave people, this courage was indispensable. Numerous letters had been coming to him in which people had questioned the wisdom of thus tempting faith, but he held that this was necessary if they were to become a self-respecting nation. He made no distinction between men and women. The latter should feel just as independent as men. Bravery was not man's monopoly. The art of self-defence excluded all outside help. What he saw and heard showed him that people were apt to forget self-respect in order to save themselves. There was no *Swadesh* and *Swaraj* for persons who would not sacrifice themselves or their belongings for their honour. As his hearers knew, the Ministers and the Parliamentary Secretaries, who had come to Noakhali, had been proclaiming that for the sake of their honour and the influence of Islam they were anxious that the refugees should return to their villages and feel perfectly safe and serene in the midst of the majority of Muslims living there. The speaker had no hesitation in trusting their pledged word and asking the people to do likewise. Those who trusted were never the losers, deceivers ever were. There was no room for *goondalism* in any religion worth the name, be it Islam, Hinduism or any other. He was trying to become a Bengali in order that if God gave him strength, he might try to live the life in the midst of the people of East Bengal and induce them to do likewise.

*Shrirampur, 28-11-'46*

At today's prayer meeting, Gandhiji related the story of how the Ashram prayer had taken its present shape. When he came to India in 1915 Gurudev invited him through the late Deena-

bandhu Andrews to stay at Santiniketan along with the inmates of the Phoenix Settlement. Kaka-saheb and Harihar Sharma were there and so were the late Deenabandhu Andrews and Pearson. These friends had created a sort of South African group at the place. The prayer which was observed at that early time by the small group practically continues to this day so far as the Sanskrit part is concerned.

While on his Harijan tour in Travancore, the speaker added the first verse of the *Ishopanishad* to it, as, in his opinion, it contained the cream of Hindu spiritual thought. Later on, Raihana Tyabjee, daughter of the late Abbas Tyabjee, who is noted for her musical talents, proposed the incorporation of a passage from the Quran Shareef, and this was done. Lastly, on Kasturba's death at the Aga Khan Palace, Dr. Gilder had recited a passage from the Zoroastrian scripture. Since then that prayer has been a part of the Ashram prayer. In addition there was a *bhajan* in an Indian language or an English hymn and *Ramadhun*.

The prayer which has thus taken shape can, on no account, be considered as belonging to any single community or religion. It is of universal appeal; and no one, whatever his denomination may be, should have hesitation in sharing it.

*Shrirampur, 30-11-'46*

At the prayer meeting this evening Gandhiji explained the meaning of the first *mantra* recited in the Ashram prayer: *Namyo Horenge Kyo*. Its purport is, "Salutation to the Enlightened Ones".

A Japanese Buddhist monk who had happened to stay in Sevagram for two or three years was responsible for its introduction. He had come to India with the object of mastering the secrets of the religion which had its origin in India. The monk had a sweet nature and had endeared himself to every member of the Sevagram Ashram by unostentatiousness, affableness and silence. Every morning he used to walk round the Ashram grounds for full one hour, while beating upon a drum and reciting the above *mantra* in a deep musical voice which sent a thrill into all those who heard him. He used to recite it at the prayer meeting. The recitation continued even after he was removed by the Government after hostilities with Japan began.

*Shrirampur, 2-12-'46*

Speaking after prayer, Gandhiji chose as his theme the story referred to in the *bhajan* which had just been sung. The chief of the elephants had gone for a drink to the river when he was caught hold of by an alligator. A furious struggle ensued, but in spite of his strength, the elephant was dragged into deeper waters. When he was on the point of being drowned, the elephant realized that his huge strength was of no avail, and he prayed to God for succour. God, the help of the helpless, came to his rescue and saved him from the jaws of death.

The moral was obvious, continued Gandhiji. The strength of the strong without God's help had been often found to be useless. Therefore, he advised dependence not on outside sources but upon



the inner strength which came to all who sincerely sought it from God. This was the lesson which the people in Noakhali sorely needed to learn.

*Shrirampur, 3-12-'46*

Two American friends who had come for relief work in Noakhali on behalf of the Friend's Service Unit met Gandhiji just before prayer; and they remained over to pray with us. One of them, Prof. Stuart Nelson shared in it by reading out some verses from Isaac Watts's famous hymn "Our God, our help in ages past". Gandhiji had originally intended to proceed further with explanation of the verses used in the Ashram prayer; but after Prof. Nelson's recitation he preferred to explain the English hymn in Hindustani.

By way of introduction Gandhiji said that he felt very happy that Prof. Nelson had thus shared in the prayer. While in detention at the Aga Khan Palace, Mirabehn used to sing this hymn to him in her rich sonorous voice. He then paraphrased the meaning of the first three verses and said that the sentiment expressed in it was the same as found in the *Gajendra moksha bhajan* sung last evening. There was the same reliance upon God, who was the source of all strength when every other earthly aid failed us. All human power is transient, and real safety can lie only when we place our reliance wholly on God.

Beneath the shadow of Thy throne

Thy saints have dwelt serene;

Sufficient is Thine arm alone

And our defence is sure.

This is a lesson which all of us in Noakhali sorely needed to learn.

*Shrirampur, 4-12-'46*

Shortly before prayer, a group of people from the neighbouring villages arrived, singing the *namasankirtan* to the accompaniment of the *khol* (drum) and the *karatala* (cymbals). When the *Ramadhun* was being sung, they kept time by means of the *khol*. It was a delightful experience and, as Gandhiji began his daily discourse, he paid unstinted praise to the musicians. Indeed, he said that he had never heard the Bengal *mridanga* (drum) played so well as was done at the meeting. When played well it had a sweetness all its own.

He had also appreciated the *namasankirtan*; but he hoped it did not come merely from the throat but from their heart. For a parrot also can repeat what it learns from its master. There is hardly any virtue when we take the name of God when we live in safety. It becomes real only when in danger.

Continuing he said that he would never mind if a Hindu recited the *kalma* willingly and with a full heart. But if he did so out of fear of losing his life or possessions, then he took the name of God in vain, for it was the voice of Satan which then spoke through him. As he understood Islam, it had never prospered nor could prosper by means of force. Any man who pretended to serve Islam in that manner only did a disservice to the noble religion.

Every religion today had become tainted by unwanted accretions. In Hinduism we treated a large

part of our brethren as untouchables, and Gandhiji said he had no doubt that we were paying sorrowfully for that sin.

The first verse of the *Ishopanishad*, in the opinion of the speaker, contained the essence of Hindu spiritual experience. The purport of the verse was that all that existed in the universe was pervaded by and had its being in God. Therefore, no man could claim anything as his own. He should dedicate his body, mind and all that he possessed to that Universal Being and use only what he received through his grace. The moral of it was that we should deprive no man of his wealth, whether it be in the shape of life, honour or religion. Gandhiji continued that a believer in this truth, living up to it, shed all fear and lived in perfect peace.

The verses of the *Shrimad Bhagawad Gita* (II 54-72) were then referred to, as they form the next item in the Ashram's evening prayer. They described the characteristics of one who had attained knowledge and brought his senses under full control. The lesson of the *Bhagawad Gita*, said Gandhiji, was meant not for those who had forsaken the world, but for every householder, irrespective of his birth and state. Everybody's duty should be to attain the state described therein, and this could only be done if life was built on the rock of fearlessness.

*Shrirampur, 6-12-'46*

Gandhiji began his after-prayer speech by saying that true prayer never went unanswered. It did not mean that every little thing we asked for from God was readily given to us. It was only when we shed our selfishness with a conscious effort and approached God in true humility that our prayers found a response.

In the Ashram prayer nothing is asked. The prayer was for God to make them better men and women. If the prayer came truly from the heart, God's grace would surely descend upon them. There was not a blade of grass which moved without his will, not one single true thought which did not leave a mark on character. It was good, therefore, to develop the daily habit of prayer.

*Shrirampur, 7-12-'46*

Gandhiji referred in his few words after yesterday's prayer to a writing by a Mussalman. In it the writer had rightly contended that a man of God was never afraid to die or to lose his possessions for the sake of his self-respect or religion. God had given us life and could take it away. That teaching was universal and applied to all, Hindu as well as Mussalman. Those who had in God their sole refuge cast out all fear. Then there could be lasting friendship between the two. He had been trying all these days to din this lesson into the ears of his listeners. There was a time when Mussalmans also listened to him; but now things seemed to have changed and even among Hindus there were not many who would follow his advice. But he felt sure, lasting peace could come only when men of whatever community refused to surrender to any fear save the holy fear of God.



## A NOTE ON HINDUSTANI

### *The Status of Hindustani*

It is self-evident that English will cease to be the State language as soon as India becomes independent. We shall then carry on our administration in the provinces in their respective provincial languages and that at the centre in Hindustani. All Inter-provincial work, as also the work of institutions of an all India character will be carried on in the national language. When India becomes independent, Hindustani will have an official status at the U. N. O. just as the Chinese language has. No doubt Indian representatives at the U. N. O. will have, for some years at least, to speak in English for the convenience of the other members.

### *The Nature of Hindustani*

Hindustani is the language of Northern India, out of which arose the present day Urdu and Hindi literatures. With the ever increasing urge for national unity, Hindi and Urdu will have to come together and again melt into a common language — Hindustani — written in both the Nagari and the Persian scripts. Like all other languages Hindustani, too, will tend to become more and more simple as the spirit of democracy permeates the people of India.

### *The Policy regarding Hindustani*

For the Unity of India it is necessary that all Government officials, public workers and the majority of the people should not only know the national language, but also be able to use it with ease.

Both scripts should be equally acceptable all over India.

### *The working out of the Policy*

Except for the first four years, when only the mother tongue or the language of the province will be taught, arrangements will be made for the teaching of Hindustani in both the scripts throughout the period of schooling. (For the four years no second language either classical or modern will form a part of the curriculum.)

Hindustani and its literature will form a distinct subject in the compulsory course of the middle schools and colleges. The administration will see to it that no grown up person will go without a fair knowledge both of his mother tongue and of Hindustani.

Hindustani, in both the scripts, will be taught as a compulsory subject in all Teachers' Training Institutes.

Not only in the Department, of Education but in all Government services the employee's knowledge of Hindustani — in both scripts — will be noted and will be duly taken into account at the time of confirmation or promotion.

Every encouragement will be given to those who wish to learn Hindustani in both the scripts.

Special arrangements should be made for the publication of new standard literature in Hindustani.

Wherever possible, easy Hindustani paraphrases of good Hindi and Urdu books should be made and published in both the scripts.

### *The Immediate Step*

The present policy is to make Hindustani compulsory in schools and leave the choice of the script to the students or their parents.

Nowhere is the knowledge of both the scripts made compulsory, nor is it even encouraged anywhere.

The better policy would be to recognize that the knowledge of both the scripts is essential to Hindustani, and make the study of Hindustani optional until public opinion is ripe enough to welcome its compulsion.

Whether the two scripts should be taught simultaneously or consecutively, should be left to the discretion of the school.

Hindustani may be taught through the provincial script, in the elementary stages, provided that the pronunciation does not suffer in any manner thereby.

KAKA KALELKAR

[The above note was submitted to Mahatmaji for his consideration. He approved of it in a general way and added that popular Governments should content themselves for the present with making the following rule :

'It will be open to institutions to teach and for student to learn only Hindi and Urdu if they so choose. But certificates for Hindustani will only be issued to students knowing both the scripts. Prizes, promotions and appointments will naturally go to those holding certificates in Hindustani. K. K.]

### PLEASE NOTE

Though we have repeatedly drawn the attention of the subscribers to not sending their subscriptions by cheques, it seems it suits some of them better. We, therefore, have to draw their attention to two things: one, to avoid sending cheques as far as possible and two, if they prefer sending cheques to remit an additional amount of annas eight to cover the discount charged by banks which varies with different banks. When this additional expense is not remitted the subscription amount becomes a fraction which is not amenable to adjustments in calculations of the subscription amount.

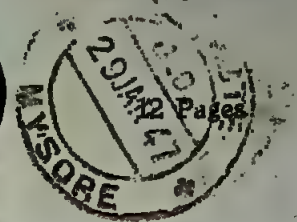
MANAGER

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## HARIJAN

Editor: PYARELAL



VOL. X, No. 50

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TWO ANNAS

## SHRIRAMPUR DIARY

[This is prepared from press messages appearing in various newspapers. The idea is to make handy for the reader Gandhiji's utterances during this most important mission in his life. — Ed.]

## EXCHANGE OF POPULATION

"The question of the exchange of population is unthinkable and impracticable," said Gandhiji replying to questions put to him by Press correspondents staying with him at Shrirampur.

"This question never crossed my mind," Gandhiji said, and added: "In every Province, everyone is an Indian, be he a Hindu, a Muslim or of any other faith. It would not be otherwise even if Pakistan came in full."

Gandhiji continued: "For me any such thing will spell bankruptcy of Indian wisdom or statesmanship or both. The logical consequence of any such step is too dreadful to contemplate. Is it not that India should be artificially divided into so many religious zones?" he asked.

When asked if, in view of the unsettled situation, it was not better to adopt a migration policy, Gandhiji said, "I see nothing to warrant such a policy. It is one of despair and, therefore, to be adopted in rare cases as a last resort."

## MESSAGE OF NOAKHALI

The next question was: "You said the other day that there is no limit to your stay in East Bengal. Do you think that by confining yourself at Shrirampur you will be able to send your message of peace to other villages of Noakhali?"

Gandhiji replied: "Of course, I am not burying myself long in Shrirampur. I am not idle here. I am seeing people of the surrounding villages and others. I am studying things and regaining lost physical strength meanwhile. The idea ultimately is to go on foot, when possible and necessary, from village to village and induce the evacuees to return. This I can only do with effect when I have seen things myself. It is quite clear to me that my mere word carries very little weight. Distrust has gone too deep for exhortation."

## "DARKNESS LIES WITHIN ME"

Gandhiji was next asked regarding the report that he finds himself in darkness, and why and when the darkness came over him and whether he saw any release from it.

Gandhiji said: "I am afraid the report is substantial. Outside circumstances have never over-

whelmed me. The reason for the present darkness lies within me. I find that my *ahimsa* does not seem to answer in the matter of Hindu-Muslim relations. This struck me forcibly when I came to learn of the events in Noakhali.

"The reported forcible conversions and the distress of the Bengali sisters touched me deeply. I could do nothing through pen or speech. I argued to myself that I must be on the scene of action and test the soundness of the doctrine which has sustained me and made life worth living.

"Was it the weapon of the weak as it was often held by my critics or was it truly the weapon of the strong? The question arose in me when I had no ready-made solution for the distemper of which Noakhali was such a glaring symptom.

"And so setting aside all my activities, I hastened to Noakhali to find out where I stood. I know positively that *ahimsa* is a perfect instrument. If it did not answer in my hands, the imperfection was in me. My technique was at fault. I could not discover the error from a distance. Hence I came here trying to make the discovery. I must, therefore, own myself in darkness till I see light. God only knows when it will come. More I cannot say."

## MY AHIMSA PUT TO ACID TEST

"I have come here to put my *ahimsa* to the acid test in this atmosphere of rank distrust and suspicion," said Gandhiji replying to a question put by the correspondent of a Madras paper.

The question was: "Don't you think that Bengal Ministers may regard your very presence here as an oppression and that whatever they do out of their own sense of justice towards the rehabilitation of the refugees may be regarded by the outside world as being done under the pressure of your presence?"

Gandhiji replied: "In the first place your assumption is gratuitous. But if it is not, and the assumption were to accord with facts, your deduction would be correct and my stay here would not be consistent with *ahimsa*.

"I claim that I have come as much as a friend of the Muslims as of the Hindus in this part of the world. You may recall my visit to Champaran in the very early period of my return to the motherland. I was even served with a notice to quit. The conviction against me was cancelled on the orders of the then Viceroy and the Magistrate was instructed to permit and even help in my unofficial enquiry with the result that I was invited



to become a member of the official Sly Commission and a century old wrong was removed."

#### ADVICE TO WOMEN

Tears trickled down their faces when a number of women met Gandhiji last evening in a corner of the paddy field where he was taking his evening walk to tell Gandhiji their sad tales and the present condition in which they were living.

One old lady while wiping her tears from the eyes said: "Mahatmaji, please tell us what we are to do. How can we live in our villages when we think our life and property are unsafe and insecure?"

Gandhiji told them that since his arrival in Noakhali he had been telling them all to be fearless. If they acted accordingly and were fearless in all their work, they could live in peace. Pointing his hand towards the sky, Gandhiji said to those women, "Believe in Him. Pray and fear Him alone, and none in this world."

#### ADVICE TO EUROPE

"The people of Europe are sure to perish if they continue to be violent," said Gandhiji in reply to questions put to him by Monsieur Raymond Cartier, a French journalist who paid a visit to the Shrirampur cottage this afternoon.

Raymond asked, "We who are children of violence in Europe, how do you expect us to become non-violent?"

In reply, Gandhiji said, if they continued like this they were sure to perish. What had happened in Europe was that Hitlerism had only been destroyed by super-Hitlerism and this chain was endless. It would go on like that.

M. Raymond asked if the remedy lay in a new form of education. Gandhiji said education must be of a new type for the sake of the creation of a new world. He referred to Aldous Huxley, who, he observed, represented a new type of thought which was working in the mind of Europe today. It might be in a minority today but if Europe was to save itself from suicide something along the lines of non-violence had to be adopted.

#### SURVIVAL OF SMALL NATIONS

Asked as to how it would be possible to destroy Hitlerism by non-violence, Gandhiji said that was what we had to find out. Otherwise, if one depended upon superior violence in order to destroy violence of the Hitlerian type, then small nations would have hardly any chance of survival. It was only when a nation individually refused to be beaten by Hitlerism or any combination of forces of violence, and stuck to its post at the cost of its life, but not at the cost of its honour, that it had a chance of survival. So that non-violence alone was the only guarantee of protection against the heaviest odds. Unless we could develop this courage and this type of resistance, democracy could never survive.

#### ADVICE TO REFUGEES

The following is the authorized version according to the A. P. I. of Gandhiji's prayer speech on December 21.

He began by saying that he held very strong views on the question of charity. It was wrong both to accept as well as to offer anyone a free gift. In our land irreligion often masqueraded in the name of religion. India was said to have a contingent of 56 lakhs of religious mendicants, not many of whom could be considered worthy in any sense. Even the hateful custom of untouchability had been given the sanction of religion in this land of sorrow.

The problem of relief and rehabilitation, Gandhiji went on to say, had become a serious one. People from all over India were eager to help the afflicted inhabitants of Noakhali with money or free gifts of all kinds, and there was a chance that the latter might slip into a mentality of willing dependence on public charity. This had to be combated as much as the self-complacency of those who might feel they were acquiring religious merit through charitable gifts.

Referring to the attitude which the Government should exercise with regard to the refugees in comparison with that held by public charitable bodies, Gandhiji proceeded to explain that it was true that people had gathered in the refugees' camps for no fault of theirs. Their homes had been burnt and they were without shelter; others had been robbed of all their belongings although their cottages might still be standing, while a third group had deserted their homes mainly from a feeling of insecurity. It should be the object of the Government to deal with each case on its merits and help the people to return home with a feeling of security.

Before necessary conditions were created, it would not be right for the authorities to stop rations unless the evacuees went back home with their whole families. If the evacuees were expected to brave hardships and perhaps even death in order to reinstate themselves in their homes, then there would be no need of a State; it would be a condition of enlightened anarchy where every man would be able to protect himself by his own strength in the face of the greatest danger. But as things stood today, much of the necessary work of social services had to be conducted by Governmental organizations.

#### ADEQUATE PROTECTION MUST BE GIVEN

Adequate protection had to be given and an atmosphere created where the people might once more pursue their life's work in peace. So long as the conditions were not forthcoming arrangements for relief had to continue.

But the case of public charitable societies stood on an entirely different footing. Gandhiji held it was wrong for any man to live on public doles. While the South African *Satyagraha* was going on, large sums of money were donated to cover the



expenses of the *Satyagrahis*. The Tolstoy Farm near Lawley in the Transvaal was established to accommodate the families and dependents of *Satyagrahis* who worked to the best of their ability against their upkeep. Consequently, the *Satyagraha* organization was able to refund large sums of money at the end of the campaign.

In accordance with the same principles the charitable institutions now working here should plainly tell the people that everyone should deem it a dishonour to eat a single meal without honest labour. If we could shed the aversion to labour and adapt ourselves to unexpected changes of fortune, we would go a long way towards the acquisition of fearlessness and thus towards an upliftment of our national character.

He would venture to tell the refugees that whether they were poor or rich, they should say to the authorities that they would consider it below human dignity to accept doles from the Government. Poor or rich had nothing left to them. Therefore, they were in need of food, clothing, shelter and medical assistance. Therefore, they had a claim upon the State for providing these vital necessities of life. But they would be robbing society if they accepted this aid without each healthy man, woman, boy or girl, labouring to the extent of his or her ability and therefore he would like the Government to provide such useful work for society which they were capable of doing.

FROM GANDHIJI'S PRAYER SPEECH ON 24TH DEC.

Gandhiji began his speech by saying that complaints had been pouring in that people were unable to shed their fear because persons known to be guilty were freely moving about. He said that although this might be true, his advice to them would still be to take courage in their hands and return to their homes. When several persons had complained that the amounts offered by the Government for rebuilding was inadequate for the erection of any kind of shelter, he felt sure that the Government, which was determined on repatriation would extend their aid to the necessary extent.

What Gandhiji would personally prefer was that the refugees should be resourceful enough to tide over the present difficulty. He would honour a man who begged nothing for himself nor depended on outsider's aid for protection. If any one depended on him for that purpose, he was depending on a broken reed.

The only effective protection came from reliance upon internal strength, i. e. on God. Everyone should realize the secret that oppression thrived only when the oppressed submitted to it. If they shed fear from their hearts, nobody would or could oppress them.

#### AIM OF STAY IN NOAKHALI

The following is the authorized version according to the A. P. I. of Gandhiji's speech after prayer, on Monday, the 23rd December.

Gandhiji first referred to certain personal letters addressed to him as well as a number of articles

or comments published in newspapers in which the opinion had been expressed that his continued presence in Noakhali was acting as a deterrent to the restoration of cordial relations between the Hindus and Muslims, for his intention was to bring discredit upon the League Ministry in Bengal.

Two days ago, Gandhiji said, he had tried to refute a rumour that a *Satyagraha* movement of an extensive character was secretly planned by him in Noakhali. He had already said that nothing could be done by him in secret. If recourse were taken to secrecy and falsehood, *Satyagraha* would degenerate into *Duragraha*.

Today, he found it necessary to answer the second charge levelled against him to which reference had already been made. He would like to proclaim that he had come to Bengal solely with the object of establishing heart unity between the two communities, who had become estranged from one another. When that object was satisfactorily achieved, there would no longer be any necessity for him to prolong his stay.

His intention could never be to embarrass the League Government in Bengal, Gandhiji added. On the other hand, his relations with the Ministry, as well as with the officials, had been very cordial and he had been able to gather the impression that all of them looked with favour upon his peace mission. He had discovered no indication yet of his presence causing embarrassment to anyone. It was open to the Government to ask the Magistrate and the Superintendent of Police to convince him of his error if they were themselves convinced. As yet they had said not a word to such effect. If he felt convinced of any error on his part, he would leave.

Gandhiji said that he had enough work to do elsewhere which demanded his attention. There was Uruli-Kanchan, the seat of his nature cure experiments, and Sevagram, and there was Delhi again, where he might be of some service. He would love to spare troubles to the leaders who had to come to this out-of-the-way place in order to consult him. But personally he felt convinced that the work undertaken by him here was of the greatest importance for all India. If he succeeded in his present mission, it was bound to have a profound influence on the future of India, and, if he might be permitted to say so, even on the future peace of the world, for it was to be a test of faith in non-violence.

A copy of the Bihar Provincial Muslim League report on the Bihar atrocities had been sent to him. He had gone through it with care and had felt that it bristled with over-statements. Nevertheless, he was making inquiries on the basis of the report. It was certainly true that much that had happened in Bihar was brutal enough and deserved the severest condemnation. The over-statement blurred the gruesomeness of the reality. He was assured that calm had been restored. It was on that assurance that normal diet was resumed by him.



The reason why he had not proceeded to Bihar, Gandhiji explained, was that he could exercise his personal influence effectively even from a distance. But if there were any reason to suspect that things still continued in Bihar in the manner described in the League report and that he had been misled by false assurance of his friends, then his place would surely be in that province and he might even confess that this might imply that the life in the present body was now over and that there was no longer any room for him in the land of the living.

But he could not help uttering a word of warning that leaders of public opinion had a serious responsibility. Their word would be believed by the credulous public, and they all knew the tragic consequences. This he said irrespective of whether the leaders belonged to the Congress or the Muslim League.

## HARIJAN

January 19

1947

### INDIAN MILLS

The reader will find elsewhere in these columns a statement (slightly condensed) of Shri Khandubhai Desai, Secretary of the Textile Labour Association, Ahmedabad, upon the working of the Indian Textile Industry during the war period 1940 to 1946. If his figures are unchallengeable, as he avers they are, they lead to the following conclusions:

(i) that the whole Indian Textile Industry is for all practical purposes a concern of only about 150 firms;

(ii) that the industry has not been worked in the interest of the nation;

(iii) that in collusion with the Government of the period, the mill agents worked in a way which has created cloth-famine, black-marketing, high prices out of all proportion with the cost of manufacture, paid inadequately to the producer of raw cotton as well as their own employees, and have exploited the people to the extent of some hundred crores of rupees;

(iv) that they have been also inefficient;

(v) that they have thus rendered themselves unfit to continue to manage the industry as trustees of the nation;

(vi) that apart from their moral lapse as trustees, the industry has returned to the investors by way of profits several times again the value of the total capital sunk in it, so that the nation, if it so decides, has the right to acquire the industry without any obligation to compensate either for the capital sunk or for services rendered.

Though Shri Desai has come to the last conclusion in so many words, his purpose in preparing this statement is not to press for that remedy. Possibly he does not consider that the nation is ready enough for that step. I quite understand that

Nationalization'—i.e. management of big industries and transport services directly by the State—is simple enough for being put forth as an abstract ideal, but when a case comes before the government, in a concrete form, it may not find itself sufficiently prepared to shoulder the responsibility. It must be realized that this unpreparedness is not unknown to the various vested interests; and this is a factor which promotes their greed, selfishness and unscrupulousness.

Shri Khandubhai Desai is a legislator and therefore, naturally suggests only legislative remedies. Thus, he suggests a statutory "Textile Control and Supply Commission, to control the production and distribution of cloth, keeping in view only the interests of the consumers", and "very heavy penalties including imprisonment for breach" of the law.

There need be no objection to legislators and administrators doing what they can. But it would be wrong for the people to rely too much on the operation of laws and rules, and to think that all they need to get sufficient cloth from the open market is to have a neatly worded strong law. As I perceive our present condition, even complete State management of mills through a new department of civil service will not give much relief to that section of the people, which really needs it. The one proper remedy is self-reliance. If people are really keen to get more cloth or to nationalize its manufacture they can do it only by themselves giving up mill-cloth and introducing the single-spindle-mill into their own homes, and organizing local weaving. The handloom weaver will also do well to do a little hard thinking. If he wants his occupation to continue from day to day, and carry on his trade without resorting to bribery or flattery, let him not rely on mill-yarn; rather, let him forsake it. For, the same arguments which are advanced in favour of mill-spinning apply to mill-weaving also. If home spinning is to be abandoned as a relic of the old age, he may take it that very soon home-weaving will also meet the same fate. Whether it is private-ownership or state-ownership, if cloth is to be manufactured as a large-scale centralized industry, both the spinners and the weavers will be reduced to the state of factory labourers. They cannot remain independent artisans. The wise weaver, who foregoes the black-market profits which he is able to obtain today by weaving mill yarn and takes to weaving home-spun yarn, may be ridiculed in the present by his companions as an unpractical man. But in the not very distant future, they will find that it was he who had calculated better.

Sabarmati, 5-1-'47

K. G. MASHRUWALA

#### Regret

I very much regret that owing to inadvertence the name of Shri Jagajivan Ram has appeared in the note on Tiruvarur in the *Harijan* of 12-1-'47 without any honorific title. I hope none will misunderstand.

Sabarmati, 12-1-'47

K. G. M.



- Cap, black *n.* काली टोपी (जो अज मोतकी सजा देनेके समय पहनता है) ।  
 काली टोपी (जो जज मोत की सजा देने के समय पहनता है) ।
- Cap, knee *n.* घुटनेकी हड्डी ।  
 कपड़े की मली ।
- Cap, a feather in one's *n.* नाम या अभिमानकी कोठी बात ।  
 नाम या अभिमान की कोठी बात ।
- Cap at, to set one's *v.* डोरे डालना ।  
 डोरे डालना ।
- Capable *adj.* लायक, योग्य, क्वाविल ।  
 लायक, योग्य, क्वाविल ।
- Capacious *adj.* बड़ा, लम्बा-चोड़ा, खुला-खुला ।  
 बड़ा, लम्बा-चोड़ा, खुला-खुला ।
- Capacity *n.* शक्ति, योग्यता, लियानकत, ताकत; जगह, गुंजायिश, समाधी; हैसियत; समझ; पहुँच ।  
 शक्ति, योग्यता, लियानकत, ताकत; जगह, गुंजायिश, समाधी; हैसियत; समझ; पहुँच ।
- Cap-a-pie *adv.* सिरसे पाँव तक (कबच पहने हुअे, तैयार) ।  
 सिरसे पाँव तक (कबच पहने हुअे, तैयार) ।
- Caparision *v.* झूल डालना, साज पहनाना; सजाना ।  
 झूल डालना, साज पहनाना; सजाना ।
- Cape *n.* अन्तरीप, रास; गरदनी ।  
 अन्तरीप, रास; गरदनी ।
- Caper *v.* झुललना, कूदना, नाचना-कूदना, कुदकड़े मारना ।  
 झुललना, कूदना, नाचना-कूदना, कुदकड़े मारना ।
- Capillary *adj.* बाल-सा बारीक या महीन ।  
 बाल-सा बारीक या महीन ।
- Capillary *n.* (शरीरमें) खूनकी बारीक नली ।  
 (शरीरमें) खूनकी बारीक नली ।
- Capital *n.* राजधानी, सदरमुकाम; पूँजी, सरमाया; शीर्ष, सिर (स्तम्भ या सतूनका); झुलका अक्षर या हरफ ।  
 राजधानी, सदरमुकाम; पूँजी, सरमाया; शीर्ष, सिर (स्तम्भ या सतूनका); झुलका अक्षर या हरफ ।
- Capital *adj.* बड़ा, खास, मुख्य, सुतम, चोटीका; सख्त, संगीन ।  
 बड़ा, खास, मुख्य, सुतम, चोटीका; सख्त, संगीन ।
- Capital, circulating *n.* फिरती पूँजी ।  
 फिरती पूँजी ।
- Capital, error *n.* सख्त गलती, भारी भूल ।  
 सख्त गलती, भारी भूल ।
- Capital, fixed *n.* अचल, कायम पूँजी ।  
 अचल, कायम पूँजी ।
- Capital fund *n.* पूँजी, मूल धन, सरमाया ।  
 पूँजी, मूल धन, सरमाया ।
- Capital-letter *n.* बड़ा अक्षर या हरफ ।  
 बड़ा अक्षर या हरफ ।
- Capital offence *n.* महापाप, संगीन जुर्म ।  
 महापाप, संगीन जुर्म ।
- Capital punishment or sentence *n.* फाँसी या मौत-की सजा ।  
 फाँसी या मौत-की सजा ।
- Capital out of, make *v.* कायदा सुठाना, काम निकालना ।  
 कायदा सुठाना, काम निकालना ।
- Capitalism *n.* पूँजीवाद, सरमायादारी ।  
 पूँजीवाद, सरमायादारी ।
- Capitalist *n.* पूँजीवादी, पूँजीपति, सरमायादार ।  
 पूँजीवादी, पूँजीपति, सरमायादार ।
- Capitation *n.* सिरगिनसी, सिरइण्ड ।  
 सिरगिनसी, सिरइण्ड ।
- Capitulate *v.* हथियार डालना, शर्तों पर हथियार डालना या हथियार डालना ।  
 हथियार डालना, शर्तों पर हथियार डालना या हथियार डालना ।
- Caprice *n.* सनक, झक, मनकी मौज; खेल ।  
 सनक, झक, मन की मौज; खेल ।
- Capricorn *n.* मकर, मकर राशि ।  
 मकर, मकर राशि ।
- Capsicum *n.* मिर्चका पौदा ।  
 मिर्चका पौदा ।
- Capsize *n.* झुलटना, झुलट जाना (जहाज या किरती व नावका) ।  
 झुलटना, झुलट जाना (जहाज या किरती व नावका) ।
- Capsule *n.* बीजकोष, डोडा; शिलीदार लिकाफा (जिसमें दवाकी गोली रक्खी जाती है); मोतल या शीशीकी टोपी ।  
 बीजकोष, डोडा; शिलीदार लिकाफा (जिसमें दवाकी गोली रक्खी जाती है); मोतल या शीशीकी टोपी ।
- Captain *n.* सरदार, सेनापति, कप्तान, नेता ।  
 सरदार, सेनापति, कप्तान, नेता ।
- Captain *v.* रहनुमाजी करना, नेतृत्व करना ।  
 रहनुमाजी करना, नेतृत्व करना ।
- Caption *n.* सरनामा, सुर्खी ।  
 सरनामा, सुर्खी ।
- Captious *adj.* हुज्जती, तकरारी; चुक्ताचीन ।  
 हुज्जती, तकरारी; चुक्ताचीन ।
- Captivate *v.* मोह लेना, दिल के लेना, डुमाना ।  
 मोह लेना, दिल के लेना, डुमाना ।
- Captive *n.* कैदी, बन्दी ।  
 कैदी, बन्दी ।
- Captor *n.* कैद करनेवाला, पकड़नेवाला ।  
 कैद करनेवाला, पकड़नेवाला ।
- Capture *v.* पकड़ना, गिरफ्तार करना; ले लेना, छूटना ।  
 पकड़ना, गिरफ्तार करना; ले लेना, छूटना ।
- Car *n.* गाड़ी, रथ ।  
 गाड़ी, रथ ।
- Carafe *n.* पानीकी बोतल या शीशी ।  
 पानीकी बोतल या शीशी ।
- Carat *n.* रत्ती ।  
 रत्ती ।
- Caravan *n.* कारवाँ, काफिल ।  
 कारवाँ, काफिल ।
- Caravanserai *n.* कारवाँसराय ।  
 कारवाँसराय ।
- Caraway *n.* अजवायन ।  
 अजवायन ।
- Carbon *n.* अ-धाती पदार्थ या मादा जो कोयले, हीरे आदिमें अद्वैत पदार्थ या मादा जो कोयले, हीरे आदिमें पाया जाता है, कार्बन ।  
 अ-धाती पदार्थ या मादा जो कोयले, हीरे आदिमें पाया जाता है, कार्बन ।
- Carbon paper *n.* लेख बौराकी नकल करनेका खास-कागज ।  
 लेख बौराकी नकल करनेका खास-कागज ।
- Carbuncle *n.* जेक लाल जवाहर; कोड़ा ।  
 जेक लाल जवाहर; कोड़ा ।
- Carcass or Carcase *n.* लाश, जोश (जानवरकी) ।  
 लाश, जोश (जानवरकी) ।
- Card *v.* धुनना, धुनकना, पीजना ।  
 धुनना, धुनकना, पीजना ।
- Carding bow *n.* धुनकी ।  
 धुनकी ।
- Carding comb *n.* धून या सूत साफ करनेका कंघा ।  
 धून या सूत साफ करनेका कंघा ।
- Card *n.* ताश, पत्ता; डाक; निमंत्रण या दावत, मुलाकात आदिका पत्र; कार्ड; टिकट ।  
 ताश, पत्ता; डाक; निमंत्रण या दावत, मुलाकात आदिका पत्र; कार्ड; टिकट ।
- Card; up one's sleeve, a *n.* आखिरी दाव ।  
 आखिरी दाव ।
- Cards on the table, lay one's *v.* दिलकी बातें कह देना, दिल की बातें कह देना, दमोके में न रहना ।  
 दिलकी बातें कह देना, दिल की बातें कह देना, दमोके में न रहना ।
- Cards, house of *n.* कागजकी नाव ।  
 कागजकी नाव ।
- Cards, on the *n.* मुमकिन, सम्भव ।  
 मुमकिन, सम्भव ।
- Card, queer *n.* अजीब आदमी ।  
 अजीब आदमी ।
- Cards well, play one's *v.* मौकेसे पूरा कायदा सुठाना ।  
 मौकेसे पूरा कायदा सुठाना ।
- Cards, throw up one's *v.* हार मान लेना ।  
 हार मान लेना ।
- Card, trump *n.* तुरपका पत्ता, जीतनेवाला पत्ता; अच्छा दाव ।  
 तुरपका पत्ता, जीतनेवाला पत्ता; अच्छा दाव ।
- Card board *n.* गत्ता, दफ्ती ।  
 गत्ता, दफ्ती ।
- Cardamom *n.* मिर्चायची ।  
 मिर्चायची ।
- Cardiac *adj.* दिलका ।  
 दिलका ।
- Cardigan *n.* धूनकी बुनी हुअी वास्कर ।  
 धूनकी बुनी हुअी वास्कर ।



Cart n. उकडा, गाडी, ठेला । ۱۹۴۵. ۵۳۱. ۱۹۴۵



# ENGLISH INTO HINDUSTANI

## INSTALMENT — XI

ENGLISH

HINDUSTANI

- Cackle** *n.* कुक्कुड़, कुटकुट (मुर्गी या बतखकी बोली); बकबक, कूकू, कूकू, कूकू (सर्ग या पक्ष की बोली) कब-कब, गपगप।
- Cactus** *n.* नागफनी, यूहर।
- Cad** *n.* कमीना, नीच, पाजी।
- Cadaverous** *adj.* मुर्दा-सा, मरा हुआ-सा।
- Cadence** *n.* लय, आवाजका सुतार-चढ़ाव; ताल।
- Caddie** *n.* गोलफ खेलनेवालोंके गोले सुठानेवाला।
- Caddy, tea** *n.* चाय रखनेका डिब्बा।
- Cadet** *n.* छोटा बेटा; सैनिक या फौजी विद्यार्थी, कडेट।
- Cadge** *v.* मीछ माँगना, माँगते फिरना; फेरी लगाना, बेचते फिरना।
- Cadre** *n.* बॉन्चा, नक़्शा (खासकर पलटनका)।
- Cafe** *n.* कहवाखाना, चायघर।
- Cage** *n.* पिंजरा, कदहारा; जेल, कैदखाना।
- Caique** *n.* कासीक, डोंगी।
- Cairn** *n.* पत्थरोंका ढेर (यादगार या क़ब्र पर)।
- Cajole** *v.* फुसलाना, मीठी-मीठी बातें करना, चापलूसी करना।
- Cake** *n.* मीठी रोटी, नानखताभी; टिकिया।
- Cake and have it, cannot eat your** असम्भव या नामुमकिनको सम्भव या मुमकिन नहीं बना सकते।
- Cake of soap** *n.* साबुनकी टिकिया।
- Calamity** *n.* विपदा, दुःख, मुसीबत, आफ़त, बला।
- Calcify** *v.* चूना बन जाना, चूना बनाना, चूनेसे बदलना; पत्थर बन जाना।
- Calculate** *v.* गिनना, आँकना, गिनती करना, जोड़ना, हिसाब लगाना, अनुमान करना, अन्दाज़ा करना।
- Calculus** *n.* पथरी (मसाने या मूतकी बैलीमें)।
- Calendar** *n.* जंजीरी, पत्रा; सूची, फ़ेहरिस्त।
- Calender** *v.* चोटना, चिकनाना, खिंची करना, दबाना।
- Calf** *n.* बछड़ा, बच्छा, कटरा, पड़वा; पिंडली।
- Calf, worship of the** धन-पूजा, दौलत-परस्ती।
- Calibre** *n.* बन्दूक या तोपकी मोहरी; बुद्धि, लियाक़त, क़ाबलीयत, दख़ल।
- Calico** *n.* लड्डा, छोट, सूती कपड़ा।

- Call** *n.* बुलावा, पुकार, आवाज; माँग, हुक्म, आदेश; निमंत्रण, दावत; मुलाकात, भेंट; आवश्यकता, जरूरत; चीख, सीटी।
- Call** *v.* बुलाना, पुकारना, आवाज देना; अगाना; नाम रखना।
- Call a halt** *v.* रोकना, रुक जाना, बन्द करना, ठहरना, ठहराना।
- Call a spade a spade** *v.* कालेको काला कहना, खरी बात कहेना।
- Call at** *v.* किसीसे मिलने जाना।
- Call attention to** *v.* ध्यान दिलाना, ध्यान खींचना।
- Call away** *v.* बुला लेना।
- Call back** *v.* वापस बुलाना।
- Call for** *v.* माँगना, तलब करना, पूछना।
- Call forth** *v.* सामने लाना, निकलवाना।
- Call in** *v.* माँगना, माँगवाना; बुलाना।
- Call in question** *v.* शक या शंका करना, अंतराज या शक या शंका करना, अंतराज या शक या शंका करना।
- Call into being** *v.* पैदा करना, बनाना, जनना।
- Call into play** *v.* काममें लाना, बरतना।
- Call off** *v.* हटा लेना, बन्द कर देना, सुटा लेना।
- Call names** *v.* गाली देना, बुरा-मला कहना, नाम धरना।
- Call on** *v.* मिलने जाना; पुकारना, बुलायी देना।
- Call out** *v.* बुलाना, पुकारना, ललकारना।
- Call to account** *v.* हिसाब माँगना।
- Call to arms** *v.* हथियारबन्दी कराना, जंगी सेवा या खिदमतके लिये बुलाना।
- Call to mind** *v.* याद करना, चेतना।
- Call to the bar** *v.* बैरिस्टर या वकील बनाना।
- Call to witness** *v.* गवाह करना, साक्षी करना।
- Call of nature** *n.* पाखाना-पेशाबकी हाजत।
- Call, within** *adv.* नजदीक।
- Calligraphy** *n.* सुशाली, सुन्दर लिखायी, सुन्दर अक्षर लिखना।
- Calling** *n.* धन्धा, पेशा।
- Callisthenics** *n.* व्यायाम, वरजिष, कसरत।
- Callosity** *n.* सख्त गिलटी।
- Callous** *adj.* कठोर-दिल, सख्त-दिल, रुखा।
- Callow** *adj.* बेपर, कषा; विनयानुमयी, बेतजरबेकार।



**Calm** *n.* شانتی، امن، چین، سہرتا۔  
**Calm** *adj.* شانت، स्थिर، चुपचाप۔  
**Calm** *v.* शान्त करना, दिलासा देना, चुप करना, ठण्डा करना।  
 شانت کرنا، دلاسا دینا، چپ کرنا، ٹھنڈا کرنا  
**Caloric** *n.* गरमी, हरातर।  
**Calorie** *n.* गरमी या हरातरका नाप या मिकासी।  
 گرمی یا حرارت کا नाप یا اکائی  
**Calorific** *adj.* गरमी पैदा करनेवाला।  
**Calumny** *n.* झूठा कलंक, झूठी बदनामी, निन्दा।  
 جھوٹا कलंक, जھوٹی بدनामी, निन्दा  
**Calvary** *n.* सलीबगाह, जहाँ जीसा मसीहको सली पर चढ़ाया गया।  
 सलीब का, जहाँ عیسیٰ مسیح کو سولی پر چڑھایا گیا  
**Calve** *v.* बियाना, बच्चा देना।  
**Calyx** *n.* फूलकी कटोरी।  
**Camaraderie** *n.* भाईचारा, मेल-मिलाप, मित्रता, दोस्ती।  
 بھائی چارہ, میل ملاپ, مروتا, دوستی  
**Cambric** *n.* किमرا, (सूती कपड़ा)।  
**Camel** *n.* बैट।  
**Camera** *n.* चित्र या तस्वीर लेनेका यंत्र या आला।  
 چتر یا تصویر لینے کا یंत्र یا آلہ  
**Camera, in adv.** बन्द कमरेमें।  
**Camouflage** *n.* जहाज, तोप आदिको छिपाना; छिपाना, घोखा देना।  
 جہاز، توپ آदी کو چھپانا؛ چھپانا، دھوکہ دینا  
**Camp** *n.* डेरा, पड़ाव, छावनी; शिविर; तम्बू।  
 ڈیرا، پڑاؤ، چھاؤنی، شور؛ تمبر  
**Camp** *v.* डेरा डालना या खड़ा करना, पड़ाव डालना, शिविर डालना, तम्बूमें रहना।  
 ڈیرہ ڈالنا یا کھڑا کرنا، پڑاؤ ڈالنا، شور ڈالنا، تمبر میں رہنا  
**Camp bed** *n.* सफरका पलंग।  
**Camp chair** *n.* सफरकी कुर्सी।  
**Camp follower** *n.* पिछलग्वा।  
**Campaign** *n.* लड़ाई, युद्ध।  
**Camp stool** *n.* सफरकी तिपासी।  
**Campaign, political** *n.* लोगोंको खुश करनेकी कोशिश, आन्दोलन।  
**Camphor** *n.* काफूर, कपूर।  
**Can** *n.* बालटी, डोल, कनस्तर, कुप्पा, कुप्पी, टीन।  
 بالٹی، ڈول، کنستری، کپا، کپی، ٹین  
**Can** *v.* सकना; डिल्लेमें बन्द करना (खानेकी चीजें)।  
 سکنا؛ ڈیلے میں بند کرنا (کھانے کی چیزیں)  
**Canal** *n.* नहर, नाला, नाली।  
**Canalize** *v.* नहर निकालना, रास्ते पर डालना।  
 نہر نکالنا، راستے پر ڈالنا  
**Canard** *n.* गप, झूठी खबर।  
**Cancel** *v.* काटना, कलम फेंकना, मिटाना, झुठा देना।  
 کاٹنا، قلم پھینکا، مٹانا، اٹھا دینا  
**Cancer** *n.* कैंकर, नासूर, सरतान, राजकोड़ा; कर्क राशि।  
 کینکڑا، ناسور، سرطان، راج پھوڑا؛ کَرک راشی  
**Candid** *adj.* खरा, साफ, सच्चा, खुला, बे-लाग-लपेट।  
 کھرا، صاف، سچا، کھلا، بے لاگ لیٹ  
**Candidate** *n.* मुम्मेदवार।  
**Candle** *n.* मोमबत्ती; दीया, दीपक, चिराग।  
 موم بتی؛ دیا، دیک، چراغ  
**Candle stick** *n.* बत्तीदान, चिरागदान।  
 بتی دان، چراغ دان

**Candle to, cannot hold a** किसीके आगे पानी भरना।  
 کسی کے آگے پانی بھرنا  
**Candle, the game is not worth the** बैकामदा मेहनत,  
 तकलीफ या कोशिश।  
**Candle under a bushel, hide** *v.* गुण छिपाना।  
**Candour** *n.* सच्चाई, खरापन, साफदिली।  
 سچائی، کھراپن، صاف دل  
**Candy** *v.* पागना, मिसरी या खोंडमें पकाकर रखना।  
 پاگنا، مصری یا کھانڈ میں پکا کر رکھنا  
**Cane** *n.* बेंत, छड़ी; गन्ना।  
**Cane** *v.* बेंत लगाना, बेंत मारना।  
**Canine** *adj.* कुत्तेका, कुत्ते-सा।  
**Canister** *n.* छोटा टीनका बक्सा, टीन, कनस्तर।  
 جھوٹا ٹین کا بکس، ٹین، کنستری  
**Canker** *n.* नासूर, घुन; खानेवाला फोड़ा या रोग।  
 ناسور، گھن؛ کھانے والا پھوڑا یا روگ  
**Cannibal** *n.* राक्षस, मनुष्यका मांस खानेवाला, आदमखोर।  
 راکشس، منش کا مانس کھانے والا، آدم خور  
**Cannon** *n.* तोप।  
**Cannonade** *n.* लगातार बमबारी या गोलाबारी।  
 لگاتار بمباری یا گولا باری  
**Canny** *adj.* होशियार, सयाना, चतुर, चालाक, सावधान।  
 ہوشیار، سیانا، چتر، چالاک، ساودمان  
**Canoe** *n.* डोंगी, छोटी किस्ती या नाव।  
**Canon** *n.* धार्मिक नियम या मसहबी कानून; कानून; शास्त्र, शरह;  
 खुसूल; पादरीका जेक खुसा पद या दरजा।  
 دھارمک نیم یا مذہبی قانون؛ قانون؛ شاستر، شرح، اصول؛ پادری کا ایک اونچا پد یا درجہ  
**Canonize** *v.* बलियों या सन्तोंमें नाम चढ़ाना।  
 بلیوں یا سنتوں میں نام چڑھانا  
**Canopy** *n.* छत्र, चँदोवा, शामियाना, मण्डप।  
 چتر، چندوا، شامیانہ، منڈپ  
**Cant** *n.* ऊपरी बातें, दिखावा, बनावट; झुकाव।  
 اوپری باتیں، دکھاوا، بناوٹ؛ جھکاو  
**Canteen** *n.* पलटनका शराबघर।  
**Cantankerous** *adj.* झगड़ालू, लड़ाका।  
**Canter** *n.* मीठा पोखिया (बोबेका)।  
**Canticle** *n.* मजन, गीत।  
**Canto** *n.* काण्ड, बाब।  
**Canton** *n.* परगना।  
**Cantonment** *n.* छावनी, लश्कर।  
**Canvas** *n.* किरमिच, प्राल, तिरपाल, टाट।  
**Canvass** *v.* जाँचना; बहस करना; चुनावमें राय या वोट माँगना।  
 جانچنا؛ بحث کرنا؛ چناؤ میں رائے یا ووٹ مانگنا  
**Canyon** *n.* घाटी, खड।  
**Canzonet** *n.* तुमरी, छोटा गीत।  
**Cap** *n.* टोपी, ढक्कन, ढकन; चोटी।  
**Cap** *v.* टोपी पहनना, टोपी पहनाना; ढक्कन लगाना; टोपी चढ़ाना; सनद देना; बंद जाना; प्रणाम या सलाम करना (टोपी खुतारकर या झुकर)।  
 ٹوپی پہنا، ٹوپی پہنانا؛ ڈمکن لگانا؛ ٹوپی چڑھانا؛ سند دینا؛ بڑھ جانا؛ پرتام یا سلام کرنا (ٹوپی اتار کر یا جھوکر)  
**Cap fits, the** *v.* फब जाना।  
**Cap in hand** *adv.* नम्रतासे, आज्ञासे।



## INDIAN TEXTILE INDUSTRY

(1940 to 1946)

The facts and figures which I propose to discuss here will be considered by future generations as a black chapter in the history of the relations between the vested interests on one side and the people on the other.

### FINANCIAL STRUCTURE OF THE INDUSTRY

The entire Textile Industry of the country has today an investment of about 50 crores of rupees in the form of Paid-up Capital, and this is the only risk, the share-holders have taken. It is to be noted that the bulk of this Paid-up Capital belongs to about 150 Managing Agents' Firms in the country, and thus, it is only these 150 Textile magnates who control, possess and exploit this vast industry in the country in their own personal interests without any regard for the well-being of the millions of this country who are the consumers of the products of the industry.

The industry has approximately the Block or Fixed Capital of about 100 crores of rupees in the form of buildings, lands, and machinery. It should be noted here that some portion of this value, particularly in Bombay, is an artificially inflated amount revalued as such in the first world war. It has got about 2,00,000 looms and 1,00,00,000 (one crore) spindles. It used to produce about 420 crores yards of cloth before the war, and was employing roughly about 5,00,000 employees. Since the war started, the number of employees has risen owing to the starting of the night shifts, and though at present, the number employed is nearly 7,00,000 the production has not proportionately expanded. This phenomenon appears strange in view of the expansion of the night shift work. However, those in close touch with the industry are able to see that as a result of very wide margin of profits which the manufacturers have, in collusion with Government, decided for themselves, has made them negligent, inefficient and indolent.

### WAR GAINS

I had an occasion to study the published balance-sheets results of about 75% of the textile industry for the war period in the course of my labour work.

The gross profits of the whole industry in the country in the pre-war year was about 5 to 6 crores of rupees. The value of products—cloth and yarn sold—was about 60 crores of rupees, and adding 20% on this value, as the margin of intermediary distributors, the consumers in the country got their supply of cloth and yarn at a value of about 72 crores. There was some export of cloth but it was very insignificant and therefore it can be neglected for the purpose of our general conclusions.

The prices of cloth began to rise after 1941 January. It took a precipitous height suddenly in October, November and December 1942 and reached its zenith somewhere in May 1943, when the prices were 5½ times the pre-war prices, as far as

the ex-mill prices were concerned. It is to be noted that the consumer did not even then get his supply of cloth at these prices, as the black market had already become by then a recognized institution, and the consumer had to pay anything between 50% to 100% higher value over the price quoted above. The Government then tried to step in sometime in the middle of the year 1943, apparently in the interests of the consumers, but the action taken was so inefficient that the people did not get any relief; on the contrary, the black market flourished and the exploitation of masses by industrial magnates was not only legalized and authorized officially, but was encouraged and given the stamp of honest trade. Nobody can expect anything better from a so-called Cloth Control Board which was dominated by the very manufacturers against whom the people wanted protection. The result of this mass hypnotism is seen in the following figures:

### INDIAN TEXTILE INDUSTRY (War period profits and gains)

Years	Gross Profits	Agents' Commission	Value of Products (Ex-Mill)	Value Paid by the Consumers
(Rupees in Crores)				
Pre-war Period				
1938	5	1	60	72
1939	5	1	60	72
War Period				
1940	7	1	70	84
1941	23	3	100	120
1942	46	5	150	250
1943	109	10	270	480
1944	85	9	210	370
1945	61	7	180	324
1946 (estimated)	41	5	170	306
	372	40	1150	1934

It is well-known that the Government has taken away through taxation several crores of rupees, and the manufacturers have acted as the agents of the Government for the purpose of this tax collection. This tax worked out in the course of the war period as a sort of poll tax on every man, woman and child who used the cloth. It is seen from the figures that the consumer had paid for his cloth supply per capita Rs. 6-12-0 on an average annually in place of Rs. 1-12-0 for the pre-war year. It is significant here to observe that whereas the cloth prices have been deliberately permitted to soar so high in this country only in the interest of the vested interests and the Government Exchequer, it has not gone above 30% in Britain, America, Canada or Australia which were also directly affected by the war. The normal ex-mill value of product in the pre-war year was only 60 crores, whereas the same for the seven years' period worked out at Rs. 164 crores on the average. It is to be noted here that the consumer did not get his cloth at this price as he used to do before the



war, but he had to pay at least 50% more for his supply owing to the institution of the black market in the country. It was impossible for an average consumer either in the town or in the village to get his cloth requirements at controlled rate. Therefore, I have increased the value which the consumers had to pay since 1942, the year when black-marketing had started on a large scale. The figures of profits shown above are really staggering, seen in their entirety on a comprehensive scale. An industry in which only 50 crores of capital has been primarily invested and whose fixed capital does not exceed 100 crore of rupees and whose pre-war yearly value of product was only 60 crores, has been permitted to make even in one single year, a profit of 109 crores and the average for the entire period of seven years works out at 53 crores a year. Thus the average profits for one year alone were more than three-fourths of the total value of the products in the pre-war period. From 1943 to 1945 the industry has made annually, on an average, profits which are nearly equal to their total fixed investments i. e., in these three years they have taken out from the consumers two and a half times the value of their plant in profits alone. Therefore the nation has really paid back through the 40 crores consumers several times the value of the plant that has been set up for its cloth supply in the form of profits alone, during these war years. The industry now, in equity, morality and even on economic grounds belongs to the nation which was made compulsorily to pay much more than the total value of these 420 mills which, in fairness, should now be transferred to the State without any compensation. A cursory glance at the commission drawn by the managing agents would show that they have taken from the industry for themselves amounts which are even more than the normal profits of the industry. The amount thus drawn as commission is ten times the amount that was being paid to the Managing Agents in normal period for the services they are supposed to render to the industry. Looked at from any point of view, those 150 firms, which have formed themselves into a sort of syndicalist clique, got themselves benefitted at the cost of the consumers who is the country. No civilized State would permit such open exploitation of the masses, and when applied to a poor country like India it is nothing less than sin and cruelty.

#### SECRET GAINS

The profits discussed and analysed in the course of the statement are the balance-sheet profits. It should not be forgotten that nearly all the mills during the last seven years, have built up crores of secret reserves in stocks of cloth, cotton and stores which are kept out of the public eye. The illegitimate and secret gains made by the Managing Agents, their friends and associates, in the purchase of materials, stores etc., and on the sale of products are in addition to what has been mentioned above and these ill-gotten gains, if calculated, would

easily run into several crores, which remain unaccounted, and will ever remain so.

#### CONSUMERS & COTTON GROWERS' INTERESTS SACRIFICED

This clique of industrial magnates in the country has also not hesitated to sacrifice the interests of cotton growers at the altar of their private profits. Their influence and close contact with those in authority was so great that they managed to keep down the prices of cotton, the main raw material, as low as possible, with a view to widen their margin. This factor naturally widened the margin of already high profits at the cost of cotton growers. The poor cultivator, who also forms the bulk of the consumers, was thus hit both ways. He had to pay fabulous prices for his cloth requirements while he was given comparatively low prices for his main product, cotton. The cotton price index for the war period is 217 as compared to 100 in the pre-war year, while the cloth price index for the same period is 273, as compared to 100 in pre-war year. I would observe here that owing to the persistent agitation by the cotton growers, cotton prices show an upward trend since only last year. Had this not happened, the contrast would have been still more striking. The wide disparity in the prices of cloth compared to other commodities is also borne out vividly by the Bombay cost of living index which includes all commodities of consumption. This index taken as 100 for the pre-war year, is on the average 181 for the war period. This figure would have been lower, had cloth not been included in it.

#### MERCHANTS SHARING WAR GAINS

A side-light on profits made by the wholesale cloth dealers in the country is also interesting. This class of persons in the country does not exceed about 400 and they were taken into confidence by the manufacturers and the Government, and were given their due share in this wholesale loot. The present Cloth Control Board is composed of mill-owners, wholesale cloth merchants, with only a sprinkling of other so-called uninterested persons who are insignificant and even if these insignificant numbers make some noise, these plutocrats have their own peculiar ways of silencing them. The wholesale dealer for the services he used to render to the society in the matter of cloth distribution was getting about 1% commission on an average on the sale value of cloth and yarn. This commission or brokerage was  $\frac{1}{2}\%$  in Ahmedabad,  $1\frac{1}{2}\%$  in Bombay, and  $\frac{1}{2}\%$  to  $1\frac{1}{2}\%$  in other centres. I have therefore taken 1% as a fair average for our purpose. The wholesale cloth dealers' services were thus compensated by paying to this class about 60 lakhs of rupees per year, on a total sale of about Rs. 60 crores. The Cloth Control Board, in their wisdom raised this basis to 3% for all on the sale value. This commission was raised three times, but if the rise in the prices of cloth were considered, it will be seen that the wholesale dealer has been paid in the year 1944, 6 crores instead of 60 lakhs.



This works out at 10 times the normal payment. It must also be noted that the wholesale dealer has now no risk to take, no money to invest and no service to render to anybody. This huge amount of 6 crores almost equal to the profits of the whole industry in the pre-war year, is simply given to him as a sort of royalty to shut his mouth, as he is expected to know much more than anybody in the country about the misdeeds of the mill-owners and the agents of the Government who are practically managing among themselves the whole question of production and distribution of cloth. The Cloth Control Organization consists of thousands of employees—all Government servants on fabulous salaries—in addition to what they might be getting as illegal gratification which is today an open secret. If one were to look very closely into this cloth control business, one will be convinced that it is a very well-planned and well-thought out racket to defraud the consumers under the camouflage of Government authority and dignity. This racket, in my opinion, should not now be allowed to exist even for a day longer, and the whole organization should be immediately disbanded.

#### PRESENT PRIVATIONS OWE THEIR EXISTENCE

##### TO TEXTILE INTERESTS

As I have stated in my statement issued in January 1944, the cloth trade is mainly responsible for the present economic hardships that the people are experiencing today. This trade set the ball of high prices rolling and other commodities naturally followed suit. If the trend of prices since 1942 August, are studied, it will be seen that the cloth prices began to rise first and after a time lag of few months, the prices of other commodities rose. Thus the vicious circle set in the cloth trade being obviously the chief factor which has upset the economic equilibrium in the country. If the figures of currency inflation are also studied, it will be found that the inflation also was in close parity and rose with the trend in cloth prices since 1941 March, and with steep rise of cloth prices in the second half of the year 1942, and first half of 1943, the expansion of paper currency went on unabated. The prices of other commodities particularly cotton and foodgrains did not register such a rise in spite of inflation. Therefore, one is permitted to conclude that there was some deliberateness on the part of those interested in the cloth trade in their selfish interests to manage the whole economic structure in such a way that the gains will only go to the textile industry at the cost of other sections of the country.

I feel that the black-marketing, general corruption in the country and the existing economic hardships we are witnessing can reasonably be ascribed to a larger extent to the extraordinary amount of money that has come into the hands of those who are connected with the textile industry, either as manufacturers, traders or suppliers of raw materials and stores needed in the cloth manufacture. The next primary need of the consumers after food was exploited by the Government of the day assisted

by the selfish textile interests without regard to the well-being of the people as a whole. It is therefore obvious that unless this industry is adequately and effectively controlled entirely in the interests of the people, any other attempt in other directions to bring about normal conditions would not achieve the results we all desire.

#### WORKERS' INTERESTS ALSO SACRIFICED

It has been shown above that the textile manufacturing interests have deliberately and selfishly betrayed the interests of the consumers. Let us see whether they dealt with their employees either fairly or justly. The employees working in this industry have not been given a fair deal, and their interests have also been sacrificed at the altar of private profits. They have not been generally compensated fully to enable them to offset the rise in the cost of living. The dearness allowance paid to them ranges from 50% to 75% only as compensation for rise, except perhaps in Ahmedabad where, through organized struggle, the employees have been able to get nearly 100% compensation for the rise in the cost of living. But even this solitary case of justice has been upset by the Millowners last year through an Award of the Industrial Court which reduced it to 76% on the plea that other centres are not getting full compensation. Thus it is seen that the bulk of the textile workers had to work in the industry at a reduced standard of living. They have not been able to maintain their pre-war standard of living. In terms of commodities and services, their wages have gone down i.e. their real wages have been reduced to the extent of about 15% to 25%.

#### FIXING OF PRICES

In the course of my study with regard to labour questions which have cropped up, I had numerous occasions to look into the schedule of ceiling prices prepared technically by the Cloth Control Board but really by the millowners. If this schedule of prices is thoroughly scrutinized, it will show that the allowances permitted to be added to the basic prices for fancy and coloured sorts of cloth are nothing short of open loot. The allowances granted are out of all proportion to the additional cost involved in this manufacture due to increased wages, increased cost of materials or loss in production. In short, the millowners took every step in the Control Board to increase their private profits, even though an appearance was put up as if the consumers' interests were being safeguarded by them.

#### REMEDIAL MEASURES SUGGESTED

The popular Governments at the centre and the Provinces should not now tolerate this state of affairs any longer. They must immediately take up this question without any delay and without heeding the fictitious groans of these textile interests who are quite capable of even side-tracking the authorities. The Central Government should immediately dissolve the Control Board as it is at present constituted, and thus do away with this organizational racket. This Board has created an exclusive



interest for the millowners. The existing personnel of this organization when dissolved, should not be eligible for appointment in any capacity in the new arrangement I am suggesting. The following are a few of the remedial and permanent suggestions in the matter of cloth production and distribution :

1. The Government of India should enact a Law creating a statutory 'Textile Control and Supply Commission,' the duty of which is to control the production and distribution of cloth, keeping in view only the interests of the consumers.
2. The present cloth and yarn distribution agency of private dealers should be abolished.
3. New licensed dealers should be created by provincial Governments which should take appropriate financial securities from these dealers.
4. Very heavy penalties including imprisonment should be provided for breach of any regulation or order passed by the commission and the offence should be made cognizable.

Ahmedabad, 4-11-'46 KHANDUBHAI K. DESAI

### ADIVASI PROBLEM IN BOMBAY

The riots of the *Adivasis* in the Dahanu Taluka should be an eye-opener for us. No doubt, the police and the military will suppress the riots and peace will be restored. But that does not mean that the problem is solved. Such riots are outward symptoms of a serious disease in the body politic. So long as the root causes of this disease are not removed, a superficial treatment of outward symptoms would not be of any avail. These rioters are known to be an extremely timid people. Their poverty and ignorance baffles description. For ages they have been exploited by the rulers of the day, by the landlords, the money-lenders and a host of other parasites. They were the original owners of the land, but today they are forced to labour on that same land as serfs. The new landlords and money-lenders profit to an unconscionable extent by their labour. At the back of this exploitation, there lurk frightful injustice and suppression. So long as this exploitation, injustice and suppression are not removed, it is futile to hope for a lasting peace.

Similar condition prevails in other districts also. In the neighbouring Surat District and Indian States, people known as *Raniparaj* groan under the same piteous condition. In Surat *Dublas*, now called *Halapatis*, are reduced to the condition of serfdom under the system known as the *Hali* System. In the Kaira District, the *Baraiya* and *Patanwadia* communities have similar grievances. If these people have not rebelled, it is simply because they are ignorant and unorganized.

While it is true that rioting and violence are not going to help these people or the society, at the same time, it should be remembered that it is no use merely making that statement. We must show this people a better remedy by working amongst them and by organizing them through constructive activities. Is it any wonder if they are exasperated and resort to violence out of a feeling

of frustration and despair? The spirit of the exploited and the suppressed people has awakened. The point both in time and circumstances has arrived which demands their full deliverance. None will be able to stop that process.

Congress Governments are trying to help these people by legislation. But it will not be impertinent to remark that local Congress workers and landlords and big agriculturists who call themselves Congressmen, do not yet fully realize the inherent injustice in the existing order. They do not work whole-heartedly for the implementation of even such mild legislation as the Tenancy Act and the Debt Redemption Act. They are not prepared to do justice where their own interests are affected. They are indignant when they have to forgo heavy rents or large crop-shares hitherto enjoyed by them. But they must realize that the days of extorting a lion's share from the social income without fulfilling any social liability or function are now gone. They must now give up their greed, understand their responsibility and raise the condition of the people on whose exploitation they have upto now fattened. Vast areas of land in their possession are not properly cultivated and manured. There are no irrigation facilities and no good seeds are used. They must attend to all these things and must be prepared to work shoulder to shoulder with their erstwhile serfs. They should use their intellect, experience and capital for improving agriculture and also for ameliorating the social and economic condition of their collaborators in it. Only on this condition can they have any title to a share in the income.

Congress workers should give up their complacency and should bring home to the vested interests, the injustice, suppression and exploitation committed by them consciously or unconsciously. They should also organize the labouring class—the landless peasants by doing constructive work amongst them, so that their capacity to offer resistance, if need be, through peaceful means is developed.

Sabarmati, 12-1-'47

NARHARI PARIKH

(Translated from the original in Gujarati)

### Correction—"Unequal Marriages"

In the above article, published on 5-1-'47, p. 474 in col. 2, lines 1 and 2, for "more than, say, two times and a half years senior to her in age," please read, "older than, say, two times and a half her age."

10-1-'47

K. G. M.

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# HARIJAN

16 Pages

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AHMEDABAD — SUNDAY, JANUARY 26, 1947

TWO ANNAS

## FOR SALE—A PACIFIER I

To satisfy a baby's greed an easy going mother gives it a pacifier to suck. This pacifier gives the child no nutrition but just the satisfaction of appearing to feed. In the same way, our *vanaspati ghee* users have got their desire to use something which appears like *ghee* and the *vanaspati* "ghee" makers satisfy such consumers' vanity by giving them something which does not provide the nutriment of *ghee* and at the same time satisfies their vanity. But while the mother does not charge the child anything for putting the pacifier in its mouth, the *vanaspati ghee* makers grow fat on the profits they earn out of their consumers. *Vanaspati ghee* is not *ghee* at all, unless it has some equivalent of the vitamin A as is contained in the dairy product. At best *vanaspati* can be termed an equivalent of indigestible vegetable oil, if it is hydrogenated to the extent sufficient to make it appear solid like *ghee*. Hydrogenation confers no special quality on pure vegetable oil other than the fact that such hydrogenated oil forms a convenient adulterant for *ghee*. What distinguishes vegetable oil from *ghee* is its animal origin and the vitamin A is more or less exclusively of animal origin. *Vanaspati* which claims to be "vitaminous", therefore, can only be vitaminized from animal sources of oil rich in vitamin A—Shark Liver oil and Cod Liver oil. In a vegetarian country like ours, where many of the consumers have an aversion to animal food other than dairy products, to sell freely *vanaspati* without disclosing the animal source of its vitamin is a fraud on the public.

Besides, at the Nutrition Conference held at Hotsprings, it was pointed out that the free use of vitamin concentrates is injurious. If, therefore, *vanaspati* is vitaminized by concentrates taken from Cod Liver oil or Shark Liver oil, such concentrates will also be injurious. Then, again, for hydrogenation a catalytic agent is necessary. The usual catalytic agent that is used is nickel, and traces of nickel have been found in hydrogenated oils and nickel not being a mineral which the human body needs may, though taken in minute quantities, prove to be poisonous in the long run. Dr. V. N. Patwardhan, Director of the Nutrition Research Institute, Coonoor, stated at the Indian Science Congress last month that his researches revealed that *vanaspati* adversely affected the growth and reproductive functions of animals.

People in different parts of the country have been used to different kinds of vegetable oils—mus-

tard, *til*, cocoanut, etc., and according to *ayurvedic* tradition, all oils are not of equal benefit to the human body. The value differs from oil to oil. For instance, the almond oil is declared to be a brain tonic and nourishing for the body while the groundnut oil, though it may have fat content, is said to be injurious for the brain. *Sarsav*, *til* and cocoanut oil are infinitely better from this point of view than groundnut oil. Most of the *vanaspati* factories use mainly groundnut oil or cotton-seed oil. These are inferior oils and therefore, even as a substitute fat from ordinary oil, the users of *vanaspati* do not get the best of vegetable oils. By legislation, which seeks to guarantee to consumers pure food products, it should be made compulsory on the part of *vanaspati* "ghee" makers to declare on their labels clearly and unmistakably, the sources from which the product is made including of course that of the vitamin.

These facts being as they are, it passes our understanding as to why *vanaspati* should be prepared unless it be to provide oils in a suitable condition for soap-making and other industrial purposes. As things are, vegetable oils pressed by *ghanies* are superior to *vanaspati* in their digestibility and purity while there is no comparison with the natural dairy *ghee* and yet capitalists are investing Rs 4 to 5 lakhs on machinery imported from abroad for exploiting the susceptibility to vanity of a small section of our population, mainly urban.

We understand about 27 new factories have been allowed by the Central Government to be started, most of them in Madras and Bombay. Is this the understanding and solicitude the Central Government has for the exploiters irrespective of the welfare of the population or is it their enthusiasm for rapid industrialization that is carrying them beyond their depth or is it a carry over of the British "Fleece India" policy, as establishing these 27 factories will mean to Great Britain a business of over a crore?

We would suggest that a government that seeks the welfare of the people would not stop short of banning this type of exploitation at the cost of the health and the sentiments of the people. In the name of industrialization the country should not be ruined, especially the constitution of a people who are already victims of malnutrition. Public opinion should be educated to deal with *vanaspati* "ghee" producers as traitors to the land and if the government reflects the popular mind, we should soon have no such fraud practised on the people.

J. C. KUMARAPPA



## AN AMERICAN FRIEND'S WARNING

Senseless imitation is the bane of our people. And there is always a time-lag in the imitation. We imitate a thing after it has gone out of fashion in the West. Such is the case for instance as regards tractors and chemical manures. Advocates of mechanization and artificials would do well to take note of the danger signal hoisted by Mr. Ralph Richard Keithahn in an article contributed by him to *Rural India* of April 1943:

"Families of country-dwellers packed all their scanty belongings into some cheap lorry or large car, which threatened to fall apart at any moment, and feverishly cluttered the roads to find a chance to live. This has been a common sight in America during the last ten years. In South Dakota we saw how the great forests had been uprooted; the nutritious and drought-resisting buffalo-grass, the blessing for great droves of cattle and sheep, ploughed under that wheat might be grown on a large scale, that the farmers might make more money. More money, then a car; more money, then a radio; more money, then a tractor and more land! And the land speculators raced about wildly to entice investors to make their 'fortune' in the gold-lands of a semi-desert! There was a boom! The President cried, 'Back to Normalcy! A later President consoled the people that there would always be prosperity even though a depression already was upon the people!

"The old Jewish prophets would have called it 'God's wrath'! It was the normal processes of Nature working themselves out. With the trees gone, there was less rain. With the good grass gone, there was less fertilizer for the land, less cattle to befriend man. The dry years began to come. And the grasshoppers who also were hungry! And the winds became our enemy, not our friend! The field of corn would be in its glory. Dry weather would come. The green crops started to wither. Then the wind, blowing across the treeless land, and with the heat, cutting the very life out of crops. Soon the landscape was a desert! Then as the wind whipped across these miles of desert, the dust began to rise and rise until even the sun was darkened. Day became as night, and the dust drifted through the cracks of closed doors and windows. And when the dust did not come and pile up in banks three, four and six feet high, the grasshoppers came and devoured, as though famished, the little green they could find. The good and unknowing people stood helpless in the face of the working of God's laws. First helplessness, then hunger and then movement, back and forth through the country in these battered 'ships of the road' trying to find work and food! The days of cars and tractors and radios and money were gone. They had become slaves to a terrible exploiting system that brought destruction in its wake!!

"India has learned many solid truths in its centuries of existence. Gandhiji and others have been helping us to recapture those truths in the light of the needs of today. Rural workers may do

much to guide our people in these days into a life of creative joy. But it is not the way of the exploiting West. True, we have much to learn from the West, to learn of her helpful discoveries, to learn of her mistakes. But let us not blindly follow her and bring our people and nation to temporary ruin."

V. G. D.

## PLANNING WITH VILLAGE BIAS

### I

#### INTRODUCTORY

Since the dawn of history agriculture has been the prime occupation of India and her people. Her whole life grew on agriculture. The evolution of her races, history, culture and languages can be traced to it and in terms of it. Her greatest sages and kings tilled the soil, cleared forests for agriculture and tended agricultural stocks as of routine. Agriculture was looked upon as the most honourable and respected calling and as the source of all prosperity. The tiller of the soil had a status higher than that of kings, for he was looked upon as the feeder and sustainer of millions, including kings and emperors.

Even in middle ages after the impact of Islam and during the times of the Great Moghals, the position and status of agriculture remained unaffected in the nation's economy. Hindus and Muslims lived together in villages and conducted seasonal operations on their fields by mutual exchange of aid and rotation labour. They vied with one another in their pursuit of agriculture as good neighbours and treated their village as a family unit. Agriculture was the pivot round which the entire social and economic life of the community revolved.

But the foreigner, who came to possess and rule India during the last two centuries, functioned with a vastly different motive. He had no plans to settle down and merge with the millions of this country as his numerous predecessors had done. He came, he saw and he conquered, not for glory as did the ancient conquerors, but purely for exploiting the fabulous wealth and resources of this country for the benefit of his cousins at home in cold England. The motive was grab pure and simple. He was not much interested in India's agriculture save for the raw materials she produced. His cousins at home were an industrial folk interested only in capturing foreign markets and dumping their manufactured goods on them. So his eyes were rivetted on our handicrafts and home industries which he systematically killed to further and safeguard British trade. By what cruel and unscrupulous processes he did this is now common knowledge.

Both agriculture and village industries had thus their first set-back under the British rulers. Under their blighting influence agriculture languished and our home industries withered away and disappeared. Some of the dislodged artisans sought employment in city factories to their physical and moral ruin, while the bulk of them with their families and dependents fell back on land as unskilled labour. The population, too, more than doubled during the period.



In consequence, pressure on land increased and rendered agriculture progressively uneconomic till at last it came to be regarded as on the lowest rung of the economic ladder. The impoverished cultivator sank hopelessly in debt. Chronic idleness born of stark despair seized him. Yet he had to till the soil and live on agriculture, for there was no other alternative for him in this country.

To speak of recent conditions, even during war years, the scandalous disparity between the agricultural producer's return and that of the industrial manufacturer has been manifestly patent. Under the exigencies of war the Indian cultivator was compelled to grow and sell his entire produce at prices which were in no way commensurate with his frightfully increased cost of production. He was denied a fair opportunity to sell at an equitable margin and lighten his debt, while the city manufacturer of machine-made goods profiteered with impunity under direct State patronage and accommodation in all directions, as well as through black-marketing. The poor agriculturist thus remained where he was — a hopeless pauper, eking out a miserable existence along with his emaciated family and starving live stock.

The remedy lies not in searching or devising substitute occupation for the Indian cultivator in cities and towns. For no other industry or industries can accommodate over 300 millions of our agricultural population. The only remedy is to overhaul agriculture in terms of the 'nation's prime industry and reinstate it on its old status and position. The speedy removal of century-old injustice as well as present maladjustments has to be the first concern of those who are charged today with the responsibility of planning the nation's economy afresh, keeping constantly in view the betterment of the millions.

In planning or devising a nation's economy, the main source of occupation for the bulk of its population must form the inevitable basis. Thus, for instance, it would be idle to conceive of a 'national' planning of Denmark's economy save in terms and on the basis of her dairying. Similarly no planning worthy to be called 'national' could be thought of in India without placing the country's agriculture in the forefront. Thus, the improvement of agriculture and of live stock, so long as it is indispensable to it in this country, must find priority over everything else in any scheme of "national planning" to be undertaken to ameliorate the condition of the 7,00,000 villages of India. The present note is an attempt to indicate some aspects of such planning with a village bias, with special reference to the province of Bombay.

Vapi

SWAMI ANAND

(To be continued)

THE GOSPEL OF SELFLESS ACTION  
OR

THE GITA ACCORDING TO GANDHI

By Mahadev Desai

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## STORY HOUR

(Continued from p. 487)

[IX is from Shaikh Sadi and X from W. H. Davenport Adams' *The Secret of Success* (John Hogg) —V. G. D.]

## IX

A clod of clay was asked how it had come to smell so fragrantly and replied, 'The sweetness is not in myself but I have been keeping company with the rose.'

## X

After the death of a merchant in Boston the following document was found in his handwriting:

'By the grace of God, I will never be worth more than 50,000 dollars. By the grace of God, I will give one-fourth of the net profits of my business to charitable uses. If I am ever worth 20,000 dollars, I will give one-half of my net profits and if I am ever worth 30,000, I will give three-fourths; and the whole after 50,000. So help me God, or give to a more faithful steward, and set me aside.'

To this covenant he adhered with the most scrupulous fidelity. He recognized that he was intended by Providence to act as its almoner and his wealth was known by the splendour of his munificence. He kept the Jain layman's *vrata* (observance) of *parigraha-parimana* (limitation of possessions) like the ten *upasakas* (disciples) of Mahavir Swami. Are there any such *shravaks* now?

## ANOTHER RISING MENACE

In the rural areas milk is already in short supply. If we sincerely desire the welfare of the people, our attempt should be to find out ways and means of increasing the supply. No doubt the cities are dependent on the villages for the milk. If an organization can be brought into being whereby the cities can run their own dairies in selected rural areas and be independent of the existing supply from the villages, that in itself will alleviate the distress in the rural areas. Of course, alongside of this programme we must have the long range programme of increasing the milk productivity of the cow by selective cattle breeding.

Wherever people are in distress we always find somebody willing to take advantage of this distress. There are people willing to rifle the pockets of dead soldiers: Thus the distress of somebody presents an opportunity to some one else to take advantage of. At the present time the short supply of milk has provided a golden opportunity for the Indian Tea Market Expansion Board to carry on its destructive work. Mr. M. H. Miles, its Commissioner for India, is anxious to push forward to the villages and create the tea habit in the villages. This would imply, that by tanning the insides of the villagers and satisfying their hunger by decreasing the digestibility, we can automatically lessen their demand for milk! This is a real menace to the health of rural India. In a vegetarian country the animal protein from milk is an essential constituent of the diet. Any habit which is calculated to decrease this is harmful to the villages and is anti-social.



Papers carry advertisement "drink tea for stamina", which being lying propaganda must be stopped by the Government taking necessary steps to control the advertisements. Indian consumption of tea in 1928-9 was 48.8 million pounds and it has risen in 1945-6 to 130 million pounds. This is an increase of about 266 p. c. and yet they are carrying on a campaign of increasing tea consumption still further. Whatever may be said for tea for the well-to-do who are overfed, it is difficult to support the cause for tea in villages. The work of the Indian Tea Market Expansion Board, therefore, is a menace to the rural areas which are already starving and suffering from mal-nutrition. We trust the popular governments will do what lies in their power to prevent any irreparable damage being done by the formation of habits which will be injurious to the growth and strength of the village people.

J. C. Kumarappa

## HARIJAN

January 26

1947

### THE PURPOSE OF THE TOUR

(By M. K. Gandhi)

[The following address which was written out by Gandhiji in Hindustani for being read to the audience at prayer time on 6th January—it being his day of silence—has been rendered in English from its Bengali version by Shri Nirmal Kumar Bose, and published in the Bengali edition of the Harijan of the 12th instant. —Mg. Ed.]

As my weekly silence will not break before 7 p. m., I have written out my address. I pray to God, and request you all to join with me in praying that the tour which I commenced yesterday should go on uninterrupted till the end and be successful in achieving its purpose. But before praying, you should know that purpose. I have only one object in view and it is a clear one; namely, that God should purify the hearts of Hindus and Muslims, and the two communities should be free from suspicion and fear towards each other. Please join with me in this prayer and say that God is the Lord of us both and that He may give us success.

You might well ask me why it is necessary to undertake a tour for this purpose; or how can one, who is not pure in heart himself, ask others to become pure; or how can one, who himself is subject to fear, give courage to others; one, who himself moves under armed escort, call upon others to cast away their arms. All these questions are relevant and have been put to me.

My answer is that during my tour I wish to assure the villagers to the best of my capacity that I bear not the least ill-will towards any. I

can prove this only by living and moving among those, who distrust me. I admit that the third question is a little difficult for me to answer; for, I do happen to be moving under armed protection, I am surrounded by armed police and military, keenly alert to guard me from all danger. I am helpless in the matter as it is arranged by the Government which being responsible to the people feels that it is their duty to keep me guarded by the police and the military. How can I prevent them from doing so? Under the circumstances, I can declare only in words that I own no protector but God. I do not know whether you will believe my statement. God alone knows the mind of a person; and the duty of a man of God is to act as he is directed by his inner voice. I claim that I act accordingly.

You might here ask that there was at least no reason for the Sikhs to go with me. They have not been posted by the Government. Let me inform you, first, that they have obtained the permission of the Government for going with me. They have not come here to create quarrels. In testimony, they have come without their usual *kirpans*. They have come to render service to both the communities impartially. The first lesson which the Netaji taught to the soldiers of his Indian National Army was that Hindus, Muslims, Christians, Parsis etc., should all regard India as their common motherland, and they should all substantiate their unity by working for her jointly. The Sikhs here wish to serve both the communities under my guidance. How—on what ground—can I send away such friends? They have been giving me valuable assistance and that not for making a public show thereof, but in a spirit of genuine service. If I refused that service, I should fall in my own estimate and prove myself a coward. I request you, too, to trust these people, regard them as your brethren and accept their services. They are capable of rendering much help and have plenty of experience of this kind of work. God has blessed them with physical strength and also faith.

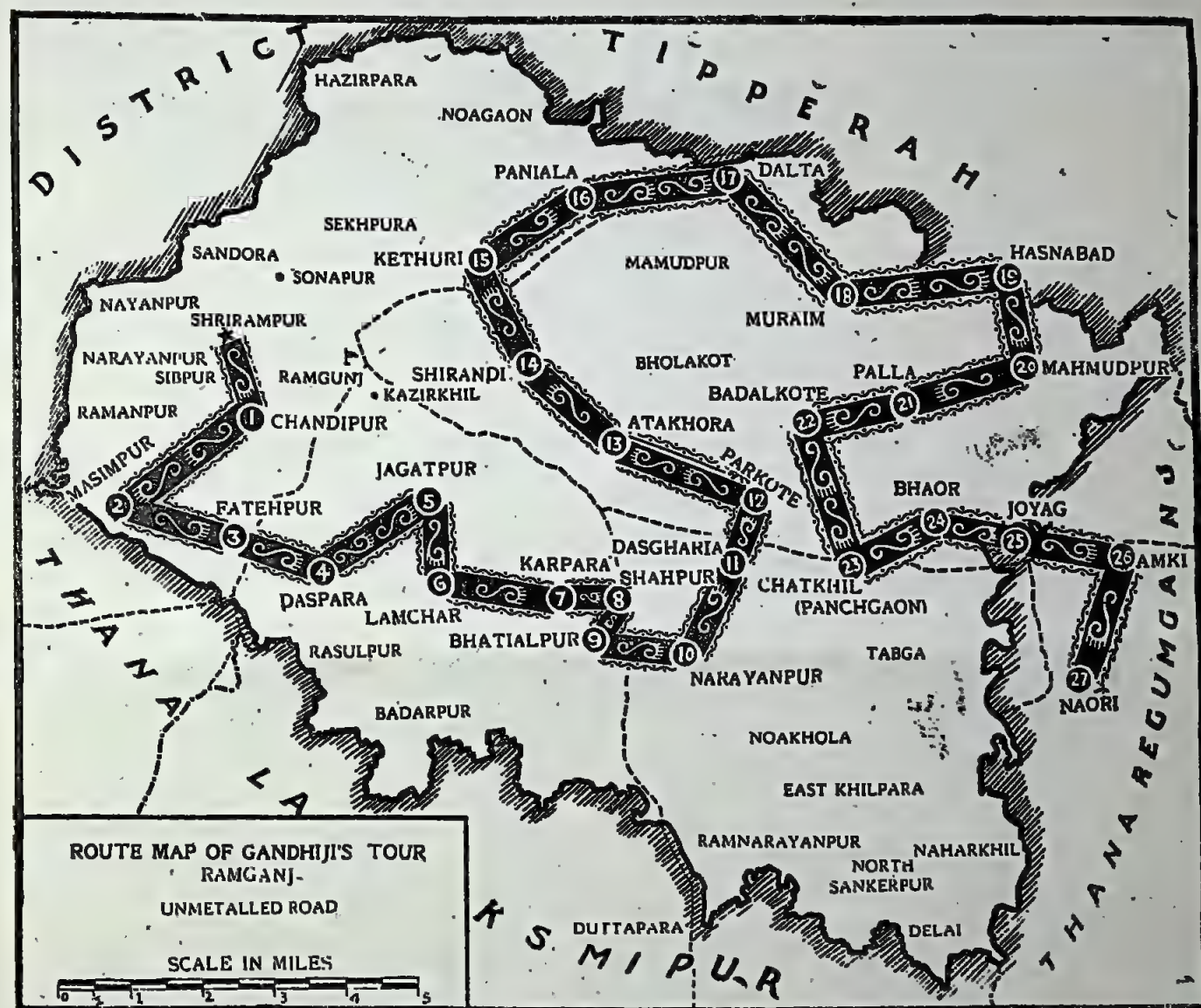
If I find that what I have said about them was incorrect, they would go back. If, on the other hand, I am keeping them with an ulterior motive, it will prove to be my own ruin, besides making my experiment a failure.

The particular object lessons, which I propose to give you during my tour, are how you can keep the village water and yourself clean; what use you can properly make of the earth, which our bodies are made of; how you can obtain the life-force from the infinite sky spreading over your heads; how you can reinforce your vital-energy from the air, which surrounds you; and how you can make proper use of the sun-light. This is to say that I shall try to teach you how we can convert our impoverished country into a land of gold by making the right use of the various elements around us. I pray to God that I may succeed in serving you in the manner set forth above.



## MAP

[Part of Noakhali and Tipperah Districts of East Bengal, showing the route of Gandhiji's village-to-village peace mission tour. We are indebted to the *Hindustan Standard* of Calcutta for this excellent map.]



Gandhiji is visiting the villages named serially with the date of his stay in a particular village stated against it.

1. Chandipur — 2nd to 6th January; 2. Masimpur — 7th; 3. Fatehpur — 8th; 4. Daspara — 9th; 5. Jagatpur — 10th; 6. Lamchar — 11th; 7. Karpara — 12th; 8. Shahpur — 13th; 9. Bhatialpur — 14th; 10. Narayanpur — 15th; 11. Dasgharia — 16th; 12. Par-

Kote — 17th; 13. Atakhora — 18th; 14. Shirandi — 19th; 15. Kethuri — 20th; 16. Paniala — 21st; 17. Dalta — 22nd; 18. Muraim — 23rd; 19. Hasnabad (Tipperah) — 24th; 20. Mahmudpur — 25th; 21. Palla — 26th; 22. Badalkote — 27th; 23. Chatkhil (Panchgaon) — 28th; 24. Bhaor — 29th; 25. Joyag — 30th; 26. Amki — 31st and 27. Naori — 1st. February.



## OUR ECONOMIC POLICY

With the advent of the so-called popular ministries people's minds are agitated over the policies that these ministries should follow. At the moment there is a considerable amount of loose thinking in regard to the expansion of the textile mills in Madras, which brings to the fore the question of centralization in industries.

It is not generally understood that imperialism is a child of centralized industries and now in its dotage centralized industries cannot exist without the support of imperialism.

When England took to centralized methods of production, Great Britain was not an Empire. Its economic life was based on decentralized methods of production. She was a highly cultured country with a strong moral background. Even now when we think of her great contribution to the progress of man, we have to look back to the period before the Industrial Revolution. The best of her literature—Shakespeare, Milton and such like were Elizabethan; in art, men of the type of Sir Joshua Reynolds flourished prior to the nineteenth century. Sir Christopher Wren and his peers in architecture never saw a textile mill to afford them inspiration. Moral giants like Latimer who were British *satyagrahis*, who were prepared to lay down their lives for their convictions, never saw the power of the steam engine. We may say the Victorian Era was the darkest age in British History culturally, whatever its glamour may have been financially and materially. After the Industrial Revolution Great Britain gained the whole world but lost its soul. Why was this?

When Great Britain took to centralized methods of production in the textile industry and was relying for her raw materials on commercial contracts with the southern States of America, she found her position was unstable, as during the American Civil War her industries were hard hit when the American cotton could not reach Manchester. She realized that if her industries were to survive, she ought to have the production of raw materials under her direct control. So she turned to India to ensure her cotton supply and keep her markets for finished goods also under her political control. This was the birth of British Imperialism.

This arrangement was found very satisfactory for the mill-owners as they were able also to saddle several items of their cost on Indian Revenues. The cost of research incidental to the production of long staple cotton, the discriminating freight rates, the shipping policy etc., were controlled in favour of the British manufacturer. Thus their cost of production was kept low.

### VIOLENCE AND ITS COST

Apart from these, in centralized industries we have shown that the control of raw materials and markets becomes a condition precedent to the efficiency of the working of the centralized means of production. If this is granted, it means that to be able to control raw materials and markets we

must obtain political power over the producers of raw materials and consumers. Today such political power can only be obtained by violent means. To enforce this power, it requires the maintenance of the army, navy and air force. Hence a strict method of accounting would demand that the costs of the maintenance of the army, navy and air force should also be charged to the centralized methods of production. Periodically wars have to be fought—the cost of wars have to form also a part of the cost of the centralized methods of production. Hence these should be charged to the cost of production. If these logical expenses were all properly charged to the beneficiaries, we can easily see that the production by mills will become prohibitive and cannot hope to compete with decentralized production in cheapness.

In our own life time, such has been the experience of industrialization in Japan also. She finds the need to control politically Manchuria and China. These are the irritant causes of global wars today. Do we want our country also to have a share in these nefarious activities? If not, we must steer clear of centralization in the production of consumption goods for private profit.

### DISHONESTY

Having decided to get the raw cotton from India and having made the Indian tax-payer pay for the researches for the Manchester mills, it became necessary to arrange for the transport of the cotton grown in India to Manchester. For this purpose, they pushed through the programme of laying out rail roads under the plea of developing the country and spent crores of rupees for this. Strictly speaking, the great need of India then was waterways for transport of goods to our own internal markets. Instead of this, the foreign interests prevailed and we have had to spend crores of rupees for their benefit.

All these expenses—the amounts spent on cotton research and the amounts spent on developing the railways—should have been legitimately borne by the Manchester mill-owner. If this had been done, it would not have been possible for the Manchester cloth to undersell hand-spun and hand-woven cloth in India. This method of paying one's cost of production through governmental aid is a means of reducing costs of production which cannot be called "efficiency" but loot. We saw that the need to keep raw materials under the control of the mill-owner leads to imperialism and the need to keep down costs and paying part of the expenses through tax money leads to dishonesty. Thus centralized methods of production lead to imperialism and exploitation.

To illustrate this: when I was visiting Palladam *firka*, I found there an enterprising individual who had set up six looms run by a crude oil engine. He had spent about Rs. 20,000 to Rs. 25,000 on his equipment. He was able to run it for barely 18 days in the month on the yarn quota supplied from Coimbatore. He was representing his needs to me and said that if he could be supplied with



half as much yarn again, he can run his unit the whole month round and reduce his expenses to such an extent as to cut down even on the mill costs of production. His raw material, viz., warps came from Coimbatore and his finished goods were sold somewhere in the neighbourhood of Nellore. The logical course in time will be for this man to get control over his raw material producer viz., the Coimbatore mill-owners. If he can get hold of an army of *goondas* who will, at the point of the bayonet, obtain yarn that he needs, he would be able to make his mill work more "efficiently" than the large textile mills. Similarly, if he can get special low rates of transport for his goods to Nellore, he can again undersell the textile mills. This in miniature represents the position of all centralized industries. They have got to resort to imperialism and exploitation as a condition precedent to their existence.

#### FOOD vs. RAW MATERIAL

Again to grow raw material for mills, they have had, time and again, not only to get the agricultural colleges to do their research at public cost but also they had encroached on food lands. The present day famines are in no small measure due to such encroachments. In Malabar, while I was visiting Payanoor *firka*, people informed me that in several villages the land under paddy had been reduced by about 20% and in their place cocoanut groves have sprung up. The cocoanut groves were intended not for purposes of food but for supplying *copra* for the oil mills which, in their turn, were producing soap. Thus in effect it meant that rice lands were converted into producers of soap. Is it any wonder when such shifting of crops can take place that we should be subject to periodical famines?

In Malabar, I had also noticed children running about with brownish hair. When I inquired into the cause of this state of affairs, I was informed that formerly these children were bathed in cocoanut oil and had plenty of oil to rub on their scalps. But now the cocoanuts were selling practically at the same high prices as prevail in Madras, and, therefore, these children do not get the oil for their massage. In these ways centralized industries encroach on the primary requirements of our people, starve them and bring about ill health.

#### MONEY ECONOMY

With the help of the money economy, these things are done without the victims being aware of it. Money is not a safe method of valuing articles, especially of primary necessities. For instance, at Avanashi *firka* a good deal of the milk produced was being sent to Coimbatore. The value of a pound of milk is in the nutrition it affords. The milk producer, if he gives it to his child, ensures sufficient calcium to build up the child's bones, fat and other nutritious materials to build up the body. The value of the milk from the natural point of view is the same whether it is consumed by the mill-owner or the producer's child. We may even say the value of milk is greater when given to a growing child than when given to an adult. Just because the rich

mill-owner of Coimbatore is able to offer As. 8 for a pound of milk, the Avanashi producer deprives his child of this nutritious food and sends it away to Coimbatore. In so doing, he does not realize that he is in effect selling the future health of the child. Therefore, in all our considerations in regard to our rural development we have to bear in mind that neither centralized industries nor their efficiency, nor even their money values can be the sole arbiter to guide our decisions. We have to think in terms of the well-being of the people irrespective of the commercial value of the product. In some cases it may even mean that we may have to get people to do things which, at the moment, may appear against their own interests.

#### ACCUMULATION OF WEALTH

Centralized methods of production also tend to concentrate wealth. In a poverty-stricken country like India we do not want concentration of wealth but better distribution of wealth. Distribution of wealth is the special feature of the decentralized industries. India has tremendous amount of labour wealth. This is to be converted into actual wealth in material goods. A potter takes the clay that is available freely and converts it into consumption goods. The valueless clay should have to be converted into wealth by application of his skill and labour. This is the method that would be best suited to India.

#### PLACE OF CENTRALIZED INDUSTRIES

This does not mean that we should be against all centralized methods of production. Centralized methods of production under private enterprise will lead to consequences we have adumbrated above. But there are certain industries which by their nature are monopolies, such as railway transport and provision of power. These have to be done by the state on a service basis and not with a profit motive. Similarly water supply, exploitation of natural resources and other heavy industries may be undertaken by the State or under State control with centralized methods of production. But what we contend is that in consumption goods and under private ownership there should be no centralized methods of production.

The Madras Textile policy, therefore, is aimed at keeping India out of the whirlpool of imperialism. We found that within our life time even Japan was drawn into imperialism just because she took to the methods of centralized production.

#### THE LEAD

The contention that the other provinces are pursuing a different policy need not deter us from doing that which appears to us to be the proper one. If centralized methods of production are calculated to harm the individual development of the citizen by creating in him a blood-lust and greed, no steps taken to prevent this could be objected to. If Madras is called upon to give the lead in this regard, it would seem a great privilege which Madras should be proud of.

In following the policy that has been laid before the people they will be setting an example of



self-sufficiency based on self-respect, non-violence and honesty. This will be not only for India, but also for the whole world which is today lying devastated by the unrestricted use of centralized methods of production.

#### DEMOCRACY

Acharya Kripalani has pointed out in his presidential address at the Meerut Congress that pursuing centralized methods of production in the economic field ultimately leads to dictatorships and not to democracy. Training for democracy needs decentralization of production. All centralization leads to concentration of power which is inimical to democracy.

J. C. KUMARAPPA

### Notes

#### Good and Bad News

It often falls to the lot of the *Harijan* to report simultaneously good and bad news regarding the treatment of the Harijans by non-Harijan Hindus. Today's post has brought two such letters of opposite types. The first is from the Chief Surgeon, Jodhpur. It is particularly important because it is from an Indian State in Rajputana. It says:

"On the 14th of December a dinner was arranged by the *bhangis* of the State Medical Department, Jodhpur, who invited the medical staff and some outsiders to it. About fifty men and women from the medical department, and some outsiders attended. The *bhangis* who were to cook and serve took a bath with soap and water and put on fresh clean clothes before undertaking cooking. It was made clear to the *bhangis* that there was no difference between them and other human beings as God made them, that their profession was just as clean or dirty as many others including that of the surgeon and that if they made themselves clean as on this occasion after their work was over, they were as good as any other."

The second is as disgracing as the above one is good. It is from a professor of the Bengal Veterinary College, Calcutta, a B. Sc., M. R. C. V. S. (London). He needed a flat and found one "to let" at Harish Mukherji Road. After the terms were duly settled, the owner, a caste Hindu, "an ex-lawyer and educationist" suddenly asked of the Professor his caste. On knowing that the Professor belonged to a Scheduled Caste, the owner expressed his inability to rent the flat, even though "it was a separate self-contained one."

Very naturally and justifiably the Professor has written a letter to Gandhiji in bitter terms. He says:

"... For me, this means a lot. In fact, this may be the turning point of my life. I am really upset about it. After living in England for six years, this sort of thing is just a bit too hard to digest. ... Please try to understand my feelings."

The owner has unquestionably committed a grave wrong. It is acts like these that are ultimately responsible for the communal disturbances and the

disruptive political demands by all communities proudly kept out of their circle by the caste Hindus. If the owner gives himself good advice, he should invite the professor back to his flat and apologize to him for his grave error and repent for it in some practical form.

Sabarmati, 15-1-'47

#### A Commendable Leaflet

Maulvi Ahsanullah of Dacca has sent to Gandhiji a Bengali and an Urdu leaflet of a discourse entitled the *Gift of Holy Islam*. It is being distributed freely by the Maulvi Saheb to the public of both the communities. It is a commendable leaflet. I give below some of the points urged by him:

It exhorts Muslims of both the sexes to learn to read and write, so that they might know for themselves the teachings of Islam. The Prophet has explicitly enjoined, "It is the duty of every Musalman man and every Musalman woman to acquire learning. Take to learning, even if you are comfortably placed in life."

Islam is a religion of peace and dedication. Its five pillars are: *Kalma*, the word; *Namaz*, prayer; *Rosa*, fasting; *Zakat*, alms; and *Haj*, pilgrimage. The first three are for all, the last two for those who can afford.

According to the *Quran*, the observance of the following ten rules will ensure to every observer happiness in this world and the next:

1. Morning prayer for confession of lapses;
2. Fore-noon prayer for being saved from the fire of hell.
3. After-noon prayer for freedom from debt.
4. Evening prayer for protection from enemies.
5. Night prayer for priority of hearing on the day of judgment.
6. Pursuit of commerce and vocations for earning;
7. Charity for spreading peace and harmony.
8. Ablutions and clean living for freedom from disease.
9. Pursuit of learning and culture for reputation; and
10. Prayer, service, humility and courtesy, for leadership.

The great Pir Dastagir Rehmatullah has said, "Those who wish to tread on the path of the Lord must cultivate the following ten virtues:

1. Not to swear;
2. Not to lie even in jest;
3. Not to break a promise;
4. Not to despise even the lowliest of Allah's creation; and not to harm it physically or mentally;
5. Not to curse;
6. Not to accuse a believer of hypocrisy or unbelief;
7. To keep free from all sinful acts;
8. To place no burden upon a human being;
9. To covet not another's possession;
10. To be humble.

Vapi, 11-12-'46

K. G. M.



## A NEGLECTED SERVICE

The *Maharogi Seva Mandal* (Leper Service Association) has been carrying on leper service round about Wardha for the last ten years. Shri Manohar Divan has founded this service almost single-handed. He has been able to do so, because he has dedicated his life to it. He has acquired the necessary knowledge for it from a Christian Missionary Leprosy Institution.

Shri Manohar has lived with me for twenty years. He has passed through the entire Ashram discipline including cooking, scavenging, spinning, carding, weaving etc. He did all this work for years continuously, and after thus preparing himself moved from village to village in the Wardha Taluq, serving the villagers in various ways. During this period he came into contact with leprosy patients and was deeply moved by their miserable and neglected plight. He made up his mind to dedicate the rest of his life to their service and communicated his determination to me. I agreed that it was a much wanted service, but warned him that he might have to walk alone in his field of service. The few colleagues who worked with us were already usefully engaged in other fields, and in the present condition of our society, he could not expect to get from outside, workers prepared to do this kind of work in a spirit of service. There was also the possibility of his getting the infection himself. I also advised him to get the necessary medical knowledge for rendering the service usefully. I told him that if he resolved to dedicate his life to this cause, he must not allow himself to be drawn into other movements. But all this advice was superfluous. He had broached the subject to me after carefully searching his heart, and his mind had been already made up.

His mother was, not unnaturally, disturbed over her son's ideas. She asked me to dissuade him from this work. Were there not other good and necessary fields of service? Why should he obstinately want this one only? I said, "Suppose, Mother, you or I happen to get this infection? Should Manohar serve us or abandon us?" "Of course, in that case," she said, "he would have to serve us." "Then is not this similar to that?", I asked. "Well, that too is correct," she said, and was reconciled ever afterwards.

No doubt, he has obtained much cooperation from several people all these years. Without such cooperation, the work could not have been started at all. But (among non-Christians) he still remains a solitary life-worker in the cause.

The country has considerably changed during these ten years. The dawn of independence is already visible, and we expect the sun to rise shortly. It means that more responsibility will fall upon the servants of the people. It is estimated that the number of leprosy patients in India is about 40 lakhs, i.e. one per cent of the total population. Workers with medical knowledge must therefore think earnestly over this matter.

Till now, leprosy patients have been mostly served by Christian Missionaries only. It is true that their service loses part of its value by reason of their proselytizing activities associated with it. Nevertheless, it is an extremely valuable service, and our people have taken full advantage of it. If the zeal for conversion had not been there, they would have, perhaps, spread among the people the Christian spirit much better.

Hinduism has given us the term *bhuta-daya* (compassion for life). It has developed to the extent of vegetarianism. Compassion for life must necessarily include compassion for man. But owing to the use of a very wide term, we missed the nearer object. Christianity expressed the same sentiment by the term *humanity*. Hence, the urge to serve man is more predominant among Christians. This is how terms influence our thoughts and actions. It is not necessary to give up the wider term. But it is necessary to include in it the neglected field of the service of man. I wish to draw the attention of the workers to this field.

Pavnar, 30-12-'46

VINOBA

(Translated from the original in Marathi)

## BROTHERHOOD DAY PROGRAMME IN AMERICAN SCHOOLS

The United States of America, being the meeting ground of numerous races and religions differing from one another, have a "communal unity" problem to solve which is similar to our own. Dr. Rachel DuBois an American educationist has devoted herself to the task of finding this solution for more than 20 years. In 1943 she published a book called *Get Together Americans, Friendly Approaches to Racial and Cultural Conflicts Through the Neighbourhood-Home Festival*. This is a practical guide for those working with adult groups who wish to do something about racial and religious tensions in America. Last year she published a second book entitled *Build Together Americans, Adventures in Intercultural Education for the Secondary School* (Hinds, Hayden and Eldredge).

Under the guidance of Dr. DuBois as the Director of the Service Bureau for Intercultural Education, the students of Englewood Junior High School celebrated the close of the school term with what we in India would call a communal unity programme.

As a part of the programme the students offered the following common prayer composed by two Christian pastors and a Jewish Rabbi:

"Almighty God, we who are members of different races and faiths desire together Thy Fatherhood and our kinship with one another. In our difference we find that many of our hopes, our fears, our aspirations are one. Thou art our Father and we are Thy children.

"We are heartily sorry for the mists of fear, envy, hatred, suspicion and greed which have blinded our eyes and thrust us asunder. May the light that comes from Thee scatter these mists, cleanse our hearts and give health to our spirits. Teach us to put away all bitterness and walk together in the ways of human friendship.



"Open our eyes to see that as nature abounds in variation, so differences in human beings make for richness in the common life. May we give honour where honour is due, regardless of race, colour or circumstance. Deepen our respect for unlikeness and our eagerness to understand one another. Through the deeper unities of the spirit in sympathy, insight and co-operation, may we transcend our differences. May we gladly share with one another our best gifts and together seek for a human world fashioned in good under Thy guidance. Amen."

After prayer the students sang a song ("America the Beautiful"), saluted the flag and recited the following "Civic Creed":

"God hath made of one blood all nations of men, and we are His children, brothers and sisters all.

"We are citizens of these United States, and we believe our flag stands for self-sacrifice and for the good of all the people.

"We want, therefore, to be true citizens of our great country, and to show our love for her by our work.

"Our country does not ask us to die for her welfare; she asks us to live for her, and so to live, and so to act, that her government may be pure, her officers honest, and every corner of her territory shall be a fit place to grow the best men and women who shall rule over her."

After this there was a dialogue on "What Makes an American?" and a talk on "Religious freedom and equal opportunities are American ideals".

The programme closed with a responsive reading of *The Land where Hate should Die* by Denis A. McCarthy:

Leader: "*This is the land where hate should die*"—

Response: No feuds of faith, no spleen of race,

No darkly brooding fear should try

Beneath our flag to find a place.

Lo! every people here has sent

Its sons to answer freedom's call;

Their life-blood is the strong cement

That builds and binds the Nation's wall.

Leader: "*This is the land where hate should die*"—

Response: Though dear to me my faith and shrine,

I serve my country best when I

Respect the creeds that are not mine.

He little loves his land who'd cast

Upon his neighbour's word a doubt

Or cite the wrongs of ages past

From present rights to bar him out.

Leader: "*This is the land where hate should die*"—

Response: This is the land where strife should cease,

Where foul, suspicious fear should fly

Before the light of love and peace.

Then let us purge from poisoned thought

That service to the State we give

And so be worthy as we ought

Of this great land in which we live.

V. G. D.

## TEXTILE MILLS AND MADRAS GOVERNMENT POLICY

As the controversy over the subject has now developed into an organized agitation against the present Ministry, in which not only all the mill magnates and the wholesalers of their products but also some of our politicians are taking active part, I venture to place the following facts and figures before the public so that they may see for themselves how far the agitation is justified. My claim to write on the subject is that I am a spinner of 20 years standing, spinning during my off hours when I cannot do any other work and as a pastime, enough yarn to meet my annual clothing requirements of about 30 sq. yards and that I have further made a special study of the problem "Khaddar versus mill cloth" in all its aspects, both as an official Assistant Registrar of Co-operative Societies and as a non-official co-operator till today.

In announcing their policy, the intention of Government seems to be to make villages self-sufficient in the matter of clothing as with other primary necessities of life; and this should be quite possible. The population of our Presidency is about 50 millions. Taking the annual cloth requirements per head at 30 square yards, the yarn required—say of 20 counts which may quite do—to clothe the entire population will come to  $50 \times 30 \times 4$  or 6000 million hanks or 300 million lbs, which could be spun during the course of a year by two out of five members of a family devoting daily about an hour and a half, in the aggregate, of their numerous idle moments. And all that is necessary for this is a will and determination on the part of the people. Readers might remember that these were forthcoming in abundance during the days of civil disobedience movement and boycott of foreign cloth, though they received a set-back when Congressmen who were doing propaganda work went to jail and the Government in power were believed to associate hand-spinning and Khaddar with the civil disobedience movement. It may be noted that even quite recently during the war period when all our cotton mills were engaged in production of cloths for military requirements, The All India Spinners' Association working in some centres, though under great difficulties, were able to supply to people enough cloth at prices equal to and sometimes less than mill prices. The only difficulty that has always stood in the way of the progress of Khadi is want of a suitable agency to carry on the necessary propaganda in villages, to supply to villagers at their doors the needed *charkhas* and other spinning requisites, also cotton, and to receive the yarn spun and convert it into cloth. As the present Ministry is arranging to supply this want, the Khaddar movement is bound to succeed. At any rate there is no reason for pessimism. The scheme is well worthy of being given a fair trial. It is no doubt true that the movement cannot succeed as well as it could, with power mills working by its side, as prohibition cannot succeed with toddy shops in the vicinity or hand-pounding with rice mills working close by. The only effective way of advancing the



Khaddar movement is to close the mills altogether or bring them under direct management or effective control of Government, so that they may be worked without prejudice to the Khaddar movement and to the extent absolutely necessary. Pending steps to be taken in any of these directions the Government have proposed to adopt the less drastic course limiting the further increase of existing mills and spindles therein, for which our mill magnates must thank them.

The mills naturally feel that, to the extent to which Khadi is advanced, their production and profit will be curtailed and they therefore started this agitation. The point now is how far these mills have justified their existence by way of solving either the yarn or the cloth problem of our province. Beyond filling their own coffers—a fact which will be evident from the huge sums paid to their Managing Directors by way of salary and commission, the high dividends ranging from 15 to 60 per cent uniformly paid to their share-holders and several months' bonus granted to workers—they have done precious little in the way of either supplying yarns to our hand-loom weavers or cloth to the people of the Province. There are 65 cotton mills in our Province with 15 lakhs of spindles and 6500 power looms. Taking the production of yarn per spindle per day of 2 shifts at an average of one lb., these 15 lakhs of spindles must be producing per year of about 300 working days  $15 \times 300$  or 4500 lakhs or 450 millions lbs. of yarn against 300 millions required for the clothing requirements of the province. The number of handlooms in the Province is about 5 lakhs and the yarn required to keep them fully engaged for 300 days taking a daily average production of cloth per loom at 8 sq. yards, for which 32 hanks or 64/40 lb. of yarn of 20 counts are required, will come to  $5 \times 300 \times 8/5$  or 2400 lakhs or 240 million lbs. It is a notorious fact that our handlooms are not able to get, even through black markets, yarns to engage them for more than a week or ten days a month, which means they get only a third of their requirements or 80 million lbs. What becomes of the 450 minus 80 or 370 millions lbs. is a mystery to be cleared. We have often heard it said that they go underground. But they cannot remain buried for long. They must have, as Dame Rumour has it, been clandestinely exported to places outside the province or elsewhere in the shape of yarn or cloth or both. The matter requires to be carefully probed into, which the Premier should immediately arrange for to justify the Government policy. If the facts and the figures and the rumour are true, there is absolutely no justification for the howl raised by the mill-owners and persons playing second fiddle to them. It is not known how these irregularities escaped the notice of the Textile Commissioner and the army of officers under him. They only go to establish beyond all doubt the shrewd observation of Mahatmaji viz.,

"Cloth famine, I know, is a mockery, for, if only the Government and the mill-owners will act honestly and intelligently, no one need go naked

for want of cloth. We have cotton enough, idle hands enough and skill enough to make cloth in our villages."

In addition to not serving the province in the direction of supplying either the required yarn or cloth, these mills are doing incalculable harm to the country by attracting from the villages, by thousands, the flower of the peasantry of able-bodied men and women to the great detriment of their health and morals and also of agriculture and congesting our towns and cities so as to affect the health of the inhabitants, by stimulating the undue increase of cotton cultivation to the prejudice of much-needed food-crops and by depriving thousands of expert fine weavers of their hereditary profession. By undue profiteering and exploitation, these mills have, in spite of their extravagant expenditure, built up during the last 5 years very large reserves; and if they want to find an out-let for them, it cannot be by way of attempting to smother a useful and beneficial cottage industry; but by starting other remunerative enterprises for the manufacture of such foreign articles as are badly needed by our country.

Madura, 4-11-'46

G. SRINIVASA RAGHAVACHARI

### THE PATH OF REDEMPTIVE SUFFERING

It is recorded in the earliest of the Christian Gospels that when Jesus finally decided to go up to Jerusalem to face his destiny there, he walked ahead of his disciples and that "they were amazed and they that followed were afraid" (St. Mark 10: 32). Another Gospel recording the same incident describes him as "steadfastly setting his face to go to Jerusalem" (St. Luke 9: 51). That is a picture of Jesus not commonly recalled by Christians. The favourite portraits of Jesus depict him as meek and mild, gathering little children in his arms or carrying a lamb on his shoulders. There is only one picture that I know of that does justice to this aspect of stern determination, of heroic decision, that was also characteristic of the great Saviour of Men. It is Harold Copping's famous picture of the head of Jesus in profile, strikingly similar to the face of Gurudev Tagore, but with a look of firm resolve in his eyes that reminds one of another personality in India today, treading the lonely path of redemptive suffering.

Gandhiji today, walking alone along the lanes and fields of Noakhali, is a challenge to all those who claim to live by the law of love. He is putting not only his leadership and his principles but his followers also to the supreme test. As in the case of Jesus of old, his faith will stand that test, even if it means drinking the cup of suffering to its last dregs, even if it means being lifted on a cross of shame. God respects the fixed resolve of His chosen servants to "Do or Die". The darkness that overshadows for a time even the most stout-hearted of believers shall pass, as the gloom that descended on Jesus on the cross did pass, and they shall see the end of the travail of their souls and shall be satisfied.



For

"Behind the dim unknown  
Standeth God within the shadow,  
Keeping watch over His own."

But the challenge is to us who have professed and called ourselves followers of this Man of God. Well might we be amazed and be afraid as we follow in the footsteps of this leader as he marches ahead. It is recorded of Jesus that when he finally embraced the cross his disciples forsook him and fled, fugitives every one of them from the way of suffering. May that not be true of us. It is now that our professions are being tested. It may have flattered our vanity to have ranged ourselves behind this great leader when he seemed to lead us to the promised land of independence. Our eyes were often too eagerly set on the prizes that were to be won when this jail-bird would have become the president or dictator of a free India, to sit then on his right hand or his left. But the question he asks, as Jesus asked of his disciples who wanted to share his glory, is "Are ye able to drink the cup that I drink of", the cup of humiliation and of apparent defeat? It is undoubtedly a bitter cup now to eschew the easy path of violence, to give up positions of prestige and power, and stand with this lonely man, making the appeal of love, in all its apparent weakness to those estranged from us. And to stand with him today does not mean rushing to Noakhali to be by his side, but to take our lives in our hands wherever we are in this land of innumerable barriers between man and man, and crossing the narrow bamboo bridges across those barriers in our own little corners. It means bridging the gulf between Hindu and Muslim, Touchable and Untouchable, Christian and non-Christian. It means for each one of us meeting our God in "the toil and sweat of our brows, where He keeps company with the poorest, the lowliest and the lost." It means sharing in the divine work of redemption of which Jesus in Palestine and Gandhiji in India today are compelling manifestations. May the following prayer be ours as we search ourselves and rededicate ourselves to his leadership:

Saviour divine,  
Who perpetually for suffering humanity,  
Dost bear the burden,  
The dread, relentless burden of redemption,  
We pray thee that we thy servants today,  
May with these weak hands  
Uplift a little corner of the weight which crushes thee.  
Grant unto us that we may 'share in thy holy  
mystery of pain,  
Thy sacrament of agony,  
Which redeemeth the world.  
Give us courage of heart,  
That we may drink with thee a little of thy cup,  
Thy bitter cup of humiliation, of loneliness, of suffering.  
Help us to see thee as thou art,

Incarnate in the starving, the disease-stricken, the  
hopeless :

Give us grace in serving them to serve thee.

In our own loneliness and pain,—

If thou bestowest on us these the tokens of thy  
fellowship,—

Help us to pay honestly, unstintingly and bravely  
Our part of the great price,

Which of old and for ever thou, O our God,

Payest in man for man.

Shantiniketan, 8-1-'47

S. K. GEORGE

## DOUBLE NEGATIVES

We were taught in our youth that under certain conditions double negatives may be used to create a positive effect. One wonders if this can be carried into finance to such an extent as to make a double loot a gift. This appears to be, however, the method of procedure suggested by His Majesty's Government for compensations being paid to the I. C. S. and I. P. S. men on the formation of an Indian National Government. The very fact that these men do not wish to serve a National Government confirms our fears that these services were not national services but British services to hold the Indian nation in subjection. Therefore, even in the first place they should have been paid out of the British Treasury and now when they are not willing to serve a popular government we are asked to pay them compensation which would amount to somewhere in the neighbourhood of 20 crores of rupees and the irony of the thing would appear to be in that even the Indian members of these services are to be compensated! Should we take it that such Indian members who leave the services and wish to be compensated will also be expected to leave our country and go and settle down in their adopted mother country — Great Britain — to which presumably they prefer to owe their allegiance?

However it may be, the financial policy is in complete alignment and keeping with the idea of rewarding Indian soldiers out of Indian assets for fighting for Great Britain and keeping India under subjection as an army of occupation.

We would suggest that if logic is to prevail, such service men who would choose not to serve a National Government should be paid what compensations that may be due to them not out of the Indian funds, but out of the British Treasury. In the same way the rewards that are given to the Indian soldiers should also be borne, if England were to be honest, out of British Treasury. It is a recognized principle that all agents should be paid for by their principals. If these service men and the Indian soldiers were agents of the British imperialism, is it too much to expect that the imperialists should bear the cost of their agents?

J. C. KUMARAPPA



## SHRIRAMPUR DIARY

25-12-'46

Readings from the Bible formed a special feature of Gandhiji's prayer meeting today, the birthday of Jesus Christ. Addressing the gathering, Gandhiji said that he had begun to believe in a toleration which he would call the equality of all religions. He added that Jesus Christ might be looked upon as belonging to Christians only, but he really did not belong to any community, inasmuch as the lessons that Jesus Christ gave belonged to the whole world.

26-12-'46

In the course of his post-prayer speech Gandhiji said that he had no doubt in his mind that the British would have to quit India. But if Indians were foolish enough to quarrel among themselves, he could very well visualize the destiny of the whole country. India would probably be placed under the United Nations, which would mean not one but many masters, and, hence, goodbye to independence.

Continuing Gandhiji said that the task he had undertaken in Bengal was most serious. Here a community which was friendly to him previously had now looked upon him as its enemy. He was out to prove that he was "a real friend of the Muslims." So he had chosen for his greatest experiment a place where the Muslims were in majority.

For the fulfilment of his mission it would suffice if he toured the countryside alone and the presence of the workers from outside soliciting his advice and directions raised fresh problems for him instead of assisting him to solve the already complicated task he had undertaken. Much of the misunderstanding could be removed if those really keen on serving the people of Noakhali would directly approach the Bengal Ministers with their plan of work and obtain not only their written permission to carry on their work but also their approval of the plan.

Gandhiji gave this advice to some doctors who came from Bombay yesterday for rendering medical aid to the refugees in the affected areas. To some people who sent him letters and telegrams offering to come to Noakhali for service, Gandhiji had replied that they could serve the cause by carrying on constructive work around their own places. To those who sought directions as to how best to serve in Noakhali, Gandhiji said that he himself was groping in darkness, and therefore, a blind man could not be the best guide.

The speech was provoked by the fact that when he asked some people offering to serve in Noakhali whether they would continue to serve if necessary for a life-time even after he had left, they were reluctant to commit themselves. This reluctance led him to believe that people were anxious to come and serve in a manner which would attract his attention and that such people were not keen on service for the sake of service.

27-12-'46

Gandhiji in his address said that a friend had been telling him that his reference to "darkness" surrounding him was very confusing to many. The

friend thought that people at distance saw light shimmering through his plan, and there was enough proof that the confidence was slowly returning in that affected area.

Gandhiji said he would tell this friend and others who thought like him that they had misunderstood him to some extent. The darkness in which he was surrounded was of such a character that the like of which had never faced him before. It was indeed now a vital test that his *ahimsa* was passing through. He would not be able to say that he had come out successful until the object was reached.

It was true that the night was darkest before the dawn. He himself felt that and although friends at distance could see glimpses of the breaking dawn he himself felt that he was surrounded in complete darkness.

Gandhiji said that many years ago a friend of his used to carry Patanjali's *Yogasutra* constantly in his pocket. Although Gandhiji did not know Sanskrit yet the friend would often come to him to consult about the meaning of some of the *sutras*. In one of the *sutras* it was stated that when *ahimsa* had been fully established it would completely liquidate the forces of enmity and evil in the neighbourhood. Gandhiji felt that the stage had not been reached in the neighbourhood about him and this led him to infer that his *ahimsa* had not yet succeeded in the present test.

That was the reason why he was saying that there was still darkness all round him.

Gandhiji said that his plan was to proceed with the least number of companions on his march, and that he would prefer to stay in the houses of Muslim friends. He had reduced his needs and these could be met even by the poorest villagers. He would like to go absolutely unprotected if it was to prove that in his heart he had nothing but love and friendship for the Muslims.

28-12-'46

## THE PRAYER MEETING

Addressing the prayer gathering Gandhiji said that the Congress was not a Hindu organization. It did not serve Hindu interests to the exclusion of the interests of the other communities.

Introducing the leaders to the congregation, Gandhiji said that they had come to him to discuss questions, not from the point of view of one particular community, but purely from a non-communal angle.

Addressing his prayer gathering in Chandipur Gandhiji said that his mission was for the establishment of friendship between the sister communities living here and not to organize any one community against the rest. So long the non-violence which had been practised was the non-violence of the weak but the new experiment in which he had been engaged here was the non-violence of the strong. If it were to be successful it should succeed in creating a moral atmosphere helpful to both the communities round him. Only when the Hindus and Muslims shed their fear and mutual suspicion



could real unity of heart come. There should not be any cause for hostility because their hearts were one.

Referring to the task of village reorganization Gandhiji said that East Bengal was a land of gold but unfortunately the life of the people was not as it should be. The water in the tanks was so dirty that he could not dare even wash his hands in them. The villages were also unclean! The rich were growing richer and the poor were getting poorer. That was not forced upon them by nature. That was a *satanic* state of affairs. But although the social arrangements were *satanic*, individuals were not so. Individuals should raise their organization and shape it according to new ideas of equality and comradeship.

Gandhiji continuing said that he would personally like to live for 125 years, not by the help of medicines but by natural ways, in which he would be able to serve the nation and humanity.

Concluding, Gandhiji asked all Hindus and Muslims to devote themselves to the noble task of reorganizing the village life and in improving their economic condition. Through cottage industries they would find themselves working together in the common task and unity would thereby grow among them. He exhorted the audience to carry on his eighteen-point constructive work which would spread like a life-giving influence over the entire country-side.

#### ADVICE TO WOMEN

Addressing a gathering of women who had assembled at the courtyard of the house where he is residing at Chandipur, Gandhiji said that women should depend on God and on their own strength and not on others. They should be more courageous and should have more confidence in their own strength. If they were afraid, they would fall easy victims to the onslaughts of the miscreants.

"Indian women are not *abalas*. They are famous for their heroic deeds of the past, which they did not achieve with the help of the sword, but of character. Even today they can help the nation in many ways. They can do some useful work by which they can not only help themselves, but also the nation as a whole, thereby taking the country nearer her goal."

Gandhiji told them that not the men of Noakhali only were responsible for all that had happened, but women too were equally responsible. He asked them all to be fearless and have faith in God like Draupadi and Sita of the past.

Gandhiji also asked them to eschew untouchability. He said that if they still went on disowning the untouchables, more sorrow was in store for them. He asked the audience to invite a Harijan every day to dine with them. If they could not do so, they could call a Harijan before taking a meal and ask him to touch the drinking water or the food. This, Gandhiji said, would go a long way to cement the gulf created between different classes of people by artificial caste barriers. Unless they did penance for their sins in that way, more calamities and more severe ones would overtake them all.

4-1-'47

Gandhiji opened on Saturday morning a school at Chandirgaon, a village about one mile from

Chandipur. At the school he inquired as to what subjects were taught and especially whether any craft was taught.

Gandhiji pointed out that he would not like schools to be run on the same old lines and he advised the introduction of crafts. If the school wanted his advice, he would advise *Nayi Talim* (new education) which gives training in crafts. The aim of education should be to make the students self-supporting. Addressing the prayer meeting, Gandhiji said: "I have not come here to talk politics." His purpose, was not to reduce the influence of the Muslim League or to increase that of the Congress, but to speak to the people of the little things about their daily life, things which, if properly attended to would change the face of the land and create a heaven out of the pitiable conditions in which they were all living today. Bengal, said Gandhiji, was a land full of verdure, with plenty of water and fertile soil. Nature had showered her abundance on Bengal, but through ignorance, the people were suffering from poverty and disease. They appeared to be content with what little could be earned from betel-nut and cocoanut gardens and a little of agriculture. But with more knowledge, they could increase the productivity of the land many times and convert their villages into cleaner abodes of peace and prosperity. If all the villagers joined together, the face of the land would be changed in no time.

Referring to the evacuees, Gandhiji said that they must come back home and face all dangers and difficulties. Any one who had committed a sin should likewise make a clean confession to God, and then depend upon God for whatever he might choose to do. Truly religious men who made a confession to God did not repeat their errors.

5-1-'47

Gandhiji said that it was continually being impressed upon him that his place was no longer in this province but in Bihar where infinitely worse things were alleged to have taken place. The audience should be aware, Gandhiji said, that he had all along been in correspondence with the popular Government in Bihar and all influence possible was being exercised by him over that Government from here; but he did not want to leave Noakhali because his task here was of an entirely different order. He had to prove by living among the Musalmans that he was as much their friend as of the Hindu or any other community. This could evidently not be done from a distance or by mere word of mouth.

A Bihar Minister and several responsible officials who had come to him yesterday had placed before him all the facts within their knowledge without any reservation. They had admitted that brutal things had taken place in the course of one fateful week and that they were prepared to bear all justifiable censure passed on them on that account.

They knew their duty as a responsible Government. The charge of complicity or failure in doing all that was humanly possible was denied by them



and they said they were prepared to undergo any ordeal in order to prove their innocence. They had been trying to answer the charges made by the Muslim League against them. Gandhiji said, he would like to assure the audience that he would not rest until he was satisfied personally about the Bihar case and had done all that was humanly possible.

Gandhiji thought that the attendance of both Hindus and Muslims in prayer meetings was dwindling and one day he would be left without anybody to listen to him at all. But he said that even then there would be no reason for him to give up his mission in despair. He would then roam from village to village taking his spinning wheel. With him it was an act of service to God. Such labour undertaken with an unselfish mind would speak for itself among those who were round him. A worker, he said, who travelled from village to village teaching the people how to clean their ponds effectively and teaching them other arts and crafts so as to enrich the life of the villagers, should be able to make the villagers long for his company rather than shun him.

Continuing Gandhiji said that news had just reached him that the evacuees were now returning in fair numbers and the question of rehabilitation was becoming more and more acute. His advice to the evacuees would be that they should brave all hardships and return home quickly. By means of their own labour they must determine to rebuild their ruined homes as well as their own lives. Government should extend all necessary help and they should be approached by the evacuees. He was aware of the fact that various relief organizations were prepared to help the evacuees with finance and other material assistance. But why should they undertake a task which rightly belonged to the Government set up by the people themselves? If the Government failed to extend it either quickly enough or to a satisfactory extent, then it was for them to say so and seek supplementary aid of public charities in order to rehabilitate the people.

But whatever shape these arrangements might take, the evacuees must be prepared to return home in the face of all possible dangers and difficulties.

6-1-47

"Appeasement has become a word of bad odour. In no case can there be any appeasement at the cost of honour. Real appeasement is to shed all fear and to do what is right at any cost," said Gandhiji in reply to a question when he met members of the Chandipur-Chandirgaon Gram Seva Sangh. The question put to Gandhiji was: What should the Sangh do to appease the aggressive mentality of the majority community?

In answer to a question whether the refugees should accept monetary assistance from the Government even if it was quite insufficient for the erection of temporary shelter. Gandhiji said, "Refugees must honestly find out what they need for the least kind of temporary shelter. If their basic requirements are not covered by the proposed Government grants, they should refuse to accept them but should still

return to their homes even if it meant no cover over their heads. This has to be done in a spirit of sportsmanship."

Question: In the course of rehabilitation, should the members of the minority community be lodged together in sufficient numbers for the purpose of safety?

Answer: "Such concentration of population is an unthinkable proposition. It would imply that the whole country would be divided into hostile sections, perhaps enjoying a sort of armed peace. The manly thing to do is for every individual, of whatever sect, whether young or old, to derive protection from one's inner strength which comes from God."

Asked what arrangements for the safety of the refugees could be made in view of the fact that miscreants were moving freely in the affected areas, Gandhiji said: "No place in the world today is free from miscreants. So villagers should fall back on their own strength for protection. The strength which will give them lasting protection is the strength of the heart." For those who accepted God as their protector, what did it matter if miscreants roamed about? People should do what was right for them and leave the rest to God.

#### HOW TO EARN A LIVING

Question: If Government and private relief is stopped, what work can we give to the refugees so that they can earn their daily bread?

Answer: "Although personally I should be tempted to suggest handspinning as a universal occupation, I would not necessarily do so in the present case. Instead, I would suggest that the workers should find out on the basis of detailed local enquiries what occupation could be undertaken in each village. And when such information is available, I would love to give advice in greater detail. It is certain that the work must be done in cooperation."

7-1-47

Gandhiji's 'one night one village tour' commenced on Tuesday morning (7th January), when he left Chandipur for village Masimpur about two miles from there.

"During my journey I will eat whatever I get, and am even prepared to go without milk", said Gandhiji to one interviewer.

Gandhiji is prepared to live any kind of rough life during his "pilgrimage". He will dispense with all kinds of secretarial work during his "one village one day" journey. He would not have any interviewers during his journey. He will spend most of his time in meeting Hindus and Muslims, visiting houses destroyed and gathering social and economic facts about the villagers. Wherever he goes he would ask all to live in peace and fear none in this world except God. He would ask them to reorganize and spend their time in village reconstruction and constructive work. During his journey he will meet deputations of Muslims, Hindus and women separately.

During his journey Gandhiji will have very few bags with him. His narrow blanket bed and a few of his other necessities of daily life, his box charkha will be with him and also a few of his favourite books



including the Gita, the Koran and the Bible. His only walk-hour companion is his walking stick.

In this way Gandhiji will walk down from village to village every day without spending more than one night in one village.

Addressing a meeting of the Masimpur—Keroa Gram Seva Sangh soon after his arrival at Masimpur, Gandhiji said that people should try to purify themselves and not indulge in outward show.

Replying to a question regarding the wearing of the sacred thread—which the questioner said the Arya Samaj wanted every Hindu to wear—Gandhiji said that anyone who liked might wear the sacred thread, but there should not be any movement or propaganda in this behalf. No good would be done by wearing the sacred thread alone as it could not remove the defects of the Hindu religion.

Gandhiji referred to the protection given to him by the Government, and said: "The police and military are going about for my protection, but I do not like such protection." The Government, however, thought that it was their duty to afford him such protection. To that he had nothing to say. The Government were doing what they thought was their duty.

Gandhiji said that some Sikhs were also going about with him. People may ask why so? But these Sikhs had come not at his call. They came with the Government's permission. They had come for work towards unity between the Hindus and the Muslims. These Sikhs had disarmed themselves. They had given up their *kirpans* and were working on principles of *ahimsa* to serve the Hindus and the Muslims. They were friends, said Gandhiji, and he would not like to deprive himself of such friends.

8-1-'47

When he reached Fatehpur in the morning, Gandhiji said, he had been surrounded by affection all round, and among the messages received were also some from sisters. They wanted to present him with sweets specially prepared by them, but Gandhiji had replied that he was hungering not for sweets for the tongue but for sweets for the heart. He was grateful for the accommodation offered by the village, that was all that he needed. Gandhiji did not want to be a burden on any village through which he was passing. His own food was carried along with him while the expenses of the whole party had already been defrayed by loving friends.

Gandhiji continued, some Muslim friends had asked him why a feeling of estrangement was growing between the two communities in spite of the able leadership around, more specially in the Congress and the League. Gandhiji had confessed that it was indeed true that the people in general always followed the lead which came from above.

Therefore, it was not enough that leadership was able but it was necessary that there was accurate knowledge of the wants of the people. For himself he was only trying to depend wholly upon God and work at the task which came naturally before him. He commended the same course to everyone.

## TO GANDHIJ'S CORRESPONDENTS

Prof. Nirmal Bose, Gandhiji's Bengali interpreter in a statement to the Press says, "Although of late Gandhiji has been commencing his work at 2 a. m., he is unable to cope with the work before him.

"He has, from today, (12th January) reverted to three o'clock standard time. Gandhiji feels he must resolutely refuse to tackle all-India correspondence and refrain from sending messages to men and institutions. Gandhiji proposes to confine his activities solely to Noakhali and kindred disturbed areas. He says that if he emerges safely from the ordeal, he will gladly resume his other activities. I would appeal to everyone to cooperate with Gandhiji in his present endeavour."

Again on the 17th January, the A. P. I. correspondent reports:

During the first seven days of his pilgrimage Gandhiji had to work for about 20 hours daily in order to dispose of his heavy correspondence and other writing work which had accumulated. Every day he used to go to bed just at 10 and wake up very early at 2 in the morning and work until 5 a. m. under the dim light of his lantern.

Working in this way for about 20 hours a day Gandhiji has disposed of his pending work and he wants now to have a little rest.

Prof. Nirmal Kumar Bose repeats his appeal that people would do a great service if they practically stopped writing to Gandhiji during his pilgrimage. He has now no time to look into each and every correspondence, unless it is of a very important nature.

This is not the first time that such appeal has been issued. Yet, we regret that we receive every day correspondence re-directed from his camp to Sevagram, and from there to us. We must respectfully inform the correspondents that we do not forward any correspondence whatsoever to him, but dispose it off ourselves according to our own discretion. The public is requested scrupulously to refrain from sending letters to him, and allow him to concentrate all his energy on the great peace mission which he has undertaken.

Sabarmati, 21-1-'47

K. G. M.  
N. P.

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## HARIJAN

12 Pages

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TWO ANNAS

## SHRIRAMPUR DIARY

9-1-'47

Gandhiji addressing the prayer meeting at Daspara, said that the Muslims of the Noakhali District should tell the Bengal Government, which was their Government, that no police or military protection was required for Gandhiji and that they themselves would protect him in his tour.

10-1-'47

Gandhiji spoke about conversions during his prayer speech at Jagatpur. He said he had been hearing for some time—and more insistently since Friday—that if the Muslims asked the Hindus to accept Islam, if they wanted to save themselves or their property and if the latter responded, there was no compulsion. Gandhiji said he was not concerned for a moment with the truth or otherwise of that statement. What he wanted to say was that this was acceptance of Islam under the threat of force.

Gandhiji said that he had carefully studied, as much as he could in his busy life, Islam's history written by Muslim divines and he had not found a single passage in condonation of forcible conversion. Real conversion proceeded from the heart and a heart conversion was impossible without an intelligent grasp of one's own faith and that recommended for adoption.

Concluding Gandhiji said that he was not going to be satisfied without a heart understanding between the two communities and this was not possible unless the Hindus and the Muslims were prepared to respect each other's religions, leaving the process of conversion absolutely free and voluntary.

12-1-'47

The All-India Congress Committee by its Delhi resolution had accepted the December 6 statement of the British Government and had gone to its "farthest limit consistent with its principles" to declare its friendly attitude to the Muslim League. Gandhiji told an interviewer, a former army officer, according to the *Hindusthan Standard* special correspondent.

Gandhiji is reported to have added that he could not say what would be the League's attitude to this friendly gesture, but he could only hope that they would reciprocate.

A visitor asked which of the two alternatives for a solution of the present situation in India would be preferable—Pakistan or civil war? Gandhiji is

reported to have said that he would approach the problem differently. Neither of the two suggested solutions would be good. It was wrong to think that Pakistan could be achieved through civil war.

The interviewer asked what kind of Government would be good for a free India. Gandhiji's reply to this was that it was not a question for him to answer. The question would be ripe for answer after freedom had been achieved.

14-1-'47

Some Muslim young men who met him at Bhatialpur this evening asked him what his objection was to the setting up of a separate Muslim State after the events in Bihar.

Gandhiji replied he had no objection to the setting up of a separate Muslim State. In fact, Bengal was so. But the question was: what was going to be the character of such a separate Muslim State. That had not been made clear so far and if a Muslim State implied freedom to make hostile treaties with foreign powers to the detriment of the country as a whole, then that could not be a matter for agreement.

Gandhiji thought that no one could be asked to sign an agreement granting liberty to others to launch hostilities against him.

On the young men asking whether Gandhiji did not think it advisable to concede Pakistan since it was holding back the issue of Indian independence, Gandhiji said: Only after independence has been won can there be a question of granting Pakistan. To reverse the process was to invite foreign help.

"Azadi" Gandhiji said, "and Pakistan require the exclusion of all foreign powers. Until and unless India is free, there cannot be any other question."

## FREEDOM FROM ALL FOREIGN RULE

Freedom as envisaged by him, said Gandhiji, was freedom not merely from British rule but from every foreign rule.

The last question put by the Muslim young men was: Now that there was neither Pakistan nor peace, what would be Gandhiji's solution?

Gandhiji's reply was: "That is exactly what I am here for and what I am trying to find out in Noakhali." He assured the youths that the moment he found it, he would announce it to the world.



15-1-47

Gandhiji told a meeting of Narayanpur Gram Seva Sangha that it was their primary duty to remove untouchability. Unless this virus was removed from their society, there could not be any real progress in this country. Secondly, Hindu-Muslim unity should be effected. Both the Hindus and the Muslims should be eager to achieve this end. They took water from the same tank and rice from the same paddy fields. For the time being, they should forget politics and devote their sole attention to improve villages, spread education, develop industries and other constructive works. For this purpose, workers must be prepared to die.

#### RETURN HOME EARLIER

Replying to a question whether the refugees should now return home, Gandhiji said that they must return home earliest. They must, however, shed fear. Spinning also should form a main part of the duty of the workers. If they span at least one hour a day, they may supply yarn to weavers who were now looking up to the Government for such supply for their handlooms. The cloth problem would consequently be easier in this way.

#### HAPPY ABOUT HIS HOST

At the beginning of his prayer speech at Narayanpur Gandhiji expressed his happiness at having been able to spend another night under the roof of a Muslim friend in the course of his walking tour. In spite of the fact that he had been trying to reduce the size of his entourage, his efforts in that direction had so far not been very successful. And he was glad that his host had proved equal to the occasion and had not been baffled by the number of his party.

Then Gandhiji referred to an incident that had occurred a short while ago. The elders of the house wanted him to meet the *zanana* ladies. He had made an attempt, but without success. It was true, he continued, that Hindu women attended the prayer in a large number. In this respect they were more advanced. But as such it became their duty to fraternize with their Muslim sisters and rescue them from the thralldom of the *purdah*. If they neglected this neighbourly duty, there was obviously some defect on their part.

India, Gandhiji said, was aspiring to be free. But if half the population was to remain in a paralysed condition, the type of freedom the people would attain could never be perfect. Therefore, with utmost humility, he once more appealed to the elders among the audience to examine the effect of the *purdah* system and do away with it in the shortest possible time. For, in his opinion the system, as he saw in his peregrination, was quite contrary to what the Prophet had preached.

16-1-47

Addressing the prayer gathering this evening, Gandhiji said that he had received certain questions from some Muslims while he was in Narayanpur yesterday.

How could he advise Assam and the Sikhs in the Punjab to stay out of groups if his aim was Hindu-Muslim unity and how, after this, was it possible for the Muslim League to join the Constituent Assembly? Gandhiji said there was no "if" about his aim. Hindu-Muslim unity had been his aim from his youth upward, that is for an unbroken period of 60 years. He saw no contradiction between his aim and his advice to the people of Assam, the Sikhs and, for that matter, the Frontier and those who felt like it, to stay out of groups or from the Constituent Assembly. The Cabinet Mission's Paper was of a voluntary nature and no party could be compelled to join the Constituent Assembly. They had no force to back their resolution or wishes except the force of public opinion.

#### CONGRESS STAND

He had, therefore, given no advice which should make it impossible for the Muslim League to join the Constituent Assembly. So far as he had read the resolution passed at the recent A. I. C. C. meeting, the Congress had completely identified itself with the Cabinet Mission's Paper.

Gandhiji hoped that the Muslim League would join the Constituent Assembly in which it was open to it to make good its position by an appeal to reason. Otherwise the Constituent Assembly, because it was a voluntary organization brought into being by the only party that had force behind it, was like a house of cards. It could only become a solid structure if it was backed by the opinion of the Indian masses. Staying out by certain provinces or groups could not and should not be a hindrance to the proceedings of the Constituent Assembly, if it was otherwise good.

Gandhiji would ask, "Why should Assam be absorbed in Bengal against its will or the Frontier Province or the Sikhs into the Punjab and Sind?" The Congress or League, as the case may be, should make their programme and policy intrinsically attractive so as to appeal to the reason of the recalcitrant province or groups.

#### FRIEND OF BOTH COMMUNITIES

The second question put to him was: Gandhiji claimed to be a friend of both the communities, but he had been nursing back his own community for the last two months in Noakhali. What about the Muslims of Bihar, who have lost their all? Gandhiji said he would say the question ignored facts. He was not "nursing back" his own community. He had no community of his own except in the sense that he belonged to all communities. His record, Gandhiji said, spoke for itself. He freely admitted that he was trying to bring comfort to the Hindus of Noakhali, but not at the expense of the Muslims. If there was a sick member in his family and he seemed to attend to the sick member, it surely did not mean that he neglected the others.



He had had repeated and insistent advice from Muslim friends that his place was more in Bihar, where the Muslims were in point of numbers much greater sufferers than the Hindus in Noakhali. He was sorry that he had hitherto failed to make his Muslim critics see that he had sufficiently affected the Hindus of Bihar in favour of the Muslim sufferers. If he listened to his critics against his own better reason and went to Bihar, it was just likely that he might injure the Muslim cause rather than serve it.

Thus, for instance, he might not find corroboration for the many charges brought against the Bihar Hindus and the Bihar Government and, in order to be able to make such a declaration, he had accepted the better course, namely, to advise the Bihar Ministry, which had accepted his advice that they should jointly with the Bengal Government or by themselves, appoint an impartial Commission of Inquiry.

17 and 18-1-'47

A short while before prayer on the 18th instant, the Muslim friend at whose house Gandhiji had halted on his way to Badalkot approached him and said that if there was a settlement between Mr Jinnah and him, peace would be established in the country. Gandhiji's answer was that he did not maintain illusions and never ascribed to himself any superior powers. He had met Mr. Jinnah many times, as they knew, and their meetings had been marked by nothing but friendliness, yet the results were negative as they all knew.

The fact was, continued Gandhiji, that a leader was made by his followers. He reflected in a clearer manner the aspirations lying dormant among the masses. This was true not only of India but of all the world. What he would, therefore, suggest to both Hindus and Musalmans was that they should not look to the Muslim League or the Congress or the Hindu Mahasabha for the solution of their daily problems of life. For that they should look towards themselves; and if they did that, then their desire for neighbourly peace would be reflected by the leaders. The political institutions might be left to deal with specifically political questions but how much did they know about the daily needs of individuals? If a neighbour was ailing, would they run to the Congress or the League to ask them what should be done? That was an unthinkable proposition.

On the previous evening Gandhiji had quoted Mr. Jinnah's advice that women should rapidly be rescued from illiteracy. But Gandhiji said that that was not enough. Was the condition of the literate men any better for their literacy? Were they not, he asked, subject to the passing fashions of the political world? Germany, which had lain so long under Hitler, proved what he meant; as all knew it was in a sorry plight today. It was not literacy or learning which made a man, but education for real life. What did it matter, questioned Gandhiji, if they knew everything but did not know how to live in brotherliness with their neighbours?

Gandhiji continued that if some people had committed grievous mistakes in their dealings with their neighbours, they should repent and ask the pardon of God. If He granted it but the world did not, even then it did not matter to a man who had learnt to depend on God; such punishment nobly borne serves to elevate a man. Gandhiji then said that in a book of sayings of the Prophet he had found that a man should never leave an error uncorrected. If they did, they would be hauled up on the Day of Judgement and find no favour in the eyes of God.

It was not enough that they acquired the art of reading, writing etc., but it was necessary that they should learn the art of living on friendly terms with neighbours. They should rescue the womenfolk, who formed half their numbers, from the thralldom of ignorance and superstition. Men should live in cooperation and work for the common good. For this, they should not look up to political parties for direction, but to their own souls or God.

Personally, Gandhiji said, he had addressed himself wholly to that task. He would not leave this part of the country alive if the work remained unaccomplished. If he succeeded in overcoming the distrust of his Muslim brethren, and in establishing the fact that, after all, it was the daily things of life such as he had mentioned which mattered most, then its effect would be felt not merely in this part of the country but over the whole of India; and as such might even deeply affect the future peace of the world.

### GANDHIJI'S PRESS STATEMENT

A correspondent writes to me to say that the strained relations between the Hindus and the Muslims bid fair, if timely warning is not taken, to replace Nagari and Urdu scripts with Roman. There are undoubtedly protagonists of the Roman as the universal script. It seems to me that it would be a great human tragedy if such a result comes about. Time saving devices are good upto a certain point. But they take the form of a mania when they destroy human relations and desirable restraints. I must not tarry to examine what they are. Suffice it to say that lovers of the Nagari script which is scientifically almost perfect, and the Urdu script, which is so graceful, will not be carried away by the lazy craze for the Roman script. Would that both the communities will be sane enough to realize that the mutual dislike is not allowed to replace the two Indian scripts. But if that happy consummation does not take place, let those few or many who have regard for sacred human understanding assiduously learn both the scripts and thus enrich the Indian national language Hindustani as the easy fusion of Hindi and Urdu. Let the Provincial Governments beware of the lure of the Roman script. Let it not be said of India that it is so degraded as to become the plotting sheet of civilization.

Kheturi (Noakhali), 24-1-'47



# HARIJAN

February 2

1947

## COMMUNAL MURDERS

1

The situation in Bombay regarding communal murders does not appear to be much improving. Occasionally there are also mob fights and Government is often obliged to resort to firing. This is extremely disturbing. In the light of these incidents grand and expensive schemes for further development and enlargement of the city do not enthuse one. If the social life of the people is getting more and more disintegrated and the relations between the various communities are getting more and more strained, of what worth are outwardly more beautiful and up-to-date cities and all the creature comforts and conveniences, which modern science might make available?

The Peace Committees, and the joint appeals of the Congress, the League and the Scheduled Class leaders do not seem to exert much (if at all, any) influence upon the perpetrators of the murders and their patrons. The police does not seem to lay its finger on real abettors, even if it does arrest actual assailants.

Certain inferences seem irresistible:

(i) The Peace Committees, and those who sign the appeals, consist of men who either do not work earnestly or have not much influence over the people who create disturbances or include men who are themselves either abettors or at least look upon the murders and disturbances with a sense of communalist satisfaction and stand upon the Committees or sign the appeals insincerely.

(ii) The Police is either corrupt, or communally split, or for some strong reasons does not dare to touch the real principals working behind the crimes.

(iii) Economic rivalry, unemployment, want of residential accommodation, difficulties in getting adequate food and clothing, high prices, black-marketing, the extremely big hiatus between the very rich and the very poor, the loss of moral sense which generally follows great wars, and communal propaganda combine together to drive the half-awakened working classes on communal lines, so that the workers of one community look upon those of another as the cause of their economic difficulties and having become desperate readily resort to violence. Political leaders, for their own ends, exploit their ignorance and fan mob fury.

The Government is making frantic efforts to meet the situation by tightening up punitive legislations, arming itself and the Police Commissioner with wide powers for removing "bad characters" (i. e. *de facto* perpetrators of crimes) and by promptly bringing out the armed police or the military.

I have no faith in punitive legislations. Not the severest punishment has ever put an end to crimes. An extremely small fraction of crimes, actually committed, is detected and a still smaller fraction is punished. Hardened criminals can, therefore, always take the risk incidental to their habitual vocation. Externment of "bad characters" does not remove the evil any more than throwing the sweepings of my house before the door-step of my neighbour's does. Putting them into jails for a period is like throwing the sweepings into the dust-bin, and, when it is full, emptying it again on the streets, to get once again into the houses with the wind in a more contaminated form.

But governments, — capitalist or socialist, responsible or irresponsible — with their unshakable faith in force as the ultimate preserver of law and order, are not expected to devise anything better than punitive laws and militarism for combating evils. And in this respect governments simply reflect the faith of the majority of the people whom they govern. I do not, therefore, blame governments for their punitive measures. But while I may not blame them, I need not hesitate to say that these measures are not going to stop the evil from which society is suffering.

2

What shall we do, then, is a pertinent question. I shall attempt to answer it.

To my mind it is essential in the first place to realize that establishing peace is a constructive activity and not merely a preventive, resistive or retaliatory one. Peace is not ending hostilities by forcing the opponent to surrender and accept whatever terms might be imposed upon him. It is the creation of friendly feelings where bitterness and enmity reigned before. A lesser goal than this will not bring success where communities residing in one country have become mutually estranged.

Being a constructive activity, political party organizations and their prominent leaders are not well fitted for building peace. By their very nature these organizations and their leaders — whether in the official group or in opposition within their own parties — have their eye firmly set on the capture of the administrative machinery. In none of their activities can they forget their god, the voter. A constructive activity or a grand public scheme is more important to them for the reward it will bring to them in the shape of success at the next election than for the benefit it might confer upon the people. Their rivalries in the political field being very much responsible for arousing communal feelings, they will not allow them to work whole-heartedly in building peace. Even when they meet in common committees for a common purpose, they cannot resist the temptation of having a fling now and then against an opposite party, with the result that when they part, they often find themselves more hostile towards one another than before.



The work of creating peace must, therefore, be undertaken by an independent non-political organization. Individual leaders, temperamentally suited for it, in spite of their particular political associations, might stand on its committees, but the organization itself should be conducted by persons who remain scrupulously aloof from politics and consider the building of peace amongst various communities their principal life-work. Its organizer must be a person, who even though he had the capacity of entering politics or taking interest in several activities simultaneously, would single-mindedly and selflessly make the building up of friendly feelings and peaceful relations amongst the various communities the sole task of his life. Of course, in executing this mission, he would have to attend to and organize a good many activities. For instance, he would have to find ways and means for the creation of social virtues and civic sense amongst the ordinary hard-working folk; he would have to study the domestic and economic problems of people classed "bad characters" and of orphans and neglected children likely to join that camp, to find those maladjustments in their life, which engender anti-social tendencies; he must be an extremely social person—a man of the people; he would not talk politics to the people among whom he works; he would keep aloof from election campaigns, from debating the *pros* and *cons* of joint and separate electorates, of Pakistan and Akhand Hindustan etc; nor would he discuss the merits and demerits of the various religions and political 'isms' and one who, like, say, Shri Ravishanker Vyas of Gujarat or Appa Saheb Patwardhan of Ratnagiri (the present President of the Gandhi Seva Sangh), did not know fear in moving among all types of people; he would only stress the necessity of cultivating good morals, social virtues, duties of citizenship and a spirit of friendliness and cooperation among all the communities, and devise social and economic activities which would bring out and foster these qualities in the people.

Of course, he would need the active sympathy and cooperation of the common citizens. But a large part of the citizens, who work with him, would be persons who, though they might at the time of elections vote for a party standing high in their esteem for the time being, are otherwise not too strongly party-mad in their every day life. They are people who either do not presume to understand very clearly, or even though they do, do not feel over-interested in the issues which divide the various parties. What they understand and value above everything else is the supreme importance of peace and security in the city and friendly relations among all, irrespective of their caste, creed or political associations. It is a mistake to consider such people as unintelligent or uninformed. Rather, they are often very wise and shrewd and do not fall too readily into the traps of dogmas. They understand very well what they themselves want,—namely, freedom to move about in the city and to pursue their daily vocations without fear or

hindrance,—and are willing to contribute actively for that objective.

I believe that it would be possible to find a good number of people of this type. An attempt should be made to secure their help and cooperation. The volunteers for organizing the work of the Peace Committees should come from this class rather than from various Volunteer organizations affiliated to particular political parties. Students would do well to spend a good part of their youthful vigour in such work, instead of becoming at too early an age fanatic adherents of particular religious or political 'isms' or parties, and taking practical lessons, in all the evil practices of the elderly political leaders, for strengthening their respective party machines.

### 3

So much about unofficial endeavour. I shall now discuss how Government may help communal peace in a constructive manner.

Much though I may wish, I do not expect it to discard its powers of punishment and resorting to 'stern measures'. But since they feel that this has to be done, it should be done at least efficiently. The real financiers, brains and suppliers of weapons working behind the murderous activities must be caught hold of, however great their position and influence may be; trials must be speedily ended; and in making arrests, scores of men must not be driven to the police station and detained there for hours to find out if there was a culprit or two among them.

But more important than punitive measures is the removal of the grievances and hardships of the class of people from which criminals grow. In my opinion, their grievances arise from two distinct causes: one, economic and the other, psychological. The economic grievances are, as mentioned earlier, the unsatisfactory position regarding food, clothing, fuel, residential requirements etc. and employments not paying enough to meet their essential wants. That there is a general scarcity of these things is not a cogent argument with them. For, they see with their own eyes that those who have the means and are unscrupulous enough to adopt any efficacious method are able to procure more than their reasonable needs,—even to live lavishly. They cannot but carry the feeling that all the hue and cry raised about scarcity is a trick to starve the poor. If the poor man can see that it is not only he, but the rich man also, in spite of having a thousand rupees cash always on hand, who suffers want of enough food, clothes, fuel, oil, match-boxes, quarters etc., he would not carry a feeling of anger. Being unable to show his anger against the rich, he lets it out against his nearest rival, much as a daughter-in-law who is unable to punish her mother-in-law thrashes her child or smashes her pots to give vent to her resentment. Heroic efforts must, therefore, be made to ensure that, in respect of the essential needs, the rich and the poor feel the pinch of scarcity equally.



The second cause is psychological. The persons available for murderous projects belong to a class which generally does not hunger so much for money as for adventure and for sensuous pleasures when available. They are not thrifty and do not want money to lay by. Ordinary vocations are not attractive enough for them. But they will readily take to jobs which have an element of risk and adventure. If these people are to be reclaimed from their anti-social pursuits, useful but risky employments must be found for them. Of course, the employment must be accompanied with adequate rewards, which need not necessarily be pecuniary. This is a work, which Government alone can devise and execute.

Another important thing, which Government and the Municipal Corporation must realize, is that the aspiration to make Bombay a second London or a second New York is a false idea. What is needed is not a carefully prepared plan for Greater Bombay, but a carefully prepared scheme for breaking up Bombay into 15 or 20 towns, situated at a distance of 50 to 100 miles from one another,—a scheme for small towns, scattered all over the province, instead of a few highly congested cities. Cities attract not only millionaires, speculators and seekers of well-paid employments but also a majority of habitual offenders that are discharged periodically from the Central Prisons of Nasik Road, Yeravda, Sabarmati etc. Perhaps because all of them have one thing in common, namely, that they want more than they deserve, and that, too, very quickly. *Goondas* and absconders are safer in cities than in villages or small towns. I doubt whether the attempt to banish them from the cities succeeds much. I believe that most of them return to the city, or go to another city, within a few days, perhaps under a different name and religion. I would not be surprised if it were discovered some day that the Muslim assassin of a Hindu and the Hindu assassin of a Muslim were identical persons. Indeed it might even turn out that some of the Hindu, Muslim and Scheduled Caste criminals belonged to a common gang working under, and paid by a common captain.

If communal politics are amicably settled, perhaps communal murders might cease; but that will not be the end of murders and incendiarism. They existed and tended to increase before communal troubles started and will do so again. New York and London do not appear to be free from them. Communal differences are only a convenient lever for the time being, the real causes being economic, psychological and the congestion of the city.

May I hope that the public as well as those who govern will seriously consider the constructive part of this problem?

Sabarmati, 16-1-'47

K. G. MASHRUWALA

### Out of Stock

Dr. A. K. Bhagwat of Uruli-Kanchan reports that his publications have already gone out of stock and no more orders can be executed.

Sabarmati, 22-1-'47

K. G. M.

## PLANNING WITH VILLAGE BIAS

### II

## FOOD, FODDER AND AGRICULTURE

### 1. AGRICULTURAL IMPROVEMENT

The ways and means to improve India's agriculture are mainly: (1) To prevent fragmentation and to fix economic holdings; (2) Country-wide tapping and harnessing of our water resources; (3) Improvement of soil and its productivity through natural as well as scientific treatment of manures, seeds, crop-diseases, prevention of soil erosion etc.; (4) Co-operative effort; (5) State aid and protection; (6) Reclamation of waste-lands inland and along the sea-coasts and the creeks.

Each one of these subjects has been discussed threadbare time and again by experienced men who have devoted their lifetime to their study, without having an opportunity uptill now to put their suggestions and solutions to practical working. Though, therefore, they are vital and important, I may not discuss them here beyond mere enumeration.

### 2. CATTLE, FODDER, MILK

The breeding of draught animals, which are the mainstay of Indian agriculture, must be encouraged on large-scale scientific lines. Laboratory experiments on Government farms or military establishments would not meet the urgent need. The present draught cattle with the Indian farmer are utterly uneconomic and a veritable burden. All promiscuous breeding must be prohibited and castration of all male calves, save those certified by the Veterinary Department as fit for breeding purposes, must be made compulsory by law, even like vaccination of children.

It will be news to many that unbelievably vast areas of private-owned lands, even in an agriculturally advanced province like Bombay, are lying waste. In only two out of the ten *talukas* (Pardi and Bulsar) of the Surat district which is noted for its fruit orchards and gardening, 80,000 and 64,000 acres of private-owned lands grow nothing but grass, *babul* or brambles. It may be noted here that in these *talukas* annual rainfall is about 75 inches. Besides, excellent rivers flow at distances of every 5 or 7 miles and empty out fresh water by millions of gallons in the Arabian Sea throughout the year.

In a neighbouring village the other day a visiting government officer found that of the entire holdings covering some 1200 acres, no more than 350 acres were under cultivation as against 851 acres consisted of grass lands only! These grass lands are not what is called the "village common", i. e., pastures for village cattle to graze. Far from it, they are owned mostly by absentee landlords—the *sowcars* who cut, cart and carry away every blade of grass duly bundled and baled for the Bombay stables! In spite of all the "Grow More Food" Campaign by Government and other public agencies, these landlords successfully contrive to make hay literally while the countryside starves and lives on depleting



rations of foodgrains imported from America and elsewhere. They will not allow their tenants to grow on these lands foodgrains—which none-the-less yield equal quantities if not more of fodder—lest they may have to share the produce with them and keep vigil during harvest to prevent pilfering! Millions of acres of such lands are lying waste in our country in the hands of such owners who pursue the proverbial 'dog in the manger' policy. These owners should be made to lease out their lands to landless peasantry on easy terms for growing foodgrains, vegetables, etc., and irrigation facilities should be provided by Government. High prices of grass and tobacco have induced many landlords in the districts of Gujarat to by-pass the Government and convert considerable food-growing acreage into grass or tobacco growing areas in the teeth of Government propaganda for food growing. This must be stopped effectively without delay.

While such vast grass areas abound in our province, milk is produced in the heart of cities like Bombay and sold at a rupee a seer and above. All stables in cities and suburban areas round Bombay, Ahmedabad, Poona, Sholapur, Hubli etc., should be abolished and prohibited by law and cattle-keeping and rearing should be allowed only in rural areas in natural surroundings where grazing, stabling, credit and transport facilities should be provided by Government by pooling together, on popular lines, the resources of charitable trusts and institutions, intended for these purposes; such as *panjrapoles*, *goshalas* etc.

### 3. RECLAMATION OF COASTAL LANDS

Thousands of acres of salty lands are lying along creeks in the coastal districts of Surat, Thana and Konkan. These have been washed off and gone waste but could be reclaimed under Government encouragement and help through a system of bunding and would yield thousands of tons of coarse "salt-paddy" as it is called. I think some years ago a survey was made to such an end in the Thana district by a special officer appointed by Government.

I also remember an instance in which years ago a whole adult population of a salt-making village in the Thana district, who were engaged in a labour dispute with the employers, embarked upon a joint venture of rebuilding an old bund as a constructive substitute for their enforced unemployment, and succeeded in reclaiming vast lands which were washed off by the creek and totally lost to the village for more than a generation. This first-rate constructive effort proved a guarantee against possible acts of violence, which the organizers feared, on the part of some of the idle strikers and a veritable boon to the whole village in as much as it brought an additional annual yield of several hundred *khandis* of 'salt-paddy' for the village to the permanent benefit of every family.

The problem, however, of reclaiming such areas may be said to be beyond the capacity of any

private agency, but under State initiative, much could be achieved in the direction.

### 4. VEGETABLE GROWING

Our people's diet is hopelessly low and ill-balanced being highly deficient in fats, proteins and other nutritives. The grass lands above-mentioned can grow excellent fresh vegetables, in abundance, on which poorer people can greatly rely during certain seasons, as they do, for instance, on *mowra* flowers in the Panch Mahals or on jackfruit in parts of the Konkan. Today fresh vegetable is an item of luxury to be found in the menu of the well-to-do classes only. The growers market every ounce of their produce to the cities and towns where it is sold at 4 to 12 annas a lb. And yet the grower hardly gets 1 or 2 annas out of it, the lions's share going to the railways and the city broker or the middlemen. Years ago this writer had reproduced in these columns figures of sale proceeds against expenditure from the account books of a renowned garden owner of the province who faced virtual ruin having had to distribute as much as 87½% of his income between the railway and the middlemen. Only a couple of years ago certain military camps near Wardha compelled village farmers to grow huge quantities of fresh vegetables for them but decamped suddenly to a distant front plunging that whole countryside in total economic ruin. I saw with my own eyes cart-loads of bewitching cauli-flowers selling at one pice a lb. for a whole season and bullocks being fed with maunds upon maunds of beautiful tomatoes which could easily compare with those seen in the coloured advertisements in the American journals. Only the other day I met a big grower of excellent vegetables in my own neighbourhood who supplied some few thousand lbs. of fresh vegetables daily to the military establishments and then to Government ration-shops in Bombay, but who now finds himself—and along with him 11 small villagers whom he encouraged to grow—utterly stranded as a result of a sudden stoppage of Government purchase owing to a change of policy.

All this maladjustment must stop and wise planning follow which would protect the growers against such calamities. Village growers should be discouraged to grow for big and distant cities, but helped to cater local needs within the district and a fair return ensured to them by fixing minimum prices, as in the case of milk, for their undertaking to grow for well-defined restricted areas.

### 5. SEWAGE WATERS

In vegetable growing for big cities like Bombay, Ahmedabad etc., and for raising green fodder for city stables utilization of night soil and sewage water could be thought of with advantage. If drinking water could be brought to cities from distant catchment areas, the city sewers may be as well diverted for manuring and irrigating vast areas in distant suburbs. It may be relevant to say here that the Ahmedabad Municipality has been utilizing part of its sewage system in this manner



for years and has been making a decent income. In Delhi, Allahabad, Karachi and elsewhere too, I think, this is done more or less.

Vapi

SWAMI ANAND

(To be continued)

## RESOLUTION

[The following resolution, defining the objectives of the future constitution of India, was moved by Pandit Nehru in the Constituent Assembly of India on Friday, the 13th of December, 1946, and was unanimously passed by the Assembly on the 22nd of January 1947 after a full discussion.]

1. This Constituent Assembly declares its firm and solemn resolve to proclaim India as an Independent Sovereign Republic and to draw up for her future governance a Constitution;

2. wherein the territories that now comprise British India, the territories that now form the Indian States, and such other parts of India as are outside British India and the States as well as such other territories as are willing to be constituted into the Independent Sovereign India shall be a Union of them all; and

3. wherein the said territories, whether with their present boundaries or with such others as may be determined by the Constituent Assembly and thereafter according to the law of the Constitution, shall possess and retain the status of autonomous units, together with residuary powers, and exercise all powers and functions of government and administration, save and except such powers and functions as are vested in or assigned to the Union, or as are inherent or implied in the Union or resulting therefrom; and

4. wherein all power and authority of the Sovereign Independent India, its constituent parts and organs of government, are derived from the people; and

5. wherein shall be guaranteed and secured to all the people of India justice, social, economic and political; equality of status, of opportunity, and before the law; freedom of thought, expression, belief, faith, worship, vocation, association and action subject to law and public morality; and

6. wherein adequate safeguards shall be provided for minorities, backward and tribal areas, and depressed and other backward classes; and

7. whereby shall be maintained the integrity of the territory of the Republic and its sovereign rights on land, sea and air according to justice and the law of civilized nations; and

8. this ancient land attain its rightful and honoured place in the world and make its full and willing contribution to the promotion of world peace and the welfare of mankind.

## GANDHIJI'S APPROACH

Speaking at a students' meeting at the Ashutosh Hall on the 13th January, Dr. Amiya Chakraverty expressed his belief that there was in Gandhiji's historic march an impelling drive of spiritual faith in the neighbourly goodness of a common people which communal passion could obscure but never destroy. Gandhiji had gone to the interior of Bengal to restore this intrinsic trust without which no society could function. He sought to prove to the victims and the so-called victors of Noakhali that the recent man-made calamity did not even help the majority community. On the contrary, the latter stood to lose materially just as much as they had lost in honour and reputation. Rural life depended on cooperative welfare and any rude shock to mutual trust and any dislocation of the economic and political life was bound to shatter, as it had already shattered, the total agrarian security. The majority population misled by communal leaders had forgotten this fact but they were now realizing it mainly under the truthful light torches by Gandhiji's words and unsparing analysis.

Another factor that Gandhiji's programme included was rehabilitation with or without Government help. That the stricken and outraged conscience of the nation must take up the challenge of Noakhali was what Gandhiji wanted.

(From the A. B. Patrika, 15-1-'47)

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(Second Revised Edition)

By

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# HARIJAN

16 Pages

Editor: PYARELAL

VOL. XI, No. 3

AHMEDABAD — SUNDAY, FEBRUARY 16, 1947

TWO ANNAS

## WHERE IS THE OBSTRUCTION?

The papers say that the Government was considering a cut in the ration for cloth by one-sixth. The reason assigned was that owing to communal disturbances in Bombay and Ahmedabad, the mills could not get enough hands to work fully, resulting in the diminution of cloth-production.

Just imagine! Seven lakhs of villages scattered all over India must suffer cloth-famine, because two of her cities were involved in riots!

The cotton from which cloth is manufactured grows in those very villages; and yet they cannot turn it into cloth in their own homes! Why? The answer is—on account of the dullness of the masses, the muddled heads of the learned and the inertia common to both. Owing to dullness, the masses are unable to move unless stimulated from outside. Owing to want of clear thinking, the learned are filled with doubts. "Can it be seriously urged" they ask, "that we should in this age of scientific progress personally spin and ask people to spin on the *charkha* of the middle ages? Is it conceivable that we could ever clothe ourselves sufficiently without the mills? We concede that the *charkha* can produce some yarn. But what is it good for?" Learned as they are, they are unable to see that it is good enough for covering their bodies! To add to both these causes, there is the inertia common to all, born of age-long slavery.

But then should people go naked? The Government seem to say that for the time being there was no alternative. They had made a scheme for starting new mills in the province. It would take some years to implement it. Till then, people would have to feel the pinch of scarcity. The provincial quotas were fixed by the Central Government and all that the Provincial Government could do was to distribute its share equally among the people.

But I don't see even equal distribution. All around me, I find that it is only the poor who go in rags; the others are more than fully clothed.

However, let me assume that the Government will bring about equal distribution. Still I do not see why the people should feel the pinch of scarcity until new mills are built and they begin to work. Is there any want of time to spin? Is it difficult to manufacture spinning implements? Or is it want of sufficient cotton?

The ancient logicians said that three factors were essential in order to produce a thing, say cloth: the basic material i. e. cotton; the instrument of production, i. e. spinning implements; and the efficient cause, i. e. a capable man. But here

we are faced with the situation that cloth cannot be produced, though all the three factors are present. Were the logicians wrong? If not, where is the obstruction?

The obstruction is with the efficient cause—the capable man. The agriculturist has enough time and capability to spin, because he does not possess more land than three-quarters of an acre. But the capable men who rule over him, are unable to see this. Most of them do have *khadi* on their heads, but it has not yet entered into those heads.

Perhaps they might deny this. They might say, that I was unjust to them. True, they were not convinced about the potentiality of *khadi* that I ascribe to it. But they were not unwilling to encourage it while the mills were insufficient. Indeed, they invited the Charkha Sangh to give them a scheme. But Gandhiji advised the Sangh not to submit any scheme to the provinces, which wanted to establish mills also. The obstruction, therefore, lay in Gandhiji's advice.

Let us examine this piece of logic. It might take about two or three years to start new mills. Even assuming that *khadi* is needed only during the time the mill production is insufficient, is it seriously intended to encourage hand-spinning during the interval? If it is, has it been considered whether it is physically possible to introduce the wheel in every village in a period of two or three years? Has it been realized that before the spinning wheel can be usefully plied, it will be necessary to give the people training in spinning and the ancillary processes? This means that an intensive and country-wide scheme for giving this training will have to be planned out and executed. If the Government is serious it might say, of course, they would be prepared to do all that. Well, if measures are taken to introduce the *charkha* in so thorough a manner, then by the time the plan is executed, the mills will have begun to work and the mill-cloth will begin to be dumped upon the villages. Are the two positions consistent? If the scheme to set up the *charkha* in every home is to be seriously implemented, why should the mills be brought in to dislodge it again? If, on the other hand, the setting up of the mill-industry is a settled programme, why should there be all this waste of energy to introduce the *charkha*? Encouraging the *khadi* during the interval does not surely mean putting in a few lakhs of rupees into hand-spun and hand-woven cloth for the satisfaction of the *khadi* complex, which Congressmen have developed to a certain extent by long association!



And after all this expenditure of energy and public funds, what will be the net result? The present ration of cloth in this province (C. P.) is 12 yds. per head. Of these six yards are meant to be mill cloth wholly and six yards of hand-loom cloth. This is practically unavailable. Taking the minimum need to be as low as 16 yds. per head, it is no joke to supply the deficit on the *charkha*. It cannot be done by doling out a few lakhs of rupees into the *khadi*-made charity-bag.

Therefore, let there not be any loose thinking about *khadi*. The ministers must think it out in a serious manner. Gandhiji cannot be so irresponsible as to allow tax-payers' money to be spent on a programme in which the ministers have no clear faith. You cannot encourage both *khadi* and the mills. The mills that be, must disappear with the wearing out of their machinery and no new mills must come in to displace hand-spun cloth.

The Madras Cabinet alone has ventured to chalk out a *Khadi* scheme. It has been made the target of severe attacks by the vested interests. Some have prophesied the failure of the scheme; a few are hopeful. And the irony of it is that several of those who attack the plan clad themselves in *khadi* top to toe!

I may be again told that this was an unjust criticism. It was not that those whom I had criticized did not want *khadi*. But they were realists. In a case depending upon hard facts mere will to believe cannot generate faith and in the case of *khadi* facts did not show that it could be universalized. The A. I. S. A. had been after it for these twenty years. The Congress had encouraged it. But they had not succeeded in installing it in the place which *khadi*-lovers wanted for it. That was the reason for their want of full faith in *khadi*.

The answer is that uptill now the *khadi* movement had to be carried on under a Government hostile towards it. So many times, it actually burnt the wheels, confiscated *khadi* Bhandars, and imprisoned people simply because they put on *khadi*. It even had the tyrant's heartlessness to burn stocks of *khadi* in the face of actual cloth-famine in the country. If, under such adverse circumstances, *khadi* succeeded in becoming the symbol and the uniform of Swaraj, and has actually brought the country to the threshold of Swaraj, and placed people, who could, if they wished, make it universal, in possession of the power to carry out that wish. It cannot, therefore, be said that it has not fully rewarded the efforts made for it during all these years. *Khadi* can now justifiably say to the Congress Governments that it was now for them to decide whether it should hereafter stay or quit along with the Government, which by its assistance, had been brought to the stage of quitting. The Congress was in power now and it was for them to retain or discard the weapon which gave them that power.

Pavnar, 24-12-'46

VINOBA

(Adapted from the original in Marathi)

## ONE MORE FEATHER IN THE CAP

In most economic activities both the long range programme and short time measures must go hand in hand and must be well co-ordinated if they are to function satisfactorily. If the carpenter wants seasoned wood for his cabinets, the long range counterpart of this is the forest policy of the Government. When the farmer needs to water his fields the Government has to lay out long term irrigation schemes to answer the purpose. These items are complementary but the long term policies are based on the demand of the short range policies. It is the function of the Government to provide the long term measures to supply the needs of the short range economic activities. A maladjustment between these two aspects causes waste. For instance, the Government will be foolish to go on building irrigation works where there are no fields to irrigate!

During the feudal days England was an economy based on horse power. The horse was the beast of burden. It provided the motive force for the farmer on the fields, the mount for the wayfarer, the charger for the warrior, the draught power for the post chaise, etc. At that time the feudal lord functioned partially in the place of the State in a modern democracy. So it fell to his lot to take care of horse-breeding which was a long range programme. Because of this the institution of horse racing came into being to set the required standards of quality and to reward the successful breeder. Since the advent of power machinery, coal and oil have ousted the horse, leaving us only its long range counterpart, horse breeding and racing as an anachronism for the indulgence of the gambler and wastrel. This phenomenon of an economic long range item outliving its partner has developed into a monstrosity destroying the lives of hundreds of simple city clerks and petty traders who are enticed away by betting booths and has become a carbuncle on the body politic. This disease has invaded our country too. Many of our Princes and wealthy men are wasting crores on this pastime. The ever wasteful spendthrift governments, instead of ending this meaningless rudiment of an ancient economy, have made capital of it by making it a source of income. The magnitude of its operations can be gauged from the fact that the Bombay Government pools nearly a crore from its betting taxes, while Calcutta makes about three fourths of it. It is high time for any rational Government not driven by its greed to put an end to this nefarious occupation.

The Madras Ministry has again given the lead by legislating against wagering or betting at horse races. While some types of horses for the tonga, etc. have yet to be bred, the kinds that are found in the races are of no use for the ordinary man. Under the circumstances all racing of such animals should be completely banned. We trust the other Provincial Governments will follow this example.

Besides, our country being in a cow-centered economy, which badly needs long schemes in cattle-



breeding, poultry rearing, sheep-breeding etc., we would commend that the energies now running waste in horse-breeding may well be profitably channelized into these activities which will fit into the economic life of the country.

J. C. KUMARAPPA

## Notes

### Orissa's Suicide

One of our poorest provinces is Orissa. As a consequence of the last war it has been impoverished further. When we talk of the economic condition we have in mind the common farmer and the villager. It does not at this stage require any exposition of the fact that centralized production accumulates profits to the "haves" and creates unemployment and distress for the "have nots". To relieve poverty and unemployment, therefore, we need to spread industries which distribute wealth and bring employment to the largest number. Such is *khadi* production to relieve shortage of cloth as quickly as possible.

The ill-advised Orissa Government is the first to take the bait of the provincial spindle quota scheme and has obtained an over-riding priority for the import of plant and machinery for the new company, "Orissa Textile Mills Ltd." for its 25,000 coarse and 19,000 fine spindles. They are awaiting permits for steel, cement and coal to start construction work at Cuttack.

For this company, under the most favoured terms, to start production it will take about three years. In the meanwhile the cloth shortage will grow from bad to worse; and by the time the mill begins functioning, the U. S. A., Great Britain and other countries which are pushing forward their export trade with all their might and main will be comfortably settled in the market. Will the Orissa Textile Mills be powerful enough to oust them?

We are sorry that the Orissa Government has taken this short-sighted view and has introduced a scheme which will bring greater distress for the masses than the one they are suffering from now.

### A Share in the Booty

Nadir Shah invaded India for booty. This booty was in the form of hoards of precious metal, jewellery and gems. Such is not the booty our moderns look for. They want instruments of production, raw materials and markets. It was the search for such booty that brought in the global wars.

After the first world war the "conquerors" unburdened Germany of her colonies and claimed reparations to compensate for the loss caused by the wars.

Now again Germany has been "vanquished". The international vultures have foregathered where the carcass is. An assembly of delegates from the Principal Allied Countries have drafted a "Final Act and an Accord" to pool all German Patents in Allied countries. India has also been dragged into this arrangement, by whom we do not know.

When we buy a stolen article knowing it to be such we become morally responsible for the stealing that had preceded the transaction. India refrained from entering this war. To that extent she is free from the blood guilt of this war. Can we now ask for a share in the booty consequent on this war without assuming moral responsibility for the carnage?

Can we buy and bring into our country German plants taken over by the allies as "reparation"? There is a list of 51 German war plants, which are for sale, circulated among the Indian Chambers of Commerce. These are stained with injustice, cruelty, avarice and human blood. Are we prepared to take these on our hands? If we do, we become imperialists no less than the British or the Americans. If India stands for the freedom of all suppressed nations, Germany being one such today, our National Government should protest against such loot and ban such tainted property.

J. C. K.

## THE PROPHET'S CONVENTION FOR ALL TIME

A Muslim friend sends the following quotation from the Bengali book *Mustafa-Charit* by Maulana Akram Khan. He has been circulating it in the form of a handbill.

"After arrival in Medina Hazrat Muhammed turned his attention towards the peace and welfare of the country. Medina with its neighbourhood was the seat of three independent tribes. The thoughts, tastes and religion of the Jews, the Idolaters and of the Musalmans were incompatible with one another. The Prophet realized the need of bringing them together under one common plan of action—they were to be fused politically into one 'nation'. They had to learn that different religious communities who inhabited the same country could preserve their religious independence fully intact and yet could work together in the service of their common motherland. Such a State was possible and also desirable.

"For the first time in the history of the world this ideal was preached by an inhabitant of the desert of Hejaz, viz., the unlettered Muhammed Mustafa. The latter gathered together the Jews, the Idolaters and the Muslims of Medina and made them sign the first international agreement and created a republic out of the various religious communities and mutually hostile factions. We give below a few items from that convention.

1. Jews and Idolaters belong to the same *Ummat* (Nation) as the Muslims.

2. They will fight unitedly for preserving the country's freedom.

3. Jews, Muslims and other communities are free to follow their own religious practices; none shall interfere with the religious freedom of another.

4. Muslims should generally behave with affection towards other communities and work for



the latter's welfare. They should never harbour thoughts of injuring them in any way.

5. This promise taken in the name of Allah is for all time. He or they who break it will suffer from the wrath of Allah."

## HARIJAN

February 16

1947

### WANTED CORN, NOT CURRENCY

It is usual to say that India is an agricultural country. If one understood thereby that India had plenty of agricultural land, it would not be correct. For, it has only  $\frac{1}{4}$ th of an acre of land per head. The proposition, therefore, must be taken to mean that the Indian village and the life, habits and thought of the Indian people are more suited to agricultural pursuits than to non-agricultural ones. It can also be understood to mean that at present India has not much left of avocations other than the agricultural one. There is a third sense also for treating India as an agricultural country, namely, that the country having far less agricultural land than necessary, it must concentrate its main attention and energy on the improvement of agriculture. No prosperity could be expected otherwise.

Indeed, this was realized as early as the time of the *Upanishads*. One of them says, "Grow more corn. Regard this as your pledge." During the war period the Government also began to repeat this phrase, but it failed to create more corn. Instead, it created more currency. As a result, thirty lakhs of people died of want of corn.

Ultimately, the British Government handed over its failing concern to the leaders of the people. With the full knowledge of the risk involved in taking over a failing concern, the leaders have accepted the responsibility. Hence, keeping people alive is the most important problem that faces the country at present.

Businessmen say that agriculture is not a profitable avocation in India. But, since life depends upon agriculture, where agriculture is not profitable, life itself cannot be profitable. This result is not, cannot be, natural; it is the result of an artificial civilization. Currency is the symbol of this artificiality. The false prestige given to the possession of currency has become the cause of the destruction of so much life.

The people of India live in *khedas*—fields (remember that one of the synonyms for 'village' in several Indian languages is *kheda*, which also means a field). If we can undo in the *khedas* the false importance given to currency, agriculture cannot but improve. The importance given to the possession of currency is the cause of the frenzy for raising 'money-crops'. Why are so much tobacco, a considerable part of cotton and similar other

crops raised? Why should there be so much need for currency? Because, the villager has to obtain all his wants by purchase. He must bring his cloth and the oil-cake and several other necessities from the market; hence his need for money. Hence he raises crops not needed by him or his comrades in the village, but those wanted by a far away exporter or industrialist. And so, food is scarce. The village itself has no industries of its own. The villager cannot supply himself with his essential needs from things manufactured locally. The deduction is clear. Sufficient food is not grown in the fields because sufficient industry is not carried on in the villages.

Of course, our agriculture needs considerable improvement; and there is no gainsaying the fact that improved agriculture will be more profitable. It will need all our talents, energy and years of patient endeavour to do this. While all this must be done, it must also be realized that the population will also increase along with the years of effort and the results of improved agriculture alone may not be proportionate to the needs of an enlarged population. Therefore an agriculturist should not be defined merely as one who lives by tilling land, but one who both tills the land and produces from the raw produce of his land articles needed for his own use. This idea is at the root of the Khadi and Village Industries movement. In the immediate future, the miseries of the poor will not end without a simultaneous impetus to Khadi and Village Industries.

Government is busily engaged in making calculations of the deficiency in the quantity of food needed for the country and devising ways and means of meeting it. But, if you think hard, you would realize that the 'Grow More Food' movement must not be limited by calculations of deficiency. Indeed, there should be no limit to the amount of food to be grown. It must not simply meet the annual needs of the country, but there must be plenty of surplus left for the next year. Like air and water, there must be plenty of food too. And food should not mean merely various corns, but also vegetables, fruits, roots and tubers. Nor should they be raised with an eye on their price in money; they must be consumed by the producer himself. He himself must become the principal buyer of his produce; the unneeded surplus alone should be for sale. This is Swaraj. "I salute the eater of his own produce," said Tukaram. No one would desire to put up his own son for sale in the market! He can never feel that he got full value for him. Hence, he cannot afford it. But he produces milk and butter, fruits and vegetables, and puts them up for sale! He says that he cannot afford to consume them himself! Why should it be so? My answer is—for want of village industries. Possibly some people might feel I am obsessed by this idea. But as long as I have not been given any other explanation for it, I must adhere to this view.

Pavnar, 13-1-'47

VINOBA

(Translated from the original in Marathi)



## GANDHIJI ON TRUSTEESHIP

Gandhiji deliberately referred to his private life because he had never thought the private life of individuals did not affect the course of the public activities of those individuals. Thus he did not believe that he could be immoral in private life and yet be an efficient public servant. His public conduct was bound to be affected by his private. He held that much mischief was made throughout the world by divorce between public and private conduct. And when he was engaged in the supreme test of non-violence in his life, he wished to be judged before God and man by the sum total of his activities, both private and public. As he had said years ago, non-violent life was an act of self-examination and self-purification whether by the individual, group or a nation.

This led him to the answers of some questions addressed to him and arising out of his remarks on trusteeship.

**Q.** Is it possible to defend by means of non-violence anything which can only be gained through violence?

**A.** It followed from what he had said above that what was gained by violence could not only not be defended by non-violence but the latter required the abandonment of the ill-gotten gains.

**Q.** Is the accumulation of capital possible except through violence whether open or tacit?

**A.** Such accumulation by private persons was impossible except through violent means but accumulation by the State in a non-violent society was not only possible, it was desirable and inevitable.

**Q.** Whether a man accumulates material or moral wealth he does so only through the help or co-operation of other members of society. Has he then the moral right to use any of it mainly for personal advantage?

**A.** No, he has no moral right.

**Q.** How would the successor of a trustee be determined? Will he only have the right of proposing a name, the right of finalization being vested in the State?

**A.** As he had said yesterday, choice should be given to the original owner who became the first trustee, but the choice must be finalized by the State. Such arrangement puts a check on the State as well as the individual.

**Q.** When the replacement of private by public property thus takes place through the operation of the theory of trusteeship, will the ownership vest in the State, which is an instrument of violence or in associations of a voluntary character like village communes and municipalities, which may of course derive their final authority from State-made laws?

**A.** That question involved some confusion of thought. Legal ownership in the transformed condition vested in the trustee, not in the State. It was to avoid confiscation that the doctrine of trusteeship came into play retaining for the society the ability of the original owner in his own right. Nor did he, the speaker, hold that the State must always be based on violence. It might be so in theory but the

practice of the theory demanded a State which would for the most part be based on non-violence.  
Satgharia (Noakhali), 2-2-'47

## SUPPRESSED CLASSES AND CONGRESS WORKERS

Until recently disturbances like strikes etc., were confined mostly to labourers of large-scale industries and city areas only. But now we see even workers like *bhangis* in small towns going on strike for an increase in their salaries. So also *halis* in the Surat district and the *adivasis* and the *raniparaj* (aborigines and forest-tribes people) have become restive and are offering resistance to land-owners and money-lenders. When this happens, instead of examining the merits of the case we are disposed to ascribe them to the instigation of the Kisan Sabha or Red-flag people or communists. Our stock argument against them is that they are totally unscrupulous and take resort to any means regardless of truth or justice and take advantage of the illiteracy and ignorance of the people, mislead them into violence and thus do harm to the poor masses. We also argue that it is not the whole or even a majority of these communities that takes part in such disturbances, but that these are stage-managed with the help of the fifty or hundred hooligans, who terrorize and coerce the rest to join the strike and take part in the disturbances. We feel that under the circumstances, nothing could be done except suppressing the agitators and their hired hooligans. I accept that there is some truth in these allegations. But that fact does not satisfy me much. For the question is: how is it that these people instead of going to the Congress for advice and for removal of their grievances, run to those mischievous agitators? We have been working amongst them for more than two decades now. We claim to serve them and give them the correct lead. Our institutions are older and ably organized and the government machinery has also come into our hands. How is it that even then we have not been able to generate such strength and understanding amongst the masses that they would not fall a prey to the lures of unscrupulous agitators and to the intimidation of the hooligans? Let us, therefore, probe deeper into the matter and do a bit of hard heart-searching. If the result of such heart-searching proves our attitude to be erroneous, I am prepared to take my own share in the blame as a worker. Thus what I write here is not to accuse my co-workers in the Congress, but to make an attempt to find out the truth. I request my readers in the Congress to take this article in that light.

To resume the thread, let us enquire how many of us have gone to these extremely suppressed and down-trodden people and to what extent have we been helpful to them in removing their miseries and sorrows? It cannot be gainsaid that the upper class people actually live on the toil of these people. They derive undue benefit from every variety of economic relationship with them. They consider themselves as a socially superior people and do not let go a single opportunity of insulting them and



keeping them in their present suppressed condition. We workers do not have the courage to tell this fact plainly to the upper class people. We are afraid that we shall incur their displeasure, they might discontinue monetary and other help for our public activities or withdraw their cooperation. So we are inclined to maintain silence over these things and thus compromise our fundamental principles. We take shelter under the hackneyed maxim, 'hasten slowly', it being a safer course than antagonizing such people. If the elections of Local Boards or Municipalities or legislative assemblies are imminent, we think it advisable to postpone all such programmes, as are from the point of view of justice and urgency very important, but are likely to be unpopular with our constituencies and affect the vote. In selecting candidates for such bodies we attach more importance to their social influence amongst the voters and their possibility of success at the polls than to their capacity, their devotion to principles or loyalty to our programmes. Consequently, in practice we attach greater weight to castes and communities, which in principle we are out to abolish. Such candidates when elected are naturally found to be wanting in their zeal or devotion in discharging their duty towards these suppressed sections of our countrymen. For example, though the government resolution is clear regarding admission of Harijan students in Local Board Schools, the Harijan Sevak Sangh has to face a number of difficulties in getting students admitted to them. Hardly any School Board takes an active interest in this work. Similarly, we find some legislative assembly members elected on Congress tickets criticizing adversely even such a mild measure as the Bombay Tenancy Act. The tenants are accused of dishonestly defrauding the landowner of his legitimate half share of the crops by clandestinely removing the crops, so that the land-owner or the money-lender is hardly able to recover more than one third. The following extracts from a letter written by an old and experienced worker in the Surat District will show how flimsy the accusation is:

"A majority of villages on our side are so firmly in the clutches of the *sowcar* that 95 per cent of the tenants have to give away the whole produce of rice, *jowari*, pulses and cotton to him. Tenants are required to thrash their rice, *jowari* and pulses in the *sowcar*'s farm. From the produce the *sowcar* first deducts the value of his advances and usurious interest thereon, leaving hardly one fourth of the produce for the tenant. The tenant should consider himself fortunate if he gets 1/8th share in the produce of the pulses. As regards cotton the whole produce is taken away by the *sowcar* in lieu of his old claims. If the tenant has grown wheat, he is not allowed to keep even a grain of it. 'Surely the beggar of a tenant does not need wheat' is an expression which you may often hear from the creditor's mouth.

"And as if this was not enough the tenant is called a thief if he eats some green *jowari* or some

green beans while he is watching the fields. The *sowcar* on the contrary might legitimately take a cart-load of friends and relatives on a picnic in the fields and use any amount of green *jowari* or take away any amount of green beans! But then he is rich and the tenant is poor and that makes all the difference!

"As a matter of fact this tenancy legislation is likely to benefit more the *sowcar* than the tenant. The protection given to him will create for him permanent interest in the land and will induce him to make improvements therein as also to work with greater zeal. As a consequence the produce will be doubled or at least increased by more than one half. Thus even with the one third share, the *sowcar* will be getting more than what he used to get as his half share. Increase in national wealth will be a further advantage. Yet the *sowcars* have been agitating against this legislation!"

Let us also consider the *hali* system prevailing in the Surat District. The *halis* (agricultural labourers) have been reduced to the condition of serfs and are so much degenerated under this unjust and crushing system that they have reached the stage of an almost sub-human species. Their labour output has gone so low that it is no longer economically advantageous to the employers. Yet the latter are so much accustomed to this system that when attempts are made to improve the lot of these *halis*, local Congressmen who happen to be owners are enraged and make bitter complaints against our own workers. When such is the mentality of persons calling themselves Congressmen both 'active' and general, if a very large part of Congress workers remain complacent and discourage or run down those few from amongst us who take up this work, is it surprising that these suppressed people should eagerly listen to the counsel of the Kisan Sabha and other workers who believe disturbances and violence to be the *sine qua non* of any revolution?

The Congress has always claimed to stand for the poor, the down-trodden and the exploited. The Constituent Assembly has also put its seal on this objective. But we the Congress workers have not the courage to displease the exploiters, black marketeers or such other traitors to society, whose sordid interests are surely to be affected if we carry on our just and necessary activities of helping the poor on right Congress lines. If the poor and toiling people who have been either fully or partly awakened to their grievances fall a prey into the hands of mischievous agitators, it would be due to our default and we shall have no cause to complain. Even Churchill who led his country so ably during the war was almost unceremoniously thrown out when he began to resist the new spirit and used his advocacy to promote or maintain the interests of the exploiting classes. Even so, we calling ourselves Congressmen, if we begin to play the role of the Conservatives, we shall lose our prestige and our hold on the people.

NARHARI PARIKH

(Translated from the original in Gujarati)



## SUGGESTIONS FOR A COMPREHENSIVE SCHEME OF COW-BREEDING

Eleventh February is the death anniversary of Sheth Shri Jamnalalji. It reminds us of his single-minded devotion to the service of the cow. The memory of that devotion awakens us to our sense of duty towards the cow. Five years have already passed in mere wishing. Others have had their five years' plans and have executed them, thereby changing the face of their countries. We are not in a position to show to our credit any substantial work during these five years. But during these years we have fought a great battle for Swaraj and that has won for us some political power which we can utilize for preparing and executing a country-wide programme of cow-service. Ours is not a small achievement and it compensates for the want of progress in cow-service. But what about the coming five years? We must prepare a plan and gird up our loins to put it into execution.

Even during the period of turmoil the Go-Seva Sangh has put in some substantial work though in a very limited sphere. The quantity of achievement is small, but it is very valuable. It can give some guidance to the country in preparing a plan for the future. The small experiments in Sevagram and the Gopuri *goshala* have demonstrated that we can improve both the milk strain and the draught strain of our local cows. From the point of view of cow-service it is essential that we should make improvements in the local breeds. This has been done by these institutions without any fuss and without spending large sums of money. Of course there is much yet to be done and we are far from reaching our goal. But what has been achieved is doubtless noteworthy.

With Congress Ministries in the Provinces our responsibility for improving the condition of our cows and bullocks increases immensely. It is necessary that we should definitely chalk out the lines on which the work should now proceed. The necessity of supplying good and sufficient milk to the cities at once comes to our notice. I offer some suggestions in this respect as well as in respect of cow-breeding in general.

1. As soon as the question of milk-supply is considered, we start with the idea of importing cows giving plenty of milk. In my opinion this is not necessary. We should select for our work local breeds as far as possible. A little reflection will help to make my point clear. Our purpose cannot be served by ignoring local breeds. We cannot betray the agriculturists. It is essential that we should show them a way to improve the condition of the cows that they have. It will be harmful to neglect these animals in our enthusiasm to supply milk to the cities.

2. It will be wrong to concentrate on the milk yielding quality of the cow and neglect its draught-strain. To have good bullocks for agriculture is one of the chief aims of breeding. To get good milk is another. Both these aims should well be kept in mind. We will not be able to save the cow if we concentrate only on the milk strain. And the

cow will not be economic if we totally neglect the milk giving quality and concentrate only on getting good sturdy bullocks. We have to make the cow serve the dual purpose. The cow should give us good bullocks useful for agriculture and also a good supply of milk. Only those countries, where agriculture does not depend upon bullocks and where calves form an item of food, can afford to say that we care only for more milk, we do not mind if we do not get sturdy bullocks. In India only that cow has a future which is able to give us a fairly good supply of milk as well as fairly sturdy male animals.

3. It is certainly no duty of the villages to supply milk to the cities. The village people should themselves drink plenty of milk and may sell only the surplus. This aim can be achieved only if milk in villages is so abundant that the villages find it within their means to drink plenty of it.

4. Agriculture, cow-breeding, oil-pressing by the bullock-*ghani*, tanning hides, and preparing good manures; all these make one single unit and must go together. Agriculturists and their children will get sufficient milk only if all these industries are carried on together. In any scheme of cow-protection all these should be carried on simultaneously.

5. Cow-breeding cannot be separated from other village industries. If arrangement cannot be made to engage the agriculturist in essential industries in his own home, he will have to depend upon outside markets for his essential requirements and would be in need of cash to buy them. So long as this state of things continues, he will always have to sell his milk and milk products for cash.

6. The villagers need not purchase bullocks from outside. It should be possible to breed fine bullocks in every village. For this Government will have to provide proper facilities such as stud bulls. This should be considered as of primary importance.

These are the minimum conditions that I suggest for cow-breeding. I have not gone into details. In preparing any plan for cow-breeding, if these suggestions are kept in mind it will do good to the country. But if we begin our work on wrong lines no good will come out and our labour and money will be wasted.

In preparing a comprehensive scheme these points have therefore to be borne in mind.

Pavnar 3-2-'47

VINOBA

(Translated from the original in Hindustani)

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## CINEMAS

Thus writes Shrimati Rameshwari Nehru :

I beg to add a word in support of the appeal, made by a correspondent for the restraint over the modern talkies by our National Governments, published in the *Harijan* of 5th January.

I am not a frequent visitor of cinema pictures but the little I have seen of them has convinced me that whatever she has said, about the evil effects of these pictures on the morals of young men and women, is perfectly true.

The cinema habit is fast growing and the real danger lies in the fact that it is penetrating the villages. These pictures are taking the place of the healthy entertainments of former days. Recital of *kathas* and playing of *rashilas* and other semi-religious salutary entertainments, which built up the moral calibre of the people, are getting out of vogue. Instead, cinemas are becoming more and more popular every day. The country, therefore, stands in great moral danger which we should make all possible efforts to combat. Using Shri Mashruwala's simile I would say that these pictures are big boulders on the path of the Nation's moral progress and the strength of the mighty elephants is certainly needed for their removal. It is by no means a trifling matter which can be left to the people to deal with as they choose. The danger springs from the fact that the production of cinema pictures lies in the hands of money-making men who, with a few exceptions, run the industry with the profit motive. Thus an innocent instrument, which science has placed in our hands, is vitiated. With a little control by the Government it can become the best means for the educational and cultural advancement of the people.

The cinema industry is one of the most prosperous industries in India today and as is the case with all industrial mass production, cheapest articles, which bring highest return are produced. It happens that in this case the largest audiences are drawn to sensational pictures which have a sex appeal. Thus it is that private individuals, for personal profit, spoil the taste of the public. The demand does not precede the supply; it is the supply which creates the demand.

There is a great deal of talk about Nationalization these days. In my opinion nationalization of the cinema industry is needed more than anything else. In any case, strict control by the Government is essential. Control is already exercised and all provinces have Cinema Censor Boards.

I myself was a member of the Punjab Provincial Censor Board some time ago. It was a foreign Government then. Censor was exercised from the point of view of that Government. All reference to the movement for the liberation of the country or to its national leaders was sedition and had to be expunged. The moral and cultural level of the pictures was of no concern to the Board. No standards were observed for the maintenance of these. I had to resign from the Board

because I could not reconcile myself to this method of censoring. But now things are different. We have our own Governments. There is no reason why they should be apathetic about it. I strongly feel that all Provincial Governments should take up the matter and exercise a very strict control on pictures released for public view. Particularly, the education departments should take a lead in the matter.

I have also received other similar communications rebuking me, gently or severely, for not fully stressing the duty of the National Governments to take action in the matter complained of. As the majority of the new correspondents refer only to the cinemas, I have omitted in this article the other evil, though the same could be said with regard to it also. The original correspondent was from Central India. Those who have supported her represent the Punjab, Gujarat, C. P. and Madras. It shows that the dissatisfaction regarding the movies is shared, by a thoughtful section of the people, all over India.

In my article I had by no means absolved governments from their duty in the matter. Acting on the maxim, "a word to the wise is enough", I contented myself by saying that there was much truth in what the correspondents said and that the popular governments should take note of it. As I write this I read in a local newspaper a report that the Bombay Government has already taken some action in the matter and contemplates some further legislation for making the cinema shows more educative in the right direction and improving their moral quality. I hope other governments will also take, if they have not already done so, steps in the same direction.

But having said this, I wish to re-emphasize the duty of the public in the matter. More can and should be done by the moulders of public opinion than they do, or expect governments to do, in respect of entertainments and habit-forming indulgences and if they do not discharge their part of the duty, even at the risk of becoming unpopular with the entertainers and entertainment-seekers, they must not expect the government ploughs to furrow sufficiently deep.

I may further develop this subject at some other time if I have to continue this office long.

Sabarmati, 22-1-'47

K. G. MASHRUWALA

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# HARIJAN

Pages 16

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TWO ANNAS

## BASIC EDUCATION

[We have received a copy of the report of seven years of the work of the Hindustani Talimi Sangh in Basic Education as an account of an experiment in a scheme aiming at revolutionizing our whole educational system. The report is very important and needs perusal by all interested in Education. Due to want of space we are not able to reproduce the whole of the report in these columns, but two important and instructive extracts are given below.]

English and Hindi copies of the report can be had from the Hindustani Talimi Sangh, Sevagram (Wardha C.P.) for a price of annas eight each. ED.]

1

### STANDARD OF ATTAINMENT

The most important point for assessment will be the development of children—physical, intellectual and spiritual—as a result of the seven years of basic education. The pupils in the basic school at Sevagram and Champaran will complete seven years in December, 1946 and their development has been assessed.

The standard of attainment at the end of the seven years of basic education was laid down as that of Matriculation minus English. The question is, therefore, often asked whether the pupils who have completed the seven years of basic education have attained the Matriculation standard.

Now, it is necessary to define the "Matriculation standard". According to current terminology the pupil has to obtain a certain percentage of marks in five academic subjects in order to pass the Matriculation Examination. Some subjects are compulsory and some are optional. The subjects and standards prescribed slightly vary from university to university. The objective of the High School Course which goes up to the Matriculation Examination is to make the pupil obtain a certain percentage of marks in the prescribed subjects and gaining entrance to University Education. The success or failure of a pupil is determined by the percentage of marks obtained in one written examination which is held annually.

In the basic education course the craft forms the medium of education. Pupils gain knowledge of various subjects taught in correlation to the basic craft as occasion arises. The syllabus is there for guidance but not to be strictly adhered to. The pupil learns through observation and experience and not merely through oral instruction. There are no formal examinations for promotions from grade to grade. It is the quality of the work done, the record kept by the pupils and teachers, of the daily work, regular attendance and the opinion of the teacher that decide the promotions.

The objective of the basic education course of eight years including the pre-basic class is the training of a citizen of a new social order with the following qualifications:

1. A harmoniously developed body—healthy and agile—capable of doing hard physical work.
2. Clear understanding of the ideology of the new co-operative social order and the place of cottage industries in rural economy.
3. Ability to earn if necessary from the basic craft, sufficient for his own balanced diet and clothing.
4. Ability to produce cloth from raw cotton.
5. Ability to grow vegetables sufficient for his own consumption.
6. Ability to cook a meal and skill and knowledge in all allied processes in connection with the storing, cooking and serving of food for a family or community, including budgeting and maintaining of kitchen accounts.
7. Knowledge of the elements of dietetics and fundamental rules of health.
8. Knowledge of the fundamental rules of village sanitation and personal hygiene.
9. Knowledge of first aid, treatment and nursing of common ailments.
10. Knowledge of the principles of co-operation in running co-operative stores and keeping of accounts.
11. Ability to speak clearly and fluently at public meetings.
12. Ability to express ideas clearly in writing and prepare reports.
13. Appreciation of literature in the mother-tongue and a working knowledge of Hindustani.
14. Ability to read and write simple Hindustani in both the scripts.
15. Ability to sing in chorus, devotional and national songs.
16. Appreciation of paintings and pictures and ability to draw and paint.
17. Ability to ride a bicycle, and a horse and drive a cart.
18. Ability to help in organizing festivals in school and village.
19. Elementary knowledge of the world economic, social and political problems as gained through the study of current events reported in newspapers.
20. Elementary knowledge of the mechanical principles in the different equipment and processes of craft work.
21. Acquaintance with the fundamental scientific principles in growing food and cotton, in cooking and allied processes, in the processes of the basic craft and in the maintenance of personal health and the health of the community and village sanitation.
22. Knowledge of the geography of India and the world through food and clothing.
23. Ability to use newspapers and journals intelligently.



24. Knowledge of the history and development of the fight for freedom in India.

25. Respect for the different religions in India and desire for communal unity.

26. Freedom from caste restrictions and prejudices.

27. Love for one's own village and rural area. Readiness to stay and work in villages. Village-mindedness.

## PLANNING WITH VILLAGE BIAS

### III

#### 6. TRAINING IN AGRICULTURE

The training of students in our agricultural schools and colleges may be largely supplemented by a system of posting stipendary apprentices on well-known farms or gardens owned by experienced and enterprising agriculturists. A good number of first rank farmers, fruit-growers and garden-owners from all over the province may be invited by Government to take in and train a fixed number of apprentices every year. These apprentices should have certain educational qualifications and also have already a year's previous grounding at a Government agricultural school or farm. They should then be selected to complete their training on these private farms as post-school study apprentices, with one or two years' course of practical working: a year for practical study of local conditions, soil, monsoon, cropping and manuring schemes, labour, etc., another for cost-accounting, farm management, marketing, co-operative working and for a special training in any particular branch of horticulture etc.

Such training farms should have Government recognition and hold Government credentials (which may be renewed every year or so) to grant a diploma to those trained on the farms at the end of their training period, stating the general qualifications and proficiency of the holder and also the particular branch of agriculture he may have specialized in. And these diplomas should be on a par with those of Government institutes or training establishments. Even post-graduate training in agricultural chemistry and other branches of research or highly specialized and intensive branches of agriculture or horticulture may be thought of on this basis.

Such a course of planning may train a thousand or more students annually with first rate practical training which would in no way be inferior to that imparted by Government, directly and yet would be much cheaper inasmuch as it would save the Government considerable expenditure over lands, buildings, teaching staff and establishments. The farm-owners too would gain inasmuch as they would get a number of intelligent and willing farm hands as overseers, assistants etc., to help them at negligible cost besides gaining in status and position in their own districts and the province.

#### 7. POULTRY FARMING

This is an excellent village and farm-house industry. One great handicap in its pursuit for the villager is the havoc played by seasonal epidemics and poultry diseases. The villager is at his wit's end against it and often feels utterly ruined under the losses entailed. His own insanitary living and habits contribute not a little to his misfortune. He

should therefore be supplied with detailed instructions in taking proper care of his stocks and in combating disease. Social workers can help a good deal the Government propaganda in this direction.

#### 8. FISHING

This industry is very important in view of India's 3000 miles of coast line and of the low and ill-balanced diet of our countrymen and in the midst of the terrible food deficiency of the present times. But as this industry is already receiving due attention by competent official and non-official persons, I do not dilate upon it here.

#### 9. PALM JUICE

In the Bombay Province millions of date, cocoanut and palm trees abound, food contents of whose juice are beyond dispute. Other uses (mainly local) of their by-products are innumerable and well-known. Toddy-juice should not be allowed to be confused with liquor in the popular imagination. While liquor is mainly an intoxicant, toddy-juice is rich, valuable and yet the cheapest food for millions of humble village folk if only its fermenting process could be successfully prevented and if it is not carried away to the towns and cities like milk produced in the Kaira district. Effective protection and encouragement should be given by the State towards local consumption to the elimination of the trading interests and middlemen.

As against its use as an alcoholic drink it should not be difficult for Government institutes like Half-keine at Bombay, or the one at Coonoor to find out a drug (as harmless to human health as the colours proposed for use in order to distinguish vegetable ghee) which would prevent all process of fermentation in toddy-juice for 24 or 36 hours. The use of the drug should then be made compulsory by law for all toddy-tappers.

#### 10. BEE-KEEPING

This is one of the finest food-yielding and remunerative industries for gardeners and for farmers who live in the neighbourhood of forests. The forest-dwellers gather wild honey in many parts of our country mainly for selling it in towns, but there is considerable adulteration and deceit. Besides, their method of gathering honey are primitive and revolting. It involves wholesale killing of the bees. The modern method of bee-rearing and apiaries alone is worthy of encouragement and vastly more profitable to the villager. Excellent cooperative societies of bee-keepers on such lines have been formed during recent years in the North Kanara district and are flourishing. Every effort should be made to protect and encourage this industry and spread it in other parts of the province such as the garden areas of Khandesh, Nasik, Poona and Gujarat.

#### 11. SALT, GRASS AND FIRE-WOOD

These should be made free as gifts of nature to the humblest villager even as air and water. All monopolies and all private mass production on trade-basis in these should be abolished. The villager should be allowed to help himself and supplement his income by selling these headloads in his own neighbourhood as far as he can go on foot and return home by the evening.

Vapi

SWAMI ANAND

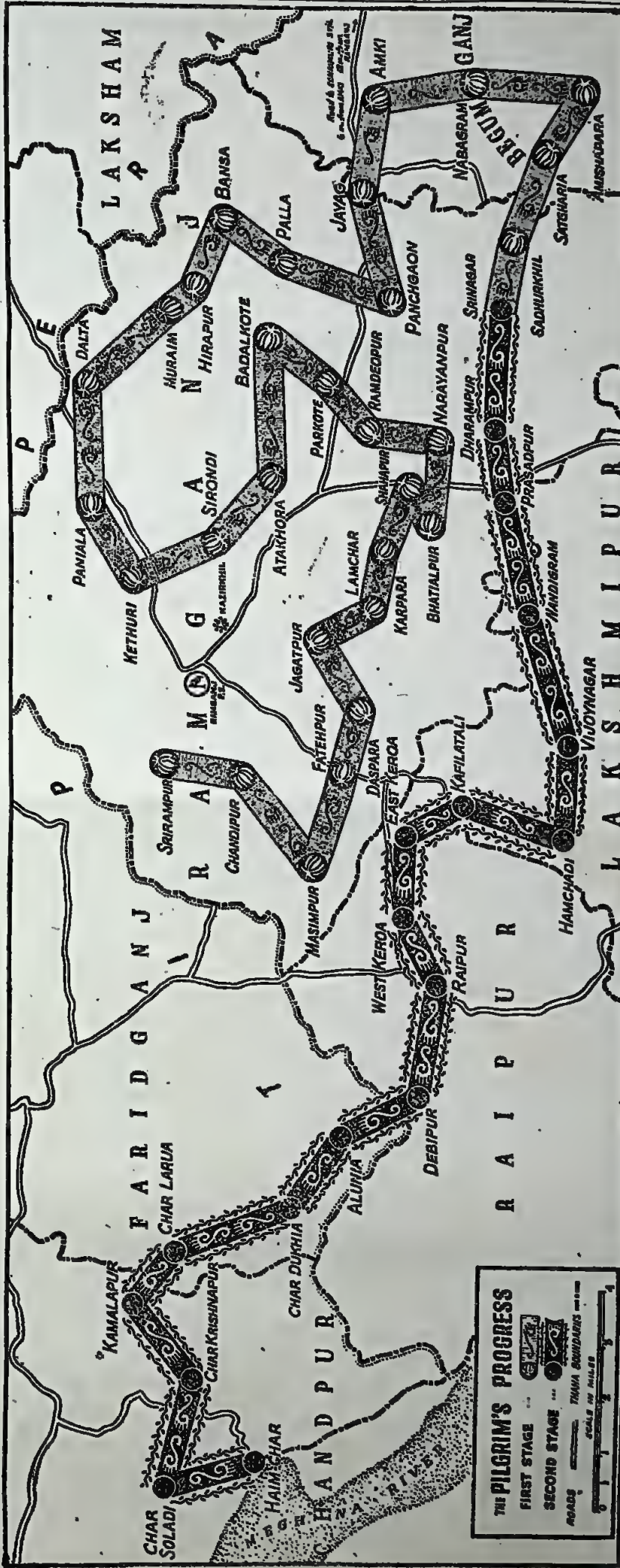
(To be continued)



MAP

[Map showing part of the Noakhali District of East Bengal where Gandhiji is walking on foot from village to village carrying his message of love and peace. This map shows the villages of the first part of the tour which was completed on the 4th February at Sadhurkhil as also the villages of the second part which ends on the 25th of February.

We are indebted to the *Hindusthan Standard* of Calcutta for this excellent map.]



Gandhiji is visiting the villages named serially and the date of his stay in the village stated against it.		
Srinagar	5th February;	Char Dukhia 19th;
Dharampur	6th;	Char Larua 20th;
Prasadpur	7th;	Kamalapur 21st;
Nandigram	8th;	Char Krishnapur 22nd;
Vijonagar	9th and 10th;	Char Soladi 23rd;
Hamchadi	11th;	Haim Char 24th and 25th.



# HARIJAN

February 23

1947

## PREPOSTEROUS CLAIMS

We had suggested the appointment of an impartial tribunal to go into the question of settling the so-called 'Public Debts' and Sterling Credits. The need for such a tribunal is emphasized by very many irresponsible claims that are put forward by acknowledged leaders in Great Britain. The war time Premier, Mr. Churchill, himself in the House of Commons stated "that the Governor-General of India in the time of the late Government was notified that Britain reserved her full right to present a counter claim on account of effective defence of India by all means — land, sea, air and diplomacy — by which the freedom of India from foreign invasion was secured." This claim itself raises many questions which may have to be decided judicially. How did Japan come to invade India? The Japanese or the Germans had no enemies in India other than the British. Hence it is that all direct and indirect results of the war must be borne by Great Britain. If this is so, India would be entitled to damages for the British occupation of the country, for the reckless use of the forests during the time of the war and the consequent famines that have been visiting our land annually. Because of the war, even the reserves for seeds had been drained out of the country and we are now drifting on with occasional catch crops. Then again the unprecedented inflation in the country has upset the economic order beyond the country's capacity to recover with the result that the people are suffering from great distress in necessities. This too is a matter on which India can rightly base a claim for damages. Apart from all these material losses India has sustained, without provocation, an irreparable loss of three million lives during the Bengal Famine of 1943. How shall we compute the equivalent of this in terms of money?

As though this were not enough the *Times* of London has come out with still further fantastic suggestions and threats. It suggests that if the sterling balances were to be demanded, England may resort to an unilateral blocking of such balances with the approval of the United States. May we ask who made the United States judge over us? It pleads inability to pay the capital sum out of the revenue as an adequate reason for adopting such an attitude. Will any court of bankruptcy accept such a plea in the case of an individual without taking into account his assets and liabilities before insolvency is granted? If England wishes to repudiate the credits in a straight forward manner we can understand it; but these preposterous claims and suggestions are unbecoming of a great financial race as the Britishers are.

If such irresponsible claims are to be laid to rest, it can only be done by a judicial, impartial enquiry into the whole question and Mr. Churchill and the *Times* would then have an opportunity to state their case. We trust no time will be lost in setting up such a judicial enquiry.

J. C. KUMARAPPA

## QUESTION BOX

(By M. K. Gandhi)

### INTELLECTUAL AND MANUAL WORK

**Q.** Why should we insist on a Rabindranath or Raman earning his bread by manual labour? Is it not sheer wastage? Why should not brain workers be considered on a par with manual workers, for both of them perform useful social work?

**A.** Intellectual work is important and has an undoubted place in the scheme of life. But what I insist on is the necessity of physical labour. No man, I claim, ought to be free from that obligation. It will serve to improve even the quality of his intellectual output. I venture to say that in ancient times *Brahmins* worked with their body as with their mind. But even if they did not, body labour was a proved necessity at the present time. In this connection I would refer to the life of Tolstoy and how he made famous the theory of Bread Labour first propounded in his country by the Russian peasant Bondaref. Dharmapur (Noakhali), 6-2-'47

### KEEP A REGULAR DIARY

I would like to draw the attention of village-workers to a defect which has come to my notice. Very few of them keep a regular diary. This is not good. It must become a part of their daily routine.

It must briefly record the work done during the day and the worker's experience, retrospection and introspection, — daily or periodical, — material as well as spiritual. It is not expected to take the shape of an article or literary writing.

Writing is one of the exterior means which promotes thinking. I have seen several workers who do a good deal of hard work and yet make no improvement or progress in it. The reason is that they never do any thinking. Some of them feel that thinking is a pastime for the idle and the unenergetic. Those who work do not need to waste their time on chewing thought. This attitude itself indicates the under-development of the intellect which cannot even understand the necessity of thinking.

It was the result of thinking that first prompted the worker to take to village service. But after having taken to it and started it according to his then light, he gave up thinking further for himself. The result was that he ceased to make progress. One cannot expand or improve one's business on old capital alone. So also in other spheres of work. As Buddha has said, "The house must be cleaned and arranged every day; so also the mind." You must think anew and study new things everyday.

Gandhiji is seen initiating new schemes and methods everyday. He has always something fresh to say on the various problems. It is so, because he thinks, takes a retrospect and makes introspection everyday. But some of the workers do not read even Gandhiji's writings. This is very regrettable.

Every worker who wants to serve intelligently and progressively must regularly set apart some time both for study and thinking for himself. For the latter, keeping a regular diary is a helpful means. It will quickly show excellent results.

Pavnar

VINOBA

(Adapted from the original in Marathi)



## GANDHIJI'S WALKING TOUR DIARY

27-1-'47

In a written speech at Palla, on Monday the 27th January which was his day of silence, Gandhiji first expressed his satisfaction at having been accommodated in the house of a weaver friend. He then said that the cottages of Bengal had become dearer to him than the prison-like solid walls of palaces. A house full of love such as this one was superior to a palace where love did not reign.

The hut in which he had been accommodated for the day was full of light and air and nature's abundance was showered on the country all around. What however made him sad in such a fair and potentially rich country was that the Hindus and the Musalmans should have brought themselves into hostile relation with one another. Should differences in religion, he asked, be sufficient to overshadow our common humanity? He prayed that these fundamental commonsenses reassert themselves so that all contrary forces might be overpowered in the end.

In his pilgrimage, continued Gandhiji, he had come across homes which lay ruined and desolate, bazaars and schools which lay empty; and he had also found members of the two communities in a stage of non-co-operation with one another. Whom did all this profit, the Hindu or the Muslim? Agriculture had not been properly attended to and the spectre of famine lay waiting in the offing; the villages were dirty, the water unclean; and only a new and extensive scheme of education could raise the people from their slumber of ages. He prayed that God might give both the Hindus and the Musalmans intelligence and strength enough to grapple with these problems. He thought that if they succeeded in their attempt to solve these common problems without troubling the government, it would go a long way to overpower the forces of disruption evident today.

28-1-'47

Gandhiji referred in his prayer speech to the pleasurable fact, as he called it, that he was taken this morning during his walk to a Hindu *badi* and two Muslim *badis*. Of these he had no previous knowledge but he was solicitous for friendship of the heart and when he saw friendly eyes he readily went to the *badis*. They were anxious for him to take something. He said that was not his time; but they could send the fruit with him and he would take it with pleasure. His grand-daughter, who was with him, went to the *zanana*. The womenfolk met her with affection and an old lady embraced her when she came to know who she was. Then in one *badi*, they asked her to take the *roti* and fish they were cooking. The poor girl said she could not take fish but she could certainly take the *chapati*, but wanted to be excused as it was too early for her. But the womenfolk suspected pollution. When she realized the suspicion, she readily took a morsel much to the relief of the ladies. For him or his there was no caste and no restriction as to interdining. But he would ask his Muslim friends to be tolerant of Hindus who believed in pollution. He admitted that it was wrong. But after

all real affection was not to be tested through interdining etc. The error was bound to go in time. Much headway had already been made. Meanwhile wherever they saw real friendship, there should be appreciation. Thus and thus only would they come together and live as perfect friends. In this connection he instanced an event he had noticed on the 26th January. The pressmen with him had arranged a simple meal between the Hindus, the Muslims and others. The Muslims did not come but the poor man whose hut they were occupying said that they should not press him to join the inter-dinner. For he argued that the event might land him into trouble. When they were gone, he might be invited to embrace Islam. The speaker saw the force of the fear and advised the pressmen not to have this dinner on his precincts.

Gandhiji then continued that he would strive for the day when the Hindus and the Musalmans would be able to shed their respective weaknesses and come closer to one another in heart. He did not know when the consummation would take place but he was prepared to lay down his life for the purpose, if need be. He finally asked the audience to join him in his prayer to God that the day might come soon.

29-1-'47

Addressing the prayer meeting Gandhiji at the outset dealt with a question that was raised by some Muslim friends. Did he want Muslims to attend his prayer meetings? The reply was that he wanted neither the Muslims nor the Hindus to attend the prayer meetings. If the questioner meant to ask whether he would like the Muslims to attend such meetings he had no hesitation in saying that he would certainly like them to attend. What was more, numerous Muslims had attended his prayer meetings which had gone on for years. The next question was whether he, the speaker, did not consider wrong for him, a non-Muslim, to recite anything from the *Quran* or to couple Rama and Krishna with Rahim and Karim. They said it offended Muslim ears. The speaker replied that the objection gave him a painful surprise. He thought that the objection betrayed narrowness of mind. They should know that he had introduced the recital from the *Quran* through Bibi Raihana Tyebjee, a devoted Muslim with a religious mind. She had no political motive behind the proposal. He was no *avātar*-man as was suggested. He claimed to be a man of God humbler than the humblest man or woman. His object ever was to make Muslims better Muslims, Hindus better Hindus, Christians better Christians, Parsis better Parsis. He never invited anybody to change his or her religion. He had thought, therefore, that the questioners would be glad to find that his religion was so expansive as to include readings from the religious scriptures of the world.

The next thing was that some friends had said that all prosecutions, initiated by the Hindus against the Muslim offenders, interfered with the progress of the peace mission between the two. It surprised him. What had peace between gentlemen to do with the prosecution of criminals



He could understand the objection if it meant that false prosecutions should be withdrawn. He would be whole-heartedly with the objectors. He went further and said that all such persons should be brought to book as perjurers. He said also that the proper course to avoid court procedure was for the guilty persons in all humility to make an open confession of their guilt and stand the judgement of the public. He would gladly help any such movement.

The third thing was that young men who had gone to Calcutta and other places in search of a career were bound to give a portion of their time to the villages. The easiest thing for them to do would be to meet among themselves and make an arrangement by which say half of them would take leave from office and serve for a stipulated number of months, at the end of which their place would be taken by the next batch. If they had a will there would surely be some way also for serving the cause of the villagers. Those who did not find it possible to offer personal service might help by cash.

Gandhiji ended by citing the example of England, Russia and other countries where every family had sent as many able-bodied men and women as possible for the defence of their country. This was how unity of heart was actually achieved in the world and he hoped that we in our country would be able to rise above small selfish considerations and create that unity without which life itself would not be worth living.

30-1-'47

Gandhiji began by apologizing for the fifteen minutes' delay. It was due to his being occupied with Zaman Saheb and Yusuf Saheb. These officers took him to a model cottage they had had erected. It was a good house but in his opinion unfit for human habitation in the Indian climate. Such a house could well be described as a box. The inmates would be baked as in an oven and they would be suffocated when they closed their doors and windows as had become their habit. He, therefore, suggested comfortable cottages of bamboo, straw and thatch. Such cottages will be airy, cool and artistic in the Indian setting, specially in the midst of stately palms of cocoanut and *supari*.

He was also pleased when these officers informed him that the refugees had commenced to return from the places where they had taken refuge. He hoped that this return would continue with unabated zeal. He was of opinion that the people should dismiss all fear from their minds and feel safe in the midst of their own countrymen, whether Hindu or Muslim. When they learnt to fear their Maker alone they would cease to fear their fellows. They would find that there were no people to frighten them if they were not afraid themselves. This had been his uniform experience in the course of the last sixty years of his life.

The third question taken up by him was in connection with some fishermen who had met him on the previous evening. They had complained that in this country where fishing was confined to privately owned ponds for the major part of the year, it was impossible for them to live if they were boycotted

by the majority community. Gandhiji expressed his surprise at this state of affairs and suggested that unless the Hindus and Muslims could rise above their present political differences and reasserted their common humanity and common brotherhood, life would become an impossibility where nature had designed otherwise. He hoped, therefore, that the alleged conditions would be corrected by the joint efforts of the people concerned and real peace restored in the countryside.

31-1-'47

In the course of his prayer meeting speech at the outset Gandhiji congratulated the audience, which was exceptionally large, on the perfect quiet they observed throughout the prayer. He then referred to two communications he had received from Muslim writers who consoled him against his critics who questioned his right to speak about the *purdah* or other things pertaining to Islam. The writers held by quoting from the *Quran* that it was broad-based and was exceptionally tolerant. It welcomed criticism and invited the world to study the *Quran*. One of them also held that no group or nation had remained without a prophet or teacher. He mentioned these communications to show that all Muslims did not hold what he considered to be intolerant views. He hoped too that the audience which contained a large number of Muslims would appreciate the testimony of the two writers who did not appear to be biased writers.

The speaker then dealt with the following question addressed to him by some of the workers.

The Muslims were boycotting Hindu artisans and craftsmen and were taking to occupations like fishing, fir trade, *pan*-cultivation etc. Workers who desired to bring about peace between the two communities did not know what to do under the circumstances.

Gandhiji said he hoped that the news was exaggerated and that the boycott was confined to the fewest Muslims possible. He thought that it could not be sustained. The logical result was that any such move would be a compulsory exodus of the Hindus from the Muslim majority provinces, a result he had not heard a single leader encourage or contemplate. He invited his informants to bring the news to the notice of the authorities, not with a view to having the movers punished but with a view to having an authoritative pronouncement from them. He further advised the audience to pray for wisdom to both the communities.

The second question was: There is a movement for reducing the share of the owner from half to one-third of the agricultural produce. What is your opinion about this?

The speaker welcomed the move for the reduction of the landlord's share from half to one-third. He thought the move was substantial. The land belonged to the Lord of us all and therefore to the worker on it. But till that ideal state of things came about, the movement towards the reduction of the landlord's portion was in the right direction.

But he warned the movers against the use of compulsion or violence. He could have no part or



share in violence. It was a reform to be brought about only by the cultivation of healthy public opinion. The reformers must have patience. He believed implicitly in the aphorism: 'As the end so the means.' In his opinion it was pernicious to hold that so long as the end was good any means, however violent or unjust, were justified. Many movements had come to grief by reliance on doubtful means.

1-2-'47

This meeting eclipsed all the previous ones in point of numbers of both the Muslims and the Hindus. Consequently there was much noise when Gandhiji came to the meeting. He drew the attention of the audience to the fact that the universal law applicable to all meetings was that the visitors should be perfectly still and observe silence no matter how vast the audience was.

Yesterday evening a Maulvi wanted to speak for a short time. The speaker had sensed what he wanted to speak. He therefore contrary to wont allowed him to speak for the five minutes which he wanted by the watch. The Maulvi Saheb took no more than three minutes but said what he wanted to say. He resented Gandhiji's remark on the *purdah* system in vogue in Bengal. He had no right to speak on the Islamic Law. Gandhiji thought this was a narrow view of religion. He claimed the right to study and interpret the message of Islam. The Maulvi Saheb further resented coupling of the name of Rama, a mere young King with Rahim, name of God, similarly of Krishna with Karim. Gandhiji said this was a narrow view of Islam. Islam was not a creed to be preserved in a box. It was open to mankind to examine it and accept or reject its tenets. He hoped that this narrow view was not shared by the Muslims of Bengal or rather India.

In this connection Gandhiji wanted to draw the attention of the audience to the work Dr. Sushila Nayyar was doing in Changirgaon. She wanted to go to Sevagram to attend to the hospital for whose management she was responsible, but her Muslim patients would not let her go till they were restored to health. She had also mentioned that in the village, partakers of the loot of October last were of their own accord bringing back some of the looted property. He was of opinion that this was a happy omen. If the infection spread, the courts would have no work to do so far as public loot was concerned. He for one would ask Government to waive the right of prosecution if the looted property was returned. But he said the return must be sincere and full, whether by the guilty one or the public, and not a mere token to avoid prosecution. What he aimed at was a change of heart and not a truce superimposed by the military or the police. A popular ministry could not impose its will on the people.

Gandhiji then answered the following question:

You have asked rich men to be trustees. Is it implied that they should give up private ownership in their property and create out of it a trust valid in the eyes of the law and managed democratically? How will the successor of the present incumbent be determined on his demise?

In answer Gandhiji said that he adhered to the position taken by him years ago that everything belonged to God and was from God. Therefore it was for His people as a whole, not for a particular individual. When an individual had more than his proportionate portion he became a trustee of that portion for God's people.

God who was all-powerful, had no need to store. He created from day to day; hence men also should in theory live from day to day and not stock things. If this truth was imbibed by the people generally, it would become legalized and trusteeship would become a legalized institution. He wished it became a gift from India to the world. Then there would be no exploitation and no reserves as in Australia and other countries for White men and their posterity. In these distinctions lay the seed of a war more virulent than the last two. As to the successor, the trustee in office would have the right to nominate his successor subject to legal sanction.

3-2-'47

Gandhiji referred with hesitation to the resolution passed by the Muslim League on the Constituent Assembly. It considered the Congress resolution to be dishonest and did not mean what it said. It was also said that the elections and other dealings of the Assembly were illegal. The speaker pleaded that there should be no imputation of dishonesty by one party to the other. It was not good for the great organizations which they both were. There was no reason why they should regard them as enemies, one of the other. That practice would not lead them to independence. If the elections and proceedings were illegal their legality should be challenged in a court of law. Otherwise, the charge had no meaning. If they did not wish to recognize the courts as he did in 1920 and later, then the talk of illegality should cease. He would plead with the League that they should go into the Assembly and state their case and influence the proceedings. But if they did not, he would advise them to test the sincerity of the Assembly and see how it dealt with the Muslim problem. It was due to themselves and the rest of the country unless they wanted to rely upon the law of the sword which he was sure they did not wish to do. Then the League had said that the Assembly represented only the Casta Hindus. Surely there were in the Assembly the Scheduled Classes, the Christians, the Parsis, the Anglo-Indians and all those who considered themselves sons of India. Then Doctor Ambedkar was good enough to attend the Assembly, not to mention the other large number of the Scheduled Classes. The Sikhs too were still there. It was open to the League to put up their fight within the Assembly.

As to the British Government who, as the League contended, should dismiss the Assembly, he entertained the hope, though he admitted it was somewhat shaken, that they would honestly carry to the end the voluntary Document. He submitted that the British Government was bound to act according to the State Paper even if a few



Provinces chose to establish their independence in accordance with the Paper. He hoped that the British would not forfeit all credit for honest dealing with India.

Gandhiji concluded by saying that whilst he felt obliged to refer to League politics, he warned the audience against inferring that the Hindus and the Muslims were to regard one another as enemies. The League has made no such announcement. Let the political quarrel be confined to the politicians at the top. It would be a disaster if the quarrel permeated in the villages. The way to Indian independence lay not through the sword but through mutual friendship and adjustment. He was in Noakhali to show what real Pakistan could mean. Bengal was the one province in India where it could be demonstrated. Bengal had produced talented Hindus and talented Muslims. Bengal had contributed largely to the national struggle. It was in the fitness of things that Bengal should now show how the Muslims and the Hindus could live together as friends and brothers. Then there would be no reason for Bengal to remain a deficit province. It ought to be a province of plenty.

4-2-'47

The prayer meeting was held by special invitation in the *badi* of Salimulla Saheb who is reported to be the chief Muslim in Sadhurkhal. He had given his assurance that there would be no objection to the *Ramadhun* being recited with the clapping of hands.

At the time of Gandhiji's speech some Muslim friends wished to read an address in Bengali which Gandhiji said might be read if it pleased the friends. It referred to the music before mosques, cow-slaughter etc. Gandhiji said he was not concerned with these questions. They were questions of law. He wanted to capture their hearts and see them welded into one. If that was attained, everything else would right itself. If their hearts were not united, nothing could be right. Their unfortunate lot would then be slavery. He asked them to accept the slavery of the one Omnipotent God no matter by what name they addressed Him. Then they would bend the knee to no man or men. It was ignorance to say that he coupled Rama, a mere man, with God. He had repeatedly made it clear that his Rama was the same as God. His Rama was before, is present now and would be for all time. He was Unborn and Uncreated. Therefore, let them tolerate and respect the different faiths. He was himself an iconoclast but he had equal regard for the so-called idolaters. Those who worshipped idols also worshipped the same God who was everywhere, even in a clod of earth, even in a nail that was pared off. He had Muslim friends whose names were Rahim, Rahman, Karim. Would he therefore join on to the name of God when he addressed them as Rahim, Karim, or Rahman?

Let them beware of the thought that all was well in Noakhali or the neighbouring parts. If the

reports he received were at all true, things had not quite settled down. He did not refer to these things or the destruction that had been wrought because he did not wish to excite passion. He did not believe in retaliation. He had lived with Pathans, Badshah Khan, being tired of retaliation which had descended from generation to generation, had learnt the virtue of non-violence. He did not claim perfection for him. He could be angered. But he did claim for his friend the wisdom that dictated to him restraint on one's love of vengeance. He wanted the same thing in Noakhali. Unless they sincerely believed that without real peace between the communities there was neither Pakistan nor Hindustan, slavery was their lot.

He had a visit from four young Muslim friends who deplored the fact that he had not corrected the exaggeration about the number of murders in Noakhali and the adjacent parts. He had not done so because he did not wish to bring out all he had seen. But if it at all mended matters he was free to declare that he had found no evidence to support the figure of a thousand. The figure was certainly much smaller. He was also free to admit that the murders in number and brutalities in Bihar eclipsed those in Noakhali. But that admission must not mean a call for him to go to Bihar. He did not know that he could render any greater service by going to Bihar than from here. He would not be worth anything if without conviction he went there at the bidding of anybody. He would need no prompting, immediately he felt that his place was more in Bihar than in Noakhali. He was where he thought he could render the greatest service to both the communities.

### The Most Effective Remedy

Gandhiji holds that our Constructive Programme is the most effective remedy for communal unity and other problems of our country. In a letter written from Kazirkhal (Noakhali District) to Prof. J. C. Kumarappa, Gandhiji says:

"The work I am doing here is the most difficult of all I have hitherto undertaken and I know that those who are working for the country take an effective part in the work here if they do their best in their respective spheres. The village work that has been your lot can contribute probably the most to the fruition of what is being done here. At the same time I know that it is the most uphill work as I find walking from village to village and putting before them sanitation, the spinning wheel, weaving and the craft peculiar to the particular village."

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# HARIJAN

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TWO ANNAS

## CONSTRUCTIVE PROGRAMME

[The following resolutions were passed by the Conference of the Presidents and Secretaries of the Provincial Congress Committees held at Allahabad on 22-24th February last.

These resolutions regarding the Constructive Programme are to be submitted to the Working Committee, and it is expected that the programme, with such modifications as the Working Committee may make, will be placed before the country by the Working Committee for being worked out. —J. C. K.]

1. This Conference draws the attention of the Working Committee to the fact that the A. I. S. A., the A. I. V. I. A. and the Hindustani Talimi Sangh are bodies created by the Congress and have been working along lines laid down by the Congress in their respective fields, and is of opinion that since economic, social and educational programmes on a big scale are being put into effect by the Central and the Provincial Governments, the Working Committee should call upon such members of the Central and the Provincial Governments as owe allegiance to the Congress, to implement the programme laid down by the Congress in this behalf from time to time and while so doing fully utilize the experience of those bodies.

The main object of the Constructive Programme is to stimulate the initiative of the people themselves to organize their political, social, and economic life on co-operative lines and through *Panchayats* with a view to make them self-reliant and self-sufficient.

Therefore, the primary function of the proposed Constructive Programme Committees should be to develop this initiative. While the Committees may welcome the co-operation of the Governments, they should try to carry out the programme as much as possible through the peoples' own efforts.

2. This Conference requests the Working Committee to appoint a small committee called the Central Constructive Programme Committee and charge it with guiding and advising the Congress organization and the public to carry out the following items, viz. Khadi, Village Industries, Basic Education, Harijan work and Literacy. Each of the members of such committee shall attend to particular items of the programme.

In order to facilitate the work of the Committee this Conference makes the following recommendations:

(a) There should be a permanent secretary in charge of the Constructive Programme Department in the A. I. C. C. office.

(b) There should be a small committee in each province appointed by the Executive of the P. C. C.

to carry on the Constructive Programme in the province with representatives of the Provincial Branches of the A. I. S. A., A. I. V. I. A., and of the Hindustani Talimi Sangh on it. The Committee should be free to co-opt members who would be helpful to the Committee in working out other items.

Each of the general members of such a Provincial Constructive Programme Committee other than the representatives of the Constructive organizations should be in charge of particular items of the programme.

(c) Each P. C. C. should have a Constructive Programme Department in charge of a whole-time secretary who should be appointed by the A. I. C. C. in consultation with the Executive of the P. C. C. His salary, if any, should be paid by the A. I. C. C., all other expenses of such a department and of carrying out the programme being borne by the P. C. C.

(d) The Provincial Constructive Programme Committee should create such agencies as are necessary in the province for implementing the programme.

(e) As regards training of workers in the various fields of the Constructive Programme, it should be done through the A. I. S. A., A. I. V. I. A. and the Talimi Sangh, the cost being borne by the Provincial Committees.

3. The programme and items of work to be taken up should be as follows:

(a) KHADI: The Congress Sub-Committee should restrict itself to the self-sufficiency aspect of Khadi.

The target to be reached by 13-4-'48, that is the last day of the National Week next year, should be enrolment of one lac new self-sufficient spinners as defined by the A. I. S. A., the beginning of the programme being made on 6-4-'47.

\*(b) VILLAGE INDUSTRIES: The Congress Sub-Committee should restrict itself to the programme of the production and consumption of food, clothing, and other essentials of life. With that end in view, each P. C. C. should mark out certain small areas (consisting of not more than a lac of population) in its jurisdiction, as an experimental measure for producing sufficient food on the principle of supplying balanced diet to that area. Cattle breeding and Dairying should be given equal prominence in the area.

As regards other village industries, priority should be given to food-processing by hand, especially to gur-making, oil-pressing, paddy-husking, grinding flour, food preservation etc.

\* Note: Please refer to Shri J. C. Kumarappa's *A Plan for Rural Development* for a detailed plan regarding item (b).



All Congress Committees and members of committees are expected to use hand-made things unless they are not available.

(c) Provincial Congress Committees should be advised to organize in each province at least one small compact area with a minimum of 5 Basic Schools and if possible with a teachers' training centre in the area, the work being carried out under the guidance of the Hindustani Talimi Sangh.

(d) Each P. C. C. should take up the spread of literacy and work it out on as wide a scale as possible and keep records of the work done. It should be noted that along with literacy, attempts ought to be made to spread national consciousness among the masses by means of programmes of mass education.

(e) Each P. C. C. should concentrate on securing civic rights and removal of social disabilities in any form in respect of Harijans, Adivasis and other neglected communities, and should carry on an effective campaign for the cultivation of public opinion in support of social equality among other methods by the public declaration in the form of a pledge that they shall treat the members of the above communities on a basis of equality.

(f) **KISANS:** This would be an important department which would among other things study the numerous problems affecting the peasantry and send necessary directions to the district and lower committees for dealing with the varied problems of the peasantry and organizing Kisans for their political, social and economic well-being.

**INFORMATION:** The work of the department would grow in importance and volume with time. It will compile reports for the A. I. C. C. with regard to numerous matters, bring out a monthly bulletin which would be more than a bare record of resolutions and official decisions and produce other literature for the use of Congress Committees and field workers. Also each province has its own problems with which our workers should be closely familiar. Brochures should be brought out dealing with these problems. This department would have its counterparts in the lower committees.

**CONGRESS SEVA-DAL:** The necessity for a widespread volunteer organization is obvious. The volunteers should be part time constructive workers and should be trained for citizenship. There would be need for close thought being given to the various aspects of the work.

**MINORITIES:** Problems with regard to minorities and backward areas and classes of people are continually facing us. These problems have to be carefully studied and necessary facts collected. The department would consider what practical measures should be taken for meeting concrete complaints and what literature should be brought out in this connection.

**LABOUR:** The need for handling this grave problem with speed, efficiency and necessary knowledge is imperative. The Congress has laid down its labour

policy. The P. C. C.s have now to take effective practical steps.

**PARLIAMENTARY CONTACT:** Numerous problems that arise in connection with our parliamentary work and its relations to Congress work should be dealt with by a separate department.

In order that the programme of work sketched here is carried out efficiently and in the shortest time possible, it is necessary that our provincial and district committees should set up effective village committees in all the villages of India. It is hoped that in the first year of our reorganization there will be strong and efficient primary Committees in at least 25 per cent of the villages in each province.

This Conference is convinced that if the comprehensive constructive programme is carried out by our Congress Committees with efficient and well-organized offices to serve them, the Congress would grow in strength and power and greatly gain in its capacity to fulfil its great task for the political, social and economic freedom of the people of India and for enabling them to shoulder the difficult responsibilities of self-rule.

### Sauce for the Gander

It is easy to see the mote in another's eye and not be bothered with the beam in our own eyes. The Americans are reported to have suggested to Britain that Imperial Preference should be abandoned. Amery, speaking at a Trade Association of which he is president, protests against such a thing happening and shamelessly adds that it would be impossible for British producers to compete in the open market. Is this not a confession of inefficiency? If this is carried to its logical conclusion, seeing that Britain has the controlling voice in Imperial Preference, does it not follow that Britain is trying to weight all the trade of the "Empire Countries" in its favour? Is this fair to India?

The Committee of the United Nations Conference on Trade and Employment constituted by the Economic and Social Council of the United Nations at its first session in London referring to "restrictive business practices" agreed that such practices "were capable of having harmful effects on production and trade and maintenance in all countries of high levels of income." This being so, India being a country of "low levels of income", it will be beneficial to us and we should go ahead with giving protection to our infant industries, although the international organization referred to above recommended that all possible steps should be taken to prevent restrictive practices, of course, in their own selfish interests.

This is the partisan spirit that pervades the United Nations Councils. How can the suppressed nations expect justice?

J. C. K.



## PLANNING WITH VILLAGE BIAS

### IV

#### VILLAGE CRAFTS AND INDUSTRIES

In India's village economy a number of village artisans had an indispensable place. They consisted mainly of the black-smith, the carpenter, the carder, the weaver, the potter, the barber, the oilman, the cowherd, the skin-scanner, the tanner, the shoe-maker, besides those who pursued local industries such as mat and basket making, rope-making, toddy-tapping, etc. The capitalist organizer of industries or his concomitant agent or middleman who dumps a standardized consumer goods, foreign or Indian made, and brings unemployment, idleness and penury on vast populations was unknown.

#### 12. AGRICULTURAL TOOLS AND IMPLEMENTS

The foremost item in the list of village industries to be protected and aided, besides the improvement of live-stock — which is the main source of power and energy in India today — is naturally that of the village blacksmith. Agricultural tools and implements are the sole means of livelihood for the bulk of India's population which is landless agricultural labourers. If the manufacture of these migrates from the village smith's workshop to the factory of an Indian town or to foreign countries like England or America, it will constitute an economic drain far in excess of what used to be drained by way of textiles some time back. It is, therefore, imperative that the manufacture of crow-bars, spades, showels, ploughs, pickaxes, sickles and iron-tyres of bullock cart-wheels etc. in the villages should be immediately protected against their manufacture by the factory, and its standardized output by the village smith encouraged. Factory production of these is fast making inroads on the village. Hence the urgency.

#### 13. HAND SPINNING AND WEAVING

Hand made paper, Palm *gur*, oil *ghanies*, etc., have been prominently before the country and the Government for years, thanks to the efforts of Gandhiji and of the organizations created by him. I shall not, therefore, dilate upon them here.

#### 14. PADDY-HUSK BRICKS AND SLABS

Huge quantities of paddy-husk are wasted in our Province. They are hardly used save as manure or as fuel for the potter's kiln in some parts. Bricks and slabs made out of an admixture of paddy-husk and cement solution have been devised during recent years and found to be useful and durable in house-building, mainly as material for inner walls, partitions, etc. Filtering charcoal also has been devised. These should be encouraged and set formulas for their manufacture, certified and published under Government Engineering Departments, should be broadcast and popularized.

#### 15. PADDY-HUSKING, CORN-GRINDING, OIL-PRESSING

Mills and factories for these should be prohibited by law and tiny machinery which may enable villagers to do these at home like bread-baking, or on a cooperative basis, should be encouraged. Small machinery which can be worked by hand

or by the help of animal or electric energy should be devised and made available to enable village households to pursue these processes at home both for home consumption and as home industries.

#### 16. POTTERY AND EARTHPAINTS

Earth paints of various hues and combinations could be made by instructing village potters into a little scientific treatment of earth and a few synthetic processes. This is an untapped source, rich in potentialities and would be a flourishing village industry if our scientists and chemists devise simple formulas for the benefit of the village potters and if the Government encourage it by prohibiting foreign imports as well as their manufacture by indigenous factories. Similar formulas should be devised and popularized for enamelling earthen vessels such as jars, jugs, cooking pots, bowls, plates, etc. which are still made and used extensively in the villages. Cups, saucers, trays, etc., which are much in use now could be made also. The earthen vessels which are still quite common in the villages are very artistic and unbelievably cheap to this day, their only defect at present being want of enamelling which defect renders them unclean at the first use. Being porous they cannot be satisfactorily cleaned without much effort. This defect could be and should be easily removed.

Large-scale manufacture of tiles, bricks, etc., by factories in concentrated areas should be prohibited and village potters and brick-layers encouraged to produce standardized goods in villages to serve well-marked local areas.

#### 17. CHARCOAL-MAKING

This is a purely village or forest industry in the hands of the aboriginal folk in our Province. These people are terribly exploited and treated as virtual slaves by most of the-jungle contractors and traders who monopolize this trade. The conditions have slightly improved during recent years through the efforts of social workers and the conditions created by war. This trade needs urgent and effective protection. It should be reorganized purely in the interests of the aboriginal tribes-folk under Government care on a cooperative basis with the help of social workers wherever the latter are available.

#### 18. BANANA TRUNKS

In the Bassein and Khandesh areas banana plantations are perhaps the biggest in the Province. Millions of banana trunks are cut out after fruition and thrown away every year. They hardly yield anything to the owner beyond a little manure of small value. Yet excellent silky fibre could be made from these discarded banana trunks and utilized for making artificial silk cloth, hessian, ropes, etc. Other uses, too, could be devised by scientific experts.

#### 19. GUNNY CLOTH

This is a big essential industry exclusively in the hands of the Bengal jute mills and the village jute grower does not earn much from it. Like the cotton textiles its decentralization should be desired and the possibilities explored. It may be remembered that like cloth all spinning and weaving of gunnies

(Continued on p. 59)



# HARIJAN

March 9

1947

## SWORDS INTO PLOUGHSHARES

For decades the Congress has been a fighting organization. Its one purpose has been to shake the foundations of the British Empire from all angles and bring it down and build up a State that will help the people. An army has not the time and thought necessary to produce consumption articles or plough the fields. But when it has fulfilled its purpose it has to return to civilian occupations; otherwise the erstwhile army of defence will turn into a band of brigands. This turning point is a difficult thing to determine. Often the war time chiefs, drunk with power, carry on with the help of the goodwill of a grateful population until the patriots are turned into self-seeking parasites.

The Interim Government, with national leaders functioning in it, has made its appearance at the centre and we must congratulate the *Rashtrapati* for turning his attention immediately to place the Congress on a peace footing. This change over is a much harder task than it would appear to be. It requires a reorientation of the whole life of the leaders and workers. Until now the Congress had left all such peace time occupations to special bodies which were carrying on their allotted duty without interfering or taking part in any belligerent activities. But now the *Rashtrapati* had called a conference of the provincial chiefs and has taken counsel as to how best to make the whole Congress organization into a constructive body. When the Congress takes upon itself the feeding, clothing and the providing of shelter to the masses it would be working towards the economic Swaraj of the people, having freed them from political bondage.

We have in the various provinces Congress ministries functioning. These have been floundering about not knowing which way to serve the people. They have been mostly manned by men who have been in the battlefield all their lives. After having wielded the sword so long they found it difficult to direct the plough. Hence it is a welcome change and a timely act on the part of the *Rashtrapati* to have called this conference to turn the attention of the foundation diggers to the building that is to be put up.

At Allahabad where the provincial Congress chiefs met and discussed with constructive workers the future programme of the Congress the earnestness that prevailed and the keen desire expressed to serve the people in all walks of life have given the country great expectations. We trust the blue print drawn out by them, which would be placed before the Working Committee for being implemented, will be carried through in every detail with the same earnestness and singleness of purpose.

We give elsewhere the resolutions that have been drafted by that conference. These will show

a wide field covered by them in the short three days at their disposal. The despatch of business and the alertness to the situation promise well for the country. We hope when the time comes the executives of the various ministries will co-operate fully in the work of reconstruction that is before everyone of us.

J. C. KUMARAPPA

## GANDHIJI'S WALKING TOUR DIARY

10-2-'47

In his post-prayer address at the outset Gandhiji referred to the fact that he was to go to Gopinathpur and was assured that it was no more than one and half miles. He began his trek but Gopinathpur seemed to be receding from view. When they had walked for fortyfive minutes he said he should go no further if he was not to collapse. He therefore retraced his steps. It took full one hour and twenty minutes which was too much for him. In future, those who invited him to walk to a place should measure the time taken by a leisurely walk. He tendered his apology to the Hindus and Muslims of Gopinathpur and they owed an apology to Noakhali for not having been accurate and precise in their speech. He incidentally mentioned that the people were found to have blown their noses on the path. This was dangerous and dirty, especially for a people who had the habit of walking barefoot.

A friend had told him that he found a Muslim trader who had proper scales and a Hindu who had improper scales and asked him whether it was not true that the Muslim traders were honest and the Hindu traders dishonest. He was sure that the inference was wrong. In this imperfect world no community was wholly honest or dishonest. All he could say was that a man who sported false scales for deceiving his customers was a criminal. But he could not take it upon himself to condemn the whole group or community.

He had many questions addressed to him by Muslim friends who had seen him yesterday. He had promised to answer them. They were:

Q. You have said that you will stay here as long as perfect peace and amity between the two communities was not established and that you will die here if necessary. Do you not think that such a long stay here will unnecessarily focuss Indian and world attention on Noakhali, leading people to think that excesses still continued to be committed here, whereas on the contrary no unseemly acts have been committed by Musalmans for sometime now?

A. No impartial observer could draw the mischievous inference from his presence. He was there as their friend and servant. His presence has certainly advertized Noakhali as a beautiful place which would be a paradise on earth if the Hindus and the Muslims lived in hearty friendship. It may be that at the end of the chapter he might be noted down as a failure who knew very little about *ahimsa*. Moreover, it was impossible for him to stay in Noakhali if the Hindus and the Muslims satisfied him that they had established hearty friendship between



them. He was sorry to tell them that he had evidence to show that things were not quite as they should be.

Q. Don't you think that the Hindus are artificially keeping up the appearance of tension by staying away from their homes in spite of promises of good behaviour by the Musalmans which they have also made good in cases where they have been given an opportunity?

A. He did not think that many Hindus were wilfully staying away from their homes. No one would want to be away from his home without attractive inducements. He had heard nothing of such inducements. But he knew that fright and the absence of the wherewithal were keeping them back. Nevertheless, he was assured by the officials that the number returning was satisfactory. They could not cope with a greater number. When these obvious causes were present there was no occasion to draw far-fetched inferences which could not be proved. If, however, there were any instigators keeping them back, the law was there to punish them. The proof of the pudding was in the eating. If it was true that the general body of the Muslims really wanted the refugees back, he was quite sure they would gladly return. But the picture was not so rosy as was painted by the questioner.

Q. Don't you think that the dictates of non-violence and friendship to all demand withdrawal or dropping of cases against the Musalmans?

A. He did not know that there was much non-violence in the air. Even non-violent conduct could not arrest the course of law. And non-violent conduct on the part of the frightened injured party could not operate until the culprits declared themselves and were penitent. The fact was that not only was there no penitence on their part, but they were absconding. He was averse to mass arrests. And he was for severe punishment of those who were proved to have manufactured complaints.

Q. Is not the double-faced policy of the Cabinet Mission at the root of the present trouble between the League and the Congress and ultimately between the Muslims and the Hindus?

A. He would not accuse the Cabinet Mission of double dealing. They had honestly suggested a solution which in their opinion was fair. The beauty of the Paper was that it contained no compulsion. Naturally, after acceptance the clauses became obligatory for the accepting party. But any party could refuse acceptance. Thus if Assam in the east and Baluchistan in the west rejected the grouping, no power on earth could compel them under the Cabinet Mission Paper. Lastly, assuming that the Cabinet Mission Paper was a trap, why should the Congress and the League fall into it?

Q. Pakistan means complete independence for the Muslims in the Muslim majority provinces and for the Hindus in Hindu majority provinces. Why then does the Congress object to it?

A. The answer was simple. If Pakistan meant independence only to the Muslims in the Muslim majority provinces and *vice versa*, it was summarily rejected. Happily not one Muslim leader, certainly not the Quaid-e-Azam, had ever given that meaning.

Were the Hindus in Bihar to be independent and the Muslims helots? Or were the Hindus to be helots in Bengal? He hoped not.

Q. Can there be any hope of establishing Hindu-Muslim unity here in spite of the Congress-League differences which are at the root of all the troubles everywhere? Even if it is established, how long can it be expected to last?

A. He admitted that Hindu-Muslim unity could not be sustained in the face of Congress-League differences. He hoped, however, that apart from party politics, whilst there was time, the Hindus and the Muslims in Noakhali would act together as real friends. They should set an example to all India and especially to the League and the Congress. Any way, that was the mission that brought him to Noakhali. He wanted to pass his examination in pure *ahimsa*. If it was pure, it must result in establishing that friendship which he desired at heart. Therefore, if it was not established, the failure would be his. And as *ahimsa* knew no failure, he had said he would do or die in Noakhali. Let the questioner and those who thought like him help the fruition of the effort.

13-2-'47

After congratulating the audience on the manner in which they had kept time during the *Ramadhun*, Gandhiji dealt with the two questions which had been put to him in course of the day.

Q. We agree that intrinsically a movement for reducing the share of the owner from half to a third of the crop is justified. But could not the present *Tebhaga* Movement in Bengal be postponed until such time as when the affected persons can be smoothly absorbed in other occupations according to some long-term plan sponsored by the State?

We know you have said that the only way to effect such a radical transformation in society is through non-violence. But interested parties will sleep over that portion of your advice and parade your moral support to their demand and carry on the Movement in their own violent way. Hence is it not wrong for you to lend support to the Movement under the present circumstances when there is every chance of the entire middle class of Bengal being completely ruined as a result? The common villager will also suffer no less because he will also be deprived of the services now being rendered to the village economy by them.

A. In reply, Gandhiji uttered the warning that he only dealt with principles as he knew them. He had not studied the local question. Therefore, the questioner ran the risk of his ignorance causing injustice.

He felt that the question betrayed exaggeration on the part of the questioner. There was no ruin impending for the landlord. His land was not being confiscated. His portion, which he could take even if he was in Timbuctoo, was merely to be reduced from 50% to 33%. He could see no ruin in the proposal. He was afraid they were too much obsessed by the communal question. They should rise above it and examine every problem strictly on merits. Then they would never go wrong. Therefore



they should accept the moral principle underlying the demand for reduction of the owner's share and work for solid amendments in which they were likely to succeed. Let them not face confiscation rather than moderate reduction. Let them remember that for years past India had lived through confiscation. Industry after industry had been ruined and both the artisans as well as the farmers of India had been progressively reduced to poverty.

If the desired change were brought about through non-violent means, the world would not be deprived of the talents of the classes, but then the latter would not exercise them at the expense of the labourers. In the non-violent order of the future, the land would belong to the State, for had it not been said '*sabhi bhumi Gopalaki*'? Under such dispensation, there would be no waste of talents and labour. This would be impossible through violent means. It was therefore a truism to say that the utter ruin of the land-owners brought about through violence would also involve the ruin of the labourers in the end. If the landowners, therefore, acted wisely, no party would lose.

Q. Some women workers who earn part of their living by weaving mats were advised by you the other day to work on cooperative principles. Bengal's agriculture has been reduced to an uneconomic proposition through extreme fragmentation of holdings. Would you advise farmers also to adopt cooperative methods?

If so, how are they to effect this under the present system of land-ownership? Should the State make the necessary changes in the law? If the State is not ready, but the people so desire, how are they to work through their own organizations to this end?

A. Replying to the first part of the question, Gandhiji said that he had no doubt that the system of cooperation was far more necessary for the agriculturists than for the mat weavers. The land as he maintained belonged to the State; therefore, it yielded the largest return when it was worked cooperatively.

Let it be remembered that cooperation should be based on strict non-violence. There was no such thing as success of violent cooperation. Hitler was a forcible example of the latter. He also talked vainly of cooperation which was forced upon the people and everyone knew where Germany had been led as a result.

Gandhiji concluded by saying that it would be a sad thing if India also tried to build up the new society based on cooperation by means of violence. Good brought about through force destroyed individuality. Only when the change was effected through the persuasive power of non-violent non-cooperation, i. e. love, could the foundation of individuality be preserved and real, abiding progress be assured for the world.

14-2-'47

Gandhiji read two passages from Abdullah Suhrawardy's collections of the sayings of the Prophet. Three Muslim friends of the place had

come to him and asked him to pray that God might make both live in peace and friendship. When these friends came he was reading the sayings which he proposed to read to them. They were as follows:

'Be in the world like a traveller, or like a passer on, and reckon yourself as of the dead.' He considered it as a gem of gems. They knew that death might overtake them any moment. What a fine preparation for the event if all became as dead. The very next question was who was the best man and who was the worst. The Prophet considered him to be the best who lived long and performed good acts and him the worst who did bad acts. It was a striking saying that man was to be judged by what he did, and not by what he said.

These sayings were for all men and women and not merely for those who called themselves Muslims. Was the Hindu part of the audience doing good acts? Was untouchability a good act? He had shouted from the house-top that it was a blot on Hinduism. So long as that blot remained, there was no peace and freedom for India. The British would go but their freedom would not come without the complete removal of untouchability.

15-2-'47

Gandhiji dealt with two questions left with him by Nirmal Babu who had gone on duty elsewhere.

The first question was: All over the district of Noakhali there is talk that the Muslim population should boycott the Hindus in every way. Some Muslims who have worked for the Hindus recently or helped them during the riots report that they are under threat of boycott. They ask: What should be the duty of those Muslims who genuinely desire peace in this connection.

Gandhiji replied that he had heard of the boycott before. But he entertained the hope that such was not the case on any extensive scale. He had one case brought to his notice three or four days ago by a Muslim traveller from Gujarat who had come to see him. He was rebuked for daring to want to see him. The traveller stood his ground and came out of the ordeal safely. Another poor Muslim who had come today was threatened with dire penalty if he dared to go to him. He did not know what truth there was in the description. The speaker then instanced printed leaflets that were pasted on the walls in the name of the *Muslim Pituni Party*. These instances gave colour to the question. He would say to the Muslim friends and others that these things should not frighten or disturb them. They should ignore these things if they were isolated instances. If they were on an extensive scale, probably the Government would deal with the situation. If unfortunately boycott became the policy of the Government, it would be a serious matter. He could only think non-violently. If they gave proper compensation he would probably advise acceptance. He could not think out there and then the *pros* and *cons*. If, on the other hand, they resorted to confiscation, he would advise people to stand their ground and refuse to leave their homesteads even on pain of death. This he would say of all provinces whether Muslim majority



or Hindu majority. He however hoped that no Government would be mad enough to subscribe to the policy of boycott whether with or without compensation. Those who belonged to the land for ages could not be removed from their homesteads for the simple reason that they found themselves in a minority. That was no religion, Hindu, Muslim, Christian or any other. It was intolerance.

The second question was: At East Keroa you advised peasants to work cooperatively in their fields. Should they pool together their land and divide the crop in proportion to the area of the fields they held? Would you give us an outline of the idea of how exactly they are to work in a cooperative manner?

Gandhiji said that the question was good and admitted of a simple answer. His notion of co-operation was that the land would be held in co-operation by the owners and tilled and cultivated also in cooperation. This would cause a saving of labour, capital, tools, etc. The owners would work in cooperation and own capital, tools, animals, seeds etc. in cooperation. Cooperative farming of his conception would change the face of the land and banish poverty and idleness from their midst. All this was only possible if people became friends of one another and as one family. When that happy event took place there would be no ugly sore in the form of a communal problem.

16-2-'47

Gandhiji had a fairly busy Sunday at Raipura. There was a no-caste dinner provided by the Hindu merchants of Raipura where a meal for nearly 2000 visitors without distinction of caste or creed was provided. It was meant principally to signify abolition of caste distinctions among the Hindus. He was assured that Muslim or Christian friends were equally welcome at the dinner. He was desirous of visiting the Juma mosques of which there were two in Raipura. The Imam in charge at one showed eagerness to have him at his mosque. Maulvi Baharuddin Saheb, his friend, took him and his company round and showed everything including the underground cellar where Maulana Hussain Ahmad Madani had stayed when he was in Raipura. To the other mosque he could not go because the Maulvi in charge had not the time to see the trustees and obtain permission.

Gandhiji referred to the two visits and expressed his gratefulness for being able to pay them. He then referred briefly to the speech reported to have been made by the ex-Premier Maulvi Fazlul Haque Saheb. He was reported to have said that as a non-Muslim Gandhi should not preach the teachings of Islam. Instead of Hindu-Muslim unity he was creating bitterness between the two communities. Had he (Gandhiji) been to Barisal he would have driven him into the canal. He also wondered how the Muslims of Noakhali and Tipperah could tolerate Gandhi's presence so long.

Gandhiji said that he had grave doubts about the accuracy of the report. If it was the correct summary of the speech, he would consider it to be most unfortunate as coming from a man holding the responsible position that the Maulvi Saheb held and aspiring to be the President of the Muslim League. He was not aware of having done anything to

create bitterness between the two communities. The speaker had never claimed to preach Islam. What he had undoubtedly done was to interpret the teachings of the Prophet and refer to them in his own speeches. His interpretation was submitted for acceptance or rejection.

In the same speech he (Fazlul Haque Saheb) had said that when he (Gandhiji) returned from South Africa he (Fazlul Haque Saheb) had asked him (Gandhiji) to embrace Islam, whereupon Gandhiji said that he was a Muslim in the true sense of the term. Mr. Haque requested him to proclaim it publicly, but Gandhiji refused to do so. He said that he had no recollection whatsoever of the conversation and he was never in the habit of suppressing from the public what he had said privately. The audience, however, knew that he had stated in various speeches in the district that he considered himself as good a Muslim as he was a Hindu and for that matter he regarded himself an equally good Christian or Parsi. That such a claim would be rejected and on some occasions was rejected, he knew. That, however, did not affect his fundamental position and if he had said what was attributed to him by Fazlul Haque Saheb, he (Gandhiji) would gladly declare his repentance if he would believe what was represented to him. Indeed he had put forth the claim in South Africa to be a good Musalman simultaneously with being a good member of the other religions of the world. He would repeat for the sake of the ex-Premier of Bengal that he was misreported and he would welcome the correct version from him.

#### PLANNING WITH VILLAGE BIAS

(Continued from p. 55)

required for packing and transporting of grains and other merchandise was done in olden times by the crew of big caravans who continually plied the inter-provincial and inter-national trade routes. Every one spun on the *takli* even while walking and wove or knitted gunny bags in their camps in the course of their long journeys.

#### 20. MATS, BASKETS, ROPES, BROOMS, BRUSHES

These are mainly village industries and should be made such exclusively. In areas where date, cocoanut, pamyra palms, bamboos, hemp and other fibrous growths abound as nature's gift, cottage-dwelling villagers make these articles and many more of similar varieties. In fact these small industries have survived up to now as cottage industries in many parts of the country. They should be now protected against the factory who should not be allowed to make any inroad upon them. Besides cocoanut, *ketki*, *-ghaypat*, *bhendi*, *ambadi* and other fibres grow in abundance in many parts of our Province which make excellent raw material for rope-making in the villages. Small hand-worked machinery could be introduced in the villages in order to aid and ease human labour and to turn out standardized goods of given specifications.

#### 21. CONSUMER GOODS

With the almost unlimited possibilities for generating electricity and of its universal use in the near future all over the country both in the urban as



well as the rural areas, there would be an equally universal and unlimited demand for small accessories such as fitting materials, plugs, catches and such little things most of which could be made easily by the villagers in their cottages from waste materials just as they do in Japan and Switzerland. Nails, bolts and screws of all current sizes are another item which is essential even for the remotest villager in his house-building and other daily household use. Match-boxes and washing soap is the third item of daily household use.

Besides these, buttons, combs, wicks, tapes, twine, toys, bangles, fountain-pens, pencils, nibs, pens and pen-holders, gumpastes, envelopes, watches and clocks and their parts, shaving and toilet materials, celluloid and plastic goods, umbrellas and a vast variety of what is now being termed as "Consumer Goods" could and should be prohibited by Government to be imported or manufactured by Indian factories and their manufacture should be restricted to the villages as cottage handicrafts. Factories should manufacture only small machinery needed to aid the villager. Short-term and technical training courses, chemical formulas, processes and similar aids should be devised and made available to the villager by the State so as to enable him to turn out standardized production.

Since the termination of war over one crore rupees worth of consumer goods, I understand, are being dumped on us every week and all our sterling balances will vanish and evaporate in a few years if we fail to prohibit their import by stern measures.

#### 22. SEED-OIL LAMPS

Lamps capable of burning any seed-oil have been devised before now under the efforts of the All India Village Industries Association. These should be perfected and popularized so as to enable the villager to consume his own farm products or even wild oil-seeds, which can be gathered from the forests.

#### 23. BIDI (COUNTRY CIGARETTES)

*Tembhurni* or *Timru* leaves growing wild in the jungles are used all over the country in Bidi (country cigarettes) making. The villagers who collect these get very little return for their labour compared to tobacco-growers and others engaged in this trade. The jungle villagers should be protected, in this so long as the tobacco evil retains its hold on the country.

#### 24. HIDES AND BONES

This industry is fast being snatched away from the villager by the factory, although most of the pre-tanning processes are still done by the village Harijan. For this labour he hardly gets an adequate share of the price fetched by the factory-made finished article. This position must be made a subject of careful investigation and their economic interest afe-guarded as against the shareholder, manufacturer and his agents or middlemen.

Large-scale foot-wear making by Bata and others should be prohibited so far as the use of leather goes and the village shoe-makers taught to make standardized patterns.

Bones, mostly of dead cattle, are collected for a song through village Harijans and transported to factories while factory-made goods made out of them—including bone-meal for garden manuring etc.—are sold at fabulous prices. This rank exploitation must stop and the village Harijan should be taught to make various consumer goods out of bones as a cottage craft.

Bone-meal too could be made like lime-stone grinding with the help of a stone-mill driven by bullocks or buffaloes while they are without farm-work in the villages. Government should help village Harijans by providing a site and a grinding stone free by way of encouragement for a time and by prohibiting factories or taxing them heavily.

#### 25. RAW MATERIALS

Innumerable kinds of raw materials are available in our country which are drained away by the foreign manufacturer or his agents or his Indian prototype. The return to the villager on these is meagre and wholly inadequate. Various medicinal herbs, gum, lac, minerals, guts, sinews and other organic materials, sizing materials, etc. are only a few of them. All these sources should be explored and investigated in the interest of the villager as against his exploiting employer or manufacturer of finished factory products.

#### CONCLUSION

Any scheme of National Planning would indeed be a misnomer and defeat its purpose if it is not conceived in terms of and conducted with the sole object of benefitting mainly the bulk of the nation's population, viz. the masses, who inhabit the 7,00,000 villages of India (of which the 23,000 villages of our Province form part and parcel) and make them industrious, self-reliant and happy.

(Concluded)

Vapi, 21-1-'47

SWAMI ANAND

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# HARIJAN

Editor: PYARELAL

VOL. XI, No. 10

AHMEDABAD — SUNDAY, APRIL 6, 1947

TWO ANNAS

## CREATIVE FREEDOM

[The following is a summary of Acharya Kripalani's address at the Conference of the Presidents and Secretaries of the Provincial Congress Committees held at Allahabad. — J. C. K.]

Among us are those who in the past gave up our studies or our careers, courted imprisonment and suffered *lathi* blows. I hope the ideals of simplicity and sacrifice which inspired us then will continue to sustain us.

### REWARDS

At that time we did not even dream of material rewards for our sacrifices. But today as the prospect of such rewards has gained actuality, we are exposed to dangerous temptations. Not all of us have been able to resist them. We are becoming soft and ease-loving. We hunt for offices and ministerial appointments and are jealous of those who secure them.

When in office, we often ape the ways of our British predecessors whom we are so fond of condemning. Our organization has been built on voluntary sacrifice and self-restraint, and if we give up these ideals so easily we shall fail to bring real Swaraj to our people.

### SELF-RESTRAINT

In fact there can be no real freedom without self-restraint. If freedom meant the right of everyone to do as he pleased then we have more of such freedom in India than is found anywhere else in the world.

We can spit anywhere and commit nuisance wherever we like. Our house-wives regularly throw the daily rubbish on the street. We are free to keep our children illiterate and to infect our neighbours with whatever diseases we breed in our homes.

We have more freedom to pollute the Ganges which we worship than the Englishman has to pollute the Thames which he does not pretend to worship. To take another example, our young students, with little experience of life, presume to dictate to us, as no English student would have dared to dictate to Churchill how to prosecute the war against Germany.

During my recent tour in Bihar, young students freely boarded my train without ticket and several times pulled the chain with impunity and detained the train ostensibly to honour the Congress President. Such manifestations of freedom are unheard of in England and other free countries.

### TRUE FREEDOM

True freedom is creative and not self-destructive. It grows with self-restraint. Gandhiji is not free to smoke, to drink or to frequent the cinema, though

he is the freest individual we have. His freedom is the freedom of the dancer who has to step on the edge of a sword.

He is at once the most free and the most restrained of men. He taught us revolt as well as self-restraint. The former being easy was learnt well by us. The latter we have not cared to learn. A great task and a small mind go ill together.

We cannot win Swaraj until we have learnt to subordinate the smaller to the larger interest.

Let me cite an example from my recent experience in Bihar. We were late in arriving at a railway junction. I was worried, but the local Congress Secretary assured me that it did not matter as he had kept the train waiting for me. Was it a compliment or an insult to me?

If Congressmen begin to behave as if they were the rulers of the people and not their servants, then it is legitimate to say that what we have today are Congress Governments and not the people's Governments. Such a rule would be no better than the patterns of Pathan, Moghul, Rajput, Maratha or Sikh rule which India had formerly in her history.

Delhi has been the seat as well as the grave of empires. If anyone thinks that by capturing power at Delhi we can attain Swaraj, he is much mistaken. Our Swaraj can only be attained in the villages by the service of the people. To kick the ladder by which one ascends is suicidal.

### DANGER FROM VIOLENCE

I have talked of the twin danger of succumbing to material temptations and of subordinating the larger national interest to the narrow interest of the party, caste or clique. Our third great danger and perhaps the greatest of all dangers is violence.

I have no desire to enter into a controversy on the merits or demerits of violence *versus* non-violence. All I wish to stress at the moment is that circumstanced as we are today, violence will be disastrous for us. If we resort to violence against the British, we shall sooner or later, and sooner rather than later, direct it against one another.

We lack the necessary self-discipline and the necessary conventions to limit its use as, for example, the British have learnt.

There are no less rivalries and animosities between the different political parties in Great Britain than there are amongst us. Nevertheless, no party thinks of resorting to violence to terrorize the other. Not only that. It would not have occurred to Churchill, however ruthless and unscrupulous he might be in his dealings with Germans or with Indians, to use his Governmental machinery to tamper



with the ballot boxes in England even when he knew that the result of the poll would be his downfall.

#### POLITICAL MORALITY

We have so many divisions and unreasoning animosities in our political and religious life and so little of self-discipline and restraint that if we once take to violence to assert our will, we shall never know when or where to stop.

In fact, so bitter and vile tend to become our mutual jealousies and rivalries that we often forget who our real enemies are. Not only the communalists but even some Congressmen sometimes talk and behave as if their real enemies were those whom they regarded as their political rivals.

So low is our political morality that the episode of Prithviraj and Jaichand has never become obsolete. We find it easier to co-operate with the foreigner than with our own countrymen. If in our present state we take recourse to violence, we are in danger of annihilating ourselves.

#### SELF-DISCIPLINE

We shall only succeed in discrediting democracy and pave the way for a dictatorship. In political life, as in the spiritual, self-discipline is the foundation of all other virtues.

Do not think that I am free from the failings against which I have warned you.

I am one of you and no better and, let me hope, no worse than most of you. We are all equally prone to failings; and equally capable of rising above them, if we hold fast to the standards which Gandhiji has kept before us. Having been a Professor for many years I have never outgrown the habit of lecturing when I can. Moreover, having elected me as your President, you have left me no other choice.

#### SAVING CEREALS

In view of the present cereal shortage in the country, certain experiments on diet were tried in Maganvadi. The following results which have been tested at Maganvadi will be helpful to save cereal consumption to some extent.

Rationing authorities in certain places are distributing *atta* instead of cereals and as the cereals employed are of lower quality there is a suggestion of adding calcium salt to the *atta* to make it more nutritious. We would suggest an addition to the *atta* of 15% of cleaned groundnut cake. This will have many advantages:

1 There will be an outright saving of 15% in cereals.

2. The protein content of the *atta* will be practically doubled.

3. There will be no increase in the cost; if anything it may scale down the cost.

4. The groundnut cake is very rich in vitamin B complex particularly in vitamin B<sub>1</sub>.

There is no danger of the cake powder getting rancid as in the proportion in which it will be present in the *atta*, the anti-oxident property of the *atta* will be effective to check any hydrolysis.

Only good fresh seeds should be taken, cleaned by hand-picking and pressed in bullock-driven *ghani*

presses. The extraction of oil being by cold process no nutritious ingredients of the groundnut are lost. The oil is pressed out leaving only about 10 to 11% in the cake. The cakes are broken into small pieces and dried in the sun. The cake so treated will remain quite fresh for at least one week and retain its flavour. They get bone hard and can be cracked to a fine meal in a pestle and mortar. This meal can be fed in the hand *chakki* to pulverize and bring it to *atta* consistency.

The 15% of its addition will mean in the normal diet a daily consumption of less than 1½ *chhataks*. There is no difficulty in making the preparations of the *atta*. It retains all the good points of the whole-cereal *atta* plus a special nutty flavour which makes food all the more tasty. This flavour may be very negligible when only 15% of groundnut-oilcake *atta* is added and only on a larger addition can the taste be fully appreciated.

The cake contains over 50 % of high grade protein.

Scientific experiments elsewhere have also established high grade digestibility coefficient of groundnut protein. It ranks with the microbial protein of yeast and closely approximates animal protein as found in milk, eggs and mutton.

After many experiments we have come to the conclusion that 1 to 2 *chhataks* of groundnut oilcake can be easily digested and taken along with cereals making the preparation more palatable. The cake bits are soaked in water and in two hours or so they disintegrate forming a uniform paste. This paste can be mixed with *atta* and made into *chapatis*. The proportion of 1:5 is quite good. The paste adds to the flavour of the *dal* or *vegetable*, if cooked along with these. It is very tasty when used in the preparation of *dalia* or porridge with cereals half and half or even without that.

Such use of groundnut cake will release some of the cereal needed and will be a very good health-giving food.

**Sweet Potatoes:** Sweet potatoes are rich in starch and can form a good substitute for cereals. These should be cooked over steam. If cooked with water, almost all the water should be allowed to evaporate, for, otherwise much of the mineral salts will get dissolved in the water and would have to be discarded with the water.

Sweet potatoes can be taken mixed with vegetables, milk, curds or in any other convenient form. If at any of the meals, cereals are to be totally substituted by this, a little more of sweet potatoes should be taken on the weight of the usual consumption quantity of cereal.

DEVENDRA KUMAR GUPTA (A. I. V. I. A.)

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## BIBI AMTUL SALAAM

Bibi Amtul Salaam has for years lived for Hindu-Muslim unity. She comes from a well-known family of Mussalmans in the Patiala State in the Punjab. But she put aside the comforts that her birth offered her and joined Gandhiji's Ashram in 1930. She has ever since endeavoured to shape her life according to the ideals propounded by Gandhiji. Having come under the influence of Theosophy in her early childhood, she has cultivated equal respect for all religions though she remains a staunch Muslim herself. In her zeal for unity she even edited an Urdu weekly called the *Ittehad* for sometime in 1942. But for various reasons she had to stop it.

During the Bengal famine she came to East Bengal and worked in Tipperah district rendering yeoman service to the afflicted people. But though she has a strong will, her body is very frail and she had to go to Sevagram for recuperation. Riots broke out in Bengal. Reports of the happenings in Noakhali made her restless and she came to Bengal and had started working in the affected areas a few days before Gandhiji's arrival at Chaumuhani.

What she saw oppressed her. She worked in Dasgharia at first. Being a highly religious woman, she could not bear to see people deprived of religious solace. Then she shifted to the village Shirandi. For reasons into which I need not go, she went on a fast there while she was running a temperature of 104° F.

On the ninth day of the fast she dictated a statement to me, explaining the idea behind her fast into which I must not go at present. I shall permit myself to say this much only that she fasted to evoke genuine repentance among her co-religionists. The fast dragged on and I became anxious about her life.

We were all in a fix. Bibi Amtul Salaam alone was at peace. She had resigned herself to God's will and was prepared to die. It was a test of faith. Towards the last week she would not let her temperature be taken. We wanted to test her urine. She protested. What was the good? It would simply cause more anxiety. Friends came from far and near to see her and were struck by her brave suffering. She had the *Quran* and the *Gita* recited to her every day and the recitation soothed her. A doctor friend pleaded with her, "Sister, your life is not your own. Won't you let me give you an injection of glucose? At least give me permission to do so if you become unconscious." She opened her eyes and spoke with an effort. Her voice was feeble but clear and steady. "My life I have surrendered to God. His will be done. If He wishes me to live, I cannot die. I must not take injections. The fast must continue until its object is fulfilled."

The Police and the local leaders were also worried. They tried their utmost. They all went to Gandhiji and wanted him somehow to put an end to the fast. He could not do so. She had embarked upon the fast on her own initiative and had taken his word that he won't compel her to break it.

He was scheduled to go to Shirandi on the 20th January, the 25th day of her fast, in the course of his tour. We were sceptical whether she would hold out so long and wanted him to go there earlier. We all felt that his presence at Shirandi might be able to achieve what nothing else had and the fast might come to a successful end. Gandhiji was disinclined to change the tour programme and she herself was not keen. "Let him come when I am near the end, so that I can die in his lap", she said. And so Gandhiji arrived at Shirandi on the 20th. Even in her terribly weak state from her sick bed she supervised all arrangements for his stay. Such has been her devotion to Gandhiji. And she sent me and Abha Gandhi to receive him as she could not walk herself.

A Muslim Deputation waited on Gandhiji at 3 p. m. They were extremely sorry for what had happened. Replying to their plea that he should intervene to end the fast, Gandhiji said that he had come as the friend of the Hindus and the Mussalmans. If they could tear open his heart they would find there nothing but love. Bibi Amtul Salaam was more than a daughter to him. He did not wish to lose her. He had taught the Muslim boys under his care to be firm in their faith and had seen to it that they said their *namaz* and observed *Ramzan*. She had embarked on the fast because she could not stand the religious intolerance of her Muslim brethren. She loved Islam, but she did not hate the Hindus. She had not taken his permission to go on fast. He was the last person to trifle with her faith. The object of the fast has to be fulfilled. It was to make the Muslims see the wrong that they had done and repent for it. If they were genuinely repentant and assured non-recurrence of such things in the future, he would plead with her to break the fast. After all God was one and the same by whatever name men called Him.

He had read in the *Morning News* that Quaid-e-Azam Jinnah had said that Pakistan could not be established through force. He had also said that in Pakistan there would be perfect freedom and safety for the minorities. He had not come to East Bengal on a political mission. His was a purely humanitarian mission. If they wanted the Hindus to leave East Bengal, they should say so plainly. If not, they should redress the wrong done and give assurances for the future. Then he would certainly persuade Bibi Amtul Salaam to break her fast. If they said one thing and meant another, if they broke their word afterwards, they would have to reckon with his fast instead of Amtul Salaam's. He could not hold them responsible for the whole district. But they should take up the responsibility for the peace of their area. By doing so they would be laying the foundation of peace for the whole of Noakhali, nay for the whole of East Bengal. After mutual consultation they evolved a formula expressing sorrow for what had happened and guaranteeing the religious freedom of the Hindus in future in the village of Shirandi and four adjoining villages.



It was signed by the leading members of the Muslim community representing the five villages mentioned. It was past 9 P. M. when the agreement was finally completed and Gandhiji handed over a cup of orange juice to Bibi Amtul Salaam after recitation of the *Quran* by the Muslim friends.

S. N.

## HARIJAN

April 6

1947

### BLINDNESS AT A PRICE

We had already written about the evil effects of *vanaspati ghee*. Sir S. S. Sokhey, Director of the Haffkine Institute, Bombay, states that experiments conducted in the Haffkine Institute on the nutritive values of hydrogenated oil show that

- (1) the consumption of hydrogenated oils resulted in inferior growth;
- (2) their consumption interfered with the absorption of calcium in the body; and
- (3) their consumption resulted in a change in the fat composition of the body.

Recently, in the Council of State, Dr. Rajendra Prasad stated that the Research Institute at Izzatnagar had reported that the use of *vanaspati* was bad for health and affected the eyesight. Experiments conducted on rats show that the third generation of them become blind. In the light of these scientific experiments one would have thought that any Government with the welfare of the people in their mind would have banned *vanaspati* out of the country and locked up the *vanaspati* manufacturers as anti-social beings. But India is tolerant even to the extent of hugging its evil-doers.

We understand that the Government is contemplating provision for the detection of adulteration of *ghee* with *vanaspati* by adding 5% basic oil and colouring it. We fear that this will be absolutely of no use. *Vanaspati* is generally made of groundnut oil cotton-seed or oil. The addition of these oils in a small proportion will be of no avail for detection. Scientists are of opinion that at least 10% of sesame oil (*til* oil) is the least amount that can be effective; and no other oils would be useful. Besides, the colouring can be removed at a very small cost. One wonders why there should be the need for all this circumventing of the issue.

It is clear that the expenditures incurred by these manufacturers are of no avail to the nation as a whole. They add nothing to the existing fat of the country. If anything, they decrease their assimilability by hydrogenation and to the extent they are destructive of the fat stock of the land. The fresh oils that are produced at comparatively low rates are acquired by these factories and at a cost which is often double the original cost; they destroy the natural food values and make the nation subject to

various deficiency diseases, and for this disservice the nation has to pay in the utilization of its manpower, capital and human effort. We are amazed at our action when we sit down calmly and think over the *pros* and *cons* in regard to this question.

In so far as adulteration of dairy *ghee* is the main objective of this industry it is a direct hit on the dairy industry. In a country which is largely vegetarian, reduction of *ghee* consumption, however caused, will undermine the health of the people. The argument that Western nations use margarine will not hold in our country. Margarine is used like butter over slices of bread and in a temperate climate the hydrogenation needs to be carried out to a very little extent. In our country such a treatment will still leave the product in a liquid state. Besides Europeans obtain animal fats from various other sources as they are meat eaters and their cooking is done mainly with lard (animal fat). Hence, any comparison with other countries is fallacious.

India's is a cow-centered economy. We need cows for the plough, for transport, for carriage and for yielding milk. Hence, any measure that adversely affects the maintenance of the cow will also adversely affect our national economy. A correct view of the affairs in the proper perspective would make *vanaspati* production equivalent to cow slaughter, and we hope at least those who venerate the cow will look at this aspect of the question conscientiously and refrain from an industry which is based on pure avarice, ignoring all considerations of national welfare.

From the economic point of view the *vanaspati* mills in so far as they enter the market for vegetable oils tend to put up the prices of ordinary oils. So the poorer consumers of vegetable oil have to pay a higher price for the only source of fat that is available to them. The well-to-do classes who use this hydrogenated oil pay a still higher price for materials which may prove even harmful to them and perhaps obtaining nothing in return even by way of fat if the digestibility is impaired by hydrogenation. Apart from the raising of the price of oils even under controlled rates, because of the advent of capitalists in the market, the tendency is towards black-marketing, which again has an injurious effect on the budget of the poorer consumers.

We are amazed at the recommendation of the Advisory Planning Board which has suggested the raising of the target of production of this article from 82,000 tons in 1941 to 400,000 in 1950. Are we thinking of industries as a means of making wealth for a few, or should our industries be the means of supplying the needed articles to satisfy human needs? Are there no moral considerations to guide us in this matter? Is our industrial policy to be devoid of all humanity? If so, we are heading for the jungle. We trust that no time will be lost in calling a halt as far as this industry is concerned.

J. C. KUMARAPPA



## GANDHIJI'S BIHAR TOUR DIARY

17-3-'47

The gathering at Masurhi was, according to official estimates, more than thirty thousand and, during the *Ramadhan*, a very large section of the men and women present participated in the recital. Gandhiji began by congratulating the audience on that account. Then he told them that his Bihar tour had not been undertaken for pleasure, but on account of serious and grave reasons. He would visit those places where Muslims had suffered. His appeal to the Hindus was to show repentance by means of worthy and suitable acts.

During the mad days of November, women and children were remorselessly murdered, while men had also been done to death in such numbers as to put Noakhali in the shade, although events there had been of a sufficiently serious character. He expected the Hindus of Bihar to show true repentance and not merely shout "*Jai*" or victory in his name. He not only expected them to contribute liberally towards the relief fund but what he expected them to do more was that they should come forward and confess at least to him the wrongs that they had done. This alone could bring him true peace of mind.

Gandhiji said that he had asked for reports of events from various sources. One of them stated that the initial aggression had been from the side of the Musalmans. He was not at all concerned how the trouble actually started: the problem was, as the Hindus were in such overwhelming majority, how could they stoop so low as to indulge in murdering the innocents? True repentance, with the consequent reparatory action, alone could restore abiding peace between the two sister communities.

The report also accused the Government of indifference to wrongs suffered by the Hindus at the hands of the Muslims. Similar reports had also been received from Muslim quarters complaining of indifference to Muslim complaints. Gandhiji continued that he was slow to believe either report. A popular Government that was so indifferent or partial one way or the other could not exist for any length of time. The Government had already declared that they would presently appoint an impartial Commission to hear all complaints, examine the causes of the terrible disturbances and discover ways and means for avoiding repetition of the tragedy. They would also advise as to the reparation to be made to the sufferers. Let those who had sent their letters to him, he continued, be ready with their evidence to be put before the Commission. His was not the way of a judge or of a prosecutor. His was the humble role of a reformer and humanitarian. He had, therefore, to deal with known facts and invite offenders to repent for their follies.

18-3-'47

Gandhiji referred to his visit to Masurhi and described with emotion the wreckage he had witnessed. He pointed out that he had read about the happenings in Masurhi in the Muslim League report which, he regretted to have to say, he had believed to be grossly exaggerated. But he had to

confess now that much of the description about Masurhi seemed to him to be borne out. And what one read, however honest it might be, was wholly different in effect from the actual sight. He was told that the tragedy was largely due to the excitement caused by the observance of Noakhali Day. He was told, too, that the Muslims of Bihar were perturbed by the talk that was going about that the Punjab Day was to be observed on the 23rd. He hoped that it was a mere rumour which had no foundation in fact. Such an observance anywhere would mean a clear invitation for mutual slaughter between brother and brother. He had told the Muslim friends that if such a misfortune took place in Bihar he would want to perish in the flames. His incessant prayer to God was that he would not keep him alive to witness such an awful and disgraceful scene.

Gandhiji then read two letters which he had received on the way to Bir from the adjacent villages. One was from Sain and the other from Barni. He wished that the friendly spirit running through the letters which were described to be as from the Hindu and Muslim residents of the villages would become universal.

Collections were made after the speech. Gandhiji remained whilst the collections were made.

21-3-'47

Gandhiji commenced with a reference to his visit to Garahwan village where men, women and children had been brutally done to death and asked those assembled before him to sit in mournful silence in sympathy with the deceased. He asked them to consider for themselves why innocent women and children had been killed. Was it to save any religion? No religion, Gandhiji emphasized, taught anyone to kill his neighbours. What was done was nothing but wanton destruction—he did not stop to think whether it was done from motives of self interest or any other.

The houses which a few months ago were full of life, Gandhiji said, were now desolate and everyone knew about it. But then what was to be done next? People went to bathe in the Ganges, believing that their sins could thus be washed off. The ruins before them should remind them of the sin they had committed on helpless women and children and they should seek to expiate it by considering in what way they could redeem themselves. Gandhiji told them that they should clean the ruined houses and make them neat and habitable. They should also express to their Muslim brethren their repentance for the past occurrences and persuade them to return to their villages, telling them that then alone they would have peace of mind. It was possible that the Muslims might turn round and ask how they could go back and live in the houses where their kith and kin had been done to death. The Muslims, Gandhiji said, would be justified in saying so. But, if the guilty men or their relations could go to the Muslims with truly penitent hearts and assure them that what was past was past and would never be repeated, he was sure that even a stone heart would melt.



Amidst this mad upheaval, Gandhiji continued, there were men, like oasis in a desert, who risked the wrath of the violent mobs and saved many Muslim lives and Muslim property. Those people deserved congratulations, though they did not need any. If he did not go to them, Gandhiji said, it did not mean that he had not recognized their work. But he was in the nature of a doctor who went not to the well but to the suffering.

He had been told, Gandhiji proceeding said, that the Hindus had also suffered in the conflict. If there were any such, they too needed help and would be included in the relief.

Gandhiji mentioned that about fifty persons, who were wanted in connection with the riot cases, had surrendered the day after his arrival at Masurhi. He welcomed it and hoped that others who had taken part in the riots would surrender to the proper authorities, making a clean breast of the crimes they had committed and taking whatever punishment might be given to them. If people had not the courage to surrender to the authorities, Gandhiji said, they could come to him or Badshah Khan or Major General Shah Nawaz with their confessions.

Lastly, Gandhiji referred to the fear entertained by the Hindus of Noakhali about preparations that were being made by the Muslims to observe Pakistan Day on the 23rd inst. A friend from Khadi Pratishthan had also come to him and explained to him that the situation in Noakhali was deteriorating. Gandhiji said that he had told that friend that he would not be persuaded to leave his post in Bihar at the present moment, for he believed that his mission, if fully successful in Bihar, would cast its effect on Bengal and perhaps on the rest of India. The Muslims of Bihar and the Hindus of Bengal should accept him as security for the safety of their life and property from the hands of the communalists. He had come here, Gandhiji said, to do or die. Therefore, there was no question of abandoning his post of duty till the Hindus and the Muslims could assure him that they did not need his services.

22-3-'47

Gandhiji who returned to Patna this morning after a six days tour of the affected area in Masurhi Thana gave an account of his impressions to the gathering assembled at the evening prayer meeting at the Bankipore Maidan. Gandhiji expressed satisfaction with the attitude of the villagers who were not only genuinely penitent over the past happenings but were also willing to atone for the past in the manner he might suggest. Liberal contributions, as liberal as it could be in rural India, were made by them for the relief of the Muslims, and even when he drove in the car he was stopped and presented with purses. Besides purses, Gandhiji said, he had also received letters from them expressing their readiness and willingness to help in the rehabilitation of the Muslims.

In a number of places, Gandhiji proceeding said, due to the bravery of the local Hindus, no incidents had occurred. He was told by the Muslims them-

selves that in Dinapore Sub-division no trouble occurred though the Muslims were greatly nervous.

Gandhiji said that he had addressed the Muslim women refugees in the morning at Piplawan. He did not wish at present to enter into a description of the feelings of these women and their present condition. His heart was too full and he did not wish to shed tears. He only wanted to tell them how to repent. He tried as best as he could to console them and persuaded them to pick up courage and return to their villages, placing reliance on God. At this meeting he was told that Muslim women and men dreaded the approach of March 23rd, as it had been reported that Punjab Day would be observed in Bihar on that date. He had told them that the Bihar Government had banned the observance of any kind of day, be it Pakistan Day or Punjab Day. The Minister who was present also gave the assurance that no celebration of any kind would be permitted and that the ban would be strictly enforced throughout the Province. The Bihar Government, Gandhiji said, had banned the Kisan Rally also. In his opinion, that was rightly done. The present atmosphere in the country was such that any kind of rally or procession led to one kind of trouble or other. In the language of the *Bhagavad Gita*, very often action lay in inaction and inaction in action. Gandhiji illustrated this truth by giving striking modern instances. Thus in modern warfare, very often inactivity was obligatory and could therefore be described as real activity, and at such a time any activity, so-called, would savour of criminality. He would, therefore, urge both the Hindus and the Muslims to refrain from celebrating these days. A true *satyagrahi* should implicitly obey the directions of those he had himself put in power. What he said did not refer only to March 23rd. It applied to the future also and at no time should these celebrations be indulged in, so long as the atmosphere remained as it was that day.

Continuing Gandhiji said that if the Hindus realized the error of their past conduct, then he would expect the Hindus in the affected areas to contribute physical labour for the renovation of damaged houses. That act performed voluntarily, freely and sincerely would inspire lost confidence as nothing else could.

Gandhiji mentioned that after his arrival at Masurhi about fifty persons who were wanted in connection with the riots had surrendered to the authorities. By this time the number had probably gone up and he hoped many more would come forward to acknowledge their guilt. Confession of their guilt, Gandhiji concluded, not only evoked respect for their courage but would ultimately enhance the prestige of the province as a whole.

23-3-'47

Gandhiji's weekly silence having commenced, his written message in Hindustani was read out to the congregation after the prayers. It was his earnest prayer that those who were present and those others whom his voice could reach should understand the aim of life. The aim of life was that they



should serve the Power that had created them, and on Whose mercy or consent depended their very breath, by heartily serving Its creation. That meant love, not hate which one saw everywhere. They had forgotten that aim and were either actually fighting each other or preparing for that fight. If they could not escape that calamity, they should regard India's independence as an impossible dream. If they thought that they would get independence by the simple fact of the British power quitting the land, they were sadly mistaken. The British were leaving India. But if they continued fighting one another, some other power or powers would step in. If they thought they could fight the whole world with its weapons, it was a folly.

A friend had written, continued Gandhiji, that a sort of peace seemed to have been established in the Punjab through military occupation. That peace was the peace of the grave. The people were silently preparing for an open and deadlier fight. Weapons were being collected. After that even the military would find it impossible to control the people. It was his firm conviction that the peace established with the aid of the military or the police would be no peace. True peace would only come when at least one side, if not both, adopted the true bravery that non-violence gave.

Bihar had realized, said Gandhiji, that there was no bravery in killing women and children. It was sheer cowardice. It would be a grand thing if Bihar could manifest the true bravery of silent strength, and show thereby the true path of life to the whole world.

At the end Gandhiji informed the audience that the prayer meeting on Monday would be held near Poonpoo.

24-3-'47

The prayer meeting at Rajghat was very noisy. There was a very large number of women not used to meetings. They set up an incessant chatter. The usual prayer was nevertheless conducted amid the din. When the time for Gandhiji's speech came, he said that he was not anxious to hear his own voice. He would not speak to them if the chatter continued. His remarks were, therefore, addressed to the volunteers who, he said, ought to prepare especially new audiences such as that day's by word of mouth or otherwise telling them the rules that govern public meetings. He advised preparation of short leaflets for distribution among such people.

He then said he had visited Behrawan where Hindu houses had been damaged. He said that for him the Hindus and the Muslims were like two eyes, as Sir Syed Ahmed had said. Such isolated instances ought not to diminish the heinousness of the Hindus' crime against the Muslims.

25-3-'47

At today's prayer meeting perfect silence was observed by the audience to the end. Gandhiji congratulated them for it. He told them that he had heard that the Hindus were boycotting the Muslims. If that was so, it was a bad omen. True repentance demanded true friendship in which

there could be no room for boycott. Hence, if they were truly repentant, they ought not to boycott the Muslims. He then referred to a visit of Muslim League friends who were prepared to co-operate in every way in rehabilitation and he added that without the co-operation of the League friends in Bihar there could be no friendship which depended not on the bayonet but on mutual goodwill.

Gandhiji had a visit from a friend from Noakhali who had come to report that things had worsened there after his departure. He had replied that the work he was doing in Bihar could not but affect the Noakhali work for the better. He advised the Noakhali friend to report every misdeed to the proper authorities. Whatever came to his notice he would gladly pass on to the authorities with confidence. In any case he would advise them to be calm, courageous and to have faith in God as the true and only Helper.

Lastly, he referred to a visit from *Dome* friends, whom it was the duty of every Hindu to befriend. They, he was told, were under a double disability. They were treated as outcastes by the caste Hindus and as the lowest in the hierarchy of untouchables. This was a shame which the Hindus were bound to wipe out at the earliest moment, if Hinduism was not to perish.

### 'LEARN FROM THE EXPERIENCE OF OTHERS'

[The Chinese have a proverb: 'A wise man learns from his experience; a wiser man learns from the experience of others'. The following article by Louis Bromfield appears in the *Reader's Digest* of October last and teaches us the lesson that we in India at any rate cannot afford to trifle with the soil, but must deal with it gently and reverentially. — V. G. D.]

On a clear, beautiful day last spring I flew from Austin, Texas, to Chicago. Unrolled like a map beneath our plane lay a good part of the vast Mississippi Basin, once the richest and most productive agricultural area of its size in the world.

It is still rich in spots, but most of it now is an area of steadily waning productivity. Most of its forests have been cut down, and much of its agricultural land has been ruined. All this has happened in less than 100 years and in some parts in little more than a generation.

Halfway through Iowa my companion looking down, said, 'My, that's a pretty sight! There's an awful lot of food being raised down there.'

From an aesthetic point of view it was a pretty sight. . . .

It was pretty all right, but my companion, a city fellow, saw only the surface. He did not see the ugly, frightening things which were taking money out of his pockets, and perhaps even the calcium out of his bones and the phosphorus out of his brain. Presently I began telling him what lay beneath the pretty picture, beginning with the moment we had taken off in the Black Lands in Texas.

The Black Lands, as virgin soil, were wonderfully deep and heavy with decayed organic material lying over a limestone or marl base. Such soil



exists in few parts of the earth, notably in Texas, Alabama, Mississippi and Russia's Ukraine. As the plane rose, however, it became evident that in the Texas Black Lands great streaks and circular areas had turned grey or white. The grey meant that the rich topsoil was almost gone; the white, where the limestone showed, meant that the topsoil was gone altogether. Many years and a vast expenditure of money will be needed to make that eroded marl grey base once more productive. When the white limestone shows through, there will be no more production for a million years.

How had this rich soil gone? It had been *washed or blown* away, because it had been ploughed year after year and left bare to the ravages of rain and wind.

Presently we passed into the red land of Northern Texas and Southern Oklahoma, once as fine grazing land as there was in the world. Here millions of buffaloes fed on the succulent bluestem and buffalo grasses, and the streams ran clear. But now the land, over-grazed, by cattle and burnt over each year, grow only a thin weedy cover or coarse Johnson grass which most ranchmen regard as a pest. The dilapidated ranch houses were few and far between, and only a few skinny cattle grazed the once-rich land.

Worst of all, except where a few wise farmers had terraced their fields, the red soil was gashed by great gullies that were growing constantly into the land, devouring billions of tons of soil every year. The streams and rivers, swollen by spring rains ran red as blood. . . .

Government figures show an increase during the past few years in the average yield per acre of our major crops. . . . When analyzed, however, this statistical increase is not what it appears to be. No account was taken of the thousands of acres that have been abandoned because they can no longer produce, and of the fact that the yield on land still used is boosted by improved (hybrid) seed which 'artificially' increases production . . . and which has nothing to do with soil.

It is well-known that the yield of virgin corn-belt lands (prior to 1850) was often 120 bushels per acre and upward without fertilizers. The current yield in Mc Lean County, Illinois, one of the best producing corn areas in the country, is only about 55 bushels per acre. That is the measure of our soil's decline.

What we saw on the flight was the record of rich land worn out or destroyed. It hadn't occurred to my companion that this tragedy was costing him money in higher food prices, in the higher taxes that are required to pay subsidies, and perhaps to pay for future relief and made-work projects. He didn't realize that depleted land, which lacks minerals vital to the health of human beings, inevitably produces crops and livestock that are also deficient in these elements, and that people who eat the products of depleted soils gradually become physically and mentally deficient.

Many persons believe that all lettuce, for example, has the same vitamin and mineral content. This is

not true. One head of lettuce can be high in mineral and vitamin content and another may have little more nutritional value than a glass of water. This is because the mineral, and to a large extent the vitamin, content of any vegetable is determined by the mineral content of the soil on which it is grown. Healthy citizens cannot be produced from eroded and depleted soils.

My companion had never realized that as the natural fertility of the soil goes down the cost of production mounts; hence the price goes up for consumers and the farmer's profit declines.

What the 'pretty' landscape actually showed was an appalling record of the destruction of natural resources upon which the strength, wealth and power of this nation are founded. If the steady destruction of agricultural land continues, the price of food may increase until only the rich can afford steak, butter and cream. . . .

It would be wrong to ignore the progress being made in soil and water conservation and in soil restoration in various parts of the United States. Soil conservation laws have been an immense step forward. They are administered by farmers themselves, but the U. S. Soil Conservation Service stands ready to give engineering aid and advice.

The State as well as some of our great industrial corporations and societies such as the Friends of the Land and the Friends of the Soil are all doing important work. . . .

Over large parts of our country the great task of anchoring our soil and keeping our rain water where it falls still remains to be done. The ultimate responsibility for this job lies with the farmer. But in certain areas the soil has been so depleted that food raised on it wholly lacks essential minerals, and this has so weakened the rural population that they are unable to help themselves. Here some measure of Government aid is necessary. Money appropriated for the battle against erosion and floods will pay large dividends to the nation.

You can read the truth of the whole story in the passing landscape from the window of a train or an automobile. Try it some time. Bear in mind that every eroded field, silt-clogged river and burned-over forest, every ruined and abandoned farm, is costing you money—in higher prices, in more taxes, in more subsidies, in strikes for higher pay because the higher cost of food has eaten deeper into the purchasing power of the dollar. Remember that when our soil and forests and other natural resources are gone it will not matter if we have all the gold in the world buried at Fort Knox or if the Treasury Department turns out truckloads of banknotes, for we shall be finished as a nation.

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# HARIJAN

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TWO ANNAS

## STRIVE FOR ONE WORLD

[Gandhiji attended the Inter-Asian Relations Conference twice during his stay at Delhi. On Tuesday, 1-4-47, when he attended the Conference for the first time, he did not deliver any speech but answered some questions that were addressed to him by some of the delegates. The questions and answers are reproduced below.]

The speech which he delivered before the closing session of the Conference is given elsewhere in this number.

—Ed.]

The Azerbaijan delegate, Mr. Yousotoff, who was presiding at the Plenary Session, requested Gandhiji to say a few words.

Gandhiji replied that he would be attending the closing session of the Conference on April 2 and would speak then. For the present, he would answer any questions that members might like to put to him.

"I will not like to live in this world if it is not to be one. Certainly I should like to see this dream realized in my lifetime," declared Gandhiji in answer to a question whether he believed in the theory of one world and whether it would succeed under the present conditions.

He added: "I hope that all the representatives who have come here from the different Asian countries will strive their level best to have only one world. They will have to think out ways and means for achieving this goal.

"If you work with fixed determination, there is no doubt that in our own generation we will certainly realize this dream."

Dr. Han Liwu from China asked him his views on the proposal to set up an Asian Institute.

Gandhiji replying said: "The question is certainly very nice. Let me confess my ignorance. I have really to apologize to you. Pandit Nehru had asked me long before this Conference was scheduled to take place whether it would at all be possible for me to attend it. It has proved to be a much more important conference than it was expected to be. I was obliged to say at that time that I was very sorry and would not be able to come. When Lord Mountbatten, the new Viceroy, invited me to meet him, however, I could not say 'No.' It would have been foreign to my nature to do so. The Viceroy had already told me that the credit for bringing me to Delhi during the Asian Conference was really his. And I told the Viceroy: 'I am your prisoner. But I am also Pandit Nehru's prisoner, for, after all, he is your Vice-President.'

"Through correspondence I know almost all parts of the world and naturally, therefore, of Asia, though I know very few of you personally — perhaps none of you. I am doubtful whether I can say anything useful but the question is one after my heart. Some portions of the question put to me now were discussed by Pandit Nehru yesterday. It is a great event that for the first time in our history such a conference takes place on the Indian soil. I am sorry that I have to refer to the conditions that we see today. We do not know how to keep peace between ourselves. We have so many differences which we cannot settle between ourselves in a humane and friendly manner. We think we must resort to the law of the jungle. It is an experience which I would not like you to carry to your respective countries. I would instead like you to bury it here.

"India is now on the eve of her full independence. India wants to be independent of everybody who wants to own this country. We do not want a change of masters. We want to be masters on our own soil, though I am not quite sure how it will come about. All that we know is that we should do our duty and leave the results in the hands of God and not in the hands of man. Man is supposed to be the maker of his own destiny. It is partly true. He can make his destiny only in so far as he is allowed by the Great Power which overrides all our intentions, all our plans and carries out His own plans.

"I call that Great Power not by the name of Allah, not by the name of Khuda or God but by the name of Truth. For me, Truth is God and Truth overrides all our plans. The whole truth is only embodied within the heart of that Great Power — Truth. I was taught from my early days to regard Truth as unapproachable — something that you cannot reach. A great Englishman taught me to believe that God is unknowable. He is knowable but knowable only to the extent that our limited intellect allows.

"You, gentlemen, have come here from different parts of Asia, and having come with eagerness and zest you should all have yearly meetings or two-yearly or three-yearly conferences. You should carry away sweet memories of the meetings and make every effort to build the great edifice of Truth.

"All the Asian representatives have come together. Is it in order to wage a war against Europe, against America or against non-Asiatics? I say most emphatically 'No.' This is not India's mission. I am free to confess that I will feel extremely sorry if



India, having won independence through essentially and predominantly non-violent means, was going to use that independence for the suppression of the other parts of the world. Europeans had exploited different races inhabiting this vast continent called Asia.

"It will be a sorry thing if we go away from this Conference without a fixed determination that Asia shall live and live as free as every other Western nation. I just wanted to say that conferences like the present should meet regularly, and if you ask me where, India is the place."

### FIRST THINGS FIRST

The Bombay Committee for the Promotion of Village Industries under the chairmanship of Shri Manu Subedar has, with commendable promptitude, published its report. It seems to have been launched out with a wrong twist from its inception. The resolution of Government forming this Committee started by wagging the dog in the preamble itself. Or is it a case of letting the cat out of the bag to begin with? It runs:

"Revival and promotion of cottage industries are essential for bringing about a state of balanced economy in the country and for saving the enormous waste of raw materials, transport facilities and human energy, inherent in locating factories at certain centres to which raw materials and labour have to be brought from the countryside and from which the finished product has again to be sent to rural consuming centres. It is also desirable to make villages self-sufficient in respect of their essential requirements as far as possible. . . ."

From this the main object would appear to be to distribute the constituent elements of the organization of centralized factory production to rural areas; the purpose being the saving of "enormous waste" or in other words, reduction of cost. The interest in the welfare of the villages has become an "also".

The whole report is vitiated by this ideology, lacking a true perspective and a sense of proportion. Button-making absorbs attention in a starving country rather than industries connected with food processing. The burning questions of the day, such as the rice mills, production of *vanaspati ghee* or sugar mills and distilleries do not find even a passing mention. Coming from the Province of Bombay, with all its vested interests, one is led to wonder if this is all deliberately undertaken to divert and side-track public attention rather than being an accidental blunder.

Of course, there is much crocodile tears shed over the deterioration of life in rural areas and very ennobling sentiments expressed in the true text book style for their betterment. But the whole report rings false, may be, due to the wrong directive given in the terms of reference.

The Committee's belief in "self-sufficiency" is skin-deep. Their avowed aim is "to give increased purchasing power to large masses of people, so that they can afford to buy things, which hitherto they

were not in a position to acquire." The Committee does not seem to be conscious of the fact that much of the distress in rural areas is traceable to the enormous expansion of money economy. Villages should be encouraged to produce for their use rather than for exchange. The Committee seems to have been carried off its feet by glowing pictures of production in Switzerland and Japan, not realizing that in those small countries conditions are not the same as in our country nor are their traditions of life identical with ours.

Under the proposed scheme, villages should undertake mass production of a single selected article at each village industry centre. "At least three skilled artisans, who are adept in making such an article, should be imported from cities where necessary and established at such a centre on the guarantee of a full wage such as they are now realizing *plus* free residence." "All the adult men and women, who could give their full time, would be free to come and join this activity. From the first day of their attendance, they would receive not less than four annas a day but when their skill is reported upon, the scale should rise gradually from four annas to eight annas, which should be the maximum," for an eight hour day. Is this an improvement of the "Poor House" institution in the West?

With an eye to modernity, and perhaps as a concession to those who clamour for Basic Education, the Committee "recommend the examination of the problem, whether children could not join in with advantage to themselves for half a day" on a wage of one anna per day rising to a maximum of four annas. They think such industrial centres "would provide for the training of the eye, the touch, the sense of measurement, the sense of weight and other useful faculties."

They have, in all earnestness, proceeded to work out the cost of a village centre for the production of coat-buttons! Such a centre will employ three skilled men at Rs. 4 a day, 40 children at As. 2 a day, 40 women at As. 6 a day and 40 men at As. 6 a day. At all events we should congratulate the Committee on establishing the equality of men and women, though on paper! They are also dispelling "the drawing room illusions of amateurs that one can have a choice and one should do what one pleases." They declare *ex cathedra* that man is by nature condemned to get through the same personal routine in life every day and with regard to work, "most men do what opportunity or chance had made available to them." In this particular case, the God-sent opportunity of coat-button-making! From this high philosophy of life they suddenly make a forced landing on hedonistic consideration when they come out with the observation: "The limitation of the work to a single task increases the scope for acquiring skill in the shortest period, for minimizing mistakes and waste and is the foundation of mass production of simple articles under rural conditions at a cost which will probably be lower than the factory cost of similar articles."



Sweat labour theories could not have been expressed better!

Then they proceed to refute emphatically that the simple process in mass-scale manufacture is monotonous. We should invite the Chairman and the Committee to go to a shoe-making factory where the moving belt carries hundreds of lasts on which the various operations incidental to the making of a shoe are performed by the attendant at each spot. We shall place the Chairman first. As the naked last moves up in front of him he will have by his side a pot of sticky paste and he will be equipped with a brush. He will dip the brush in the paste and dab it on the last as it passes him. He will repeat this operation on hundreds of lasts that will whirl past before him from eight in the morning till five in the evening with one hour in the middle for lunch! This will be done every day for three hundred days in the year and he will be paid eight annas per day for his co-operation with the Almighty who provided our Chairman with this opportunity of dabbing paste on shoe lasts. It may not now be necessary for us to watch the other Committee members at their simple processes which, they tell us, are not monotonous. They frankly state: "the Utopian Heaven when a man can do what he pleases, as he pleases, is an entirely irrelevant idea with reference to the plan suggested herein." If the Chairman was not pleased to dab the paste on the last as it passed him the cloth put on the last by the next man will not stick to it and God's purposes will be frustrated. It is impossible to allow the Chairman to please himself.

Q. E. D.

As to the choice of products they confess that they "have not been troubled with the antithesis, which it is usual to put forward between village industries, which cater for the wants of the villagers themselves, and those which produce goods useful to the urban population."

They claim that their scheme is the product of Indian genius applied to Indian conditions. There is surely no question about the genius but there is room for difference in the appreciation of the conditions. They are obsessed by the fear that the villages cannot provide for the increased population unless their scheme is put into operation.

There is much special pleading in all their theorizing which makes interesting and amusing reading but space forbids our inclination to quote these for the benefit of the reader. There is no sense of false modesty about the Committee which naively desire that the basic notions put forward by them should be useful not merely for Bombay, but for other provinces too. Is this a warning?

Village Industries for mass production seem in keeping with wolves in sheep's clothing. We trust the Government and the people concerned will evaluate this report carefully and the skillfully sugar-coated pill will not be swallowed.

J. C. KUMARAPPA

## ABOUT NOAKHALI

Gandhiji received the following wires about the Noakhali situation to which he has sent the following replies:

Shri Satish Chandra Dasgupta in his wire dated Ramganj, April 2 says:

"This is a quick post information. I have sent the following telegram to the District Magistrate, Police Superintendent and Chief Minister.

"There have been five cases of arson between March 23 and yesterday. Yesterday's case happened at Mohammadpur in Ramganj Thana. It was an attempt to burn alive three families consisting of twenty-one persons male, female, children of the house who for safety slept all in one room. This room was fastened from outside and this thatched hut and other huts of the house simultaneously set on fire. The inmates escaped by breaking through mat wall."

In another telegram dated Ramganj, April 5, Shri Dasgupta says:

"I have sent the following telegram to the Chief Minister and local authorities:

'Have to bring your notice another case of arson last night April 4, at Changirgaon near Ramganj Thana where also like the last case the inmate Haralal Bhowmik found himself locked from outside in his sleeping room while all structures including sleeping room were burning. Thank God Haralal could escape by cutting open corner of stout reed wall of his corrugated sheds. Request you think over these gruesome attempts of burning alive the Hindus and shape Government policy by shaking off inactivity.'

Gandhiji's reply to the above wires:

"All your precise but painful wires also from Haranbabu. Case seems to be for exodus or perishing in flames of fanaticism. Hope you will not advise my coming to advise on choice. Hold council with workers and act promptly."

Shri Haranchandra Ghosh Choudhury, M. L. A. (Bengal) in his wire dated Chaumuhani (Noakhali), April 6 says:

"Rehabilitation in Noakhali is becoming increasingly difficult. Lawlessness, theft, burglary, house-breaking, night raids, burning of houses, hay-stacks, becoming common.

"Ploughing of fields in some areas obstructed. In about five hundred cases involving loot, arson, murder, final reports submitted on pleas non-availability sufficient evidence which under present circumstances can be had from riot victims alone. Absconders and culprits moving freely reported holding meeting now. People suspect foul play in original cases as all Hindu officers in charge of affected Thanas transferred. Those officers who have timely submitted charge sheets against good number of offenders also transferred. Proceedings drawn against officers who attempted quell riots or arrested large number of culprits of whom ninety per cent now bailed out. More than hundred counter cases against workers. Hindu police and army staff are seriously enquired into and in some cases summoned or otherwise harassed."



Gandhiji's reply to the above wire:

"If what you say is true, clear case for exodus or perishing in the flames of madness and fanaticism. Consult Satish Babu and act unitedly."

Gandhiji has sent the following wire to the Chief Minister, Bengal, Mr. H. S. Suhrawardy:

"I continue receive doleful wires about increasing lawlessness Noakhali. I suggest prompt attention wires of Satish Chandra Dasgupta and prompt action. Am publishing wires."

## HARIJAN

April 20

1947

### THE MESSAGE OF ASIA

Addressing the concluding session of the Inter-Asian Relations Conference on Wednesday the 2nd of April, 1947, in the *Purana Quila* at Delhi, Gandhiji said:

I do not think that I should apologize to you for having to speak in a foreign tongue. I wonder if this loud-speaker carries my voice to the farthest end of this vast audience. If some of those who are far away are unable to listen to what I may say, it will be the fault of the loud-speaker.

I was going to tell you that I do not wish to apologize. I dare not. You cannot understand the provincial language which is my mother tongue. I do not want to insult you by speaking in my own language (Gujarati). Our national speech is Hindustani. I know that it will be a long time before it can be made into an international speech. For international commerce, undoubtedly, English occupies the first place. I used to hear that French was the language of diplomacy. I was told when I was young that if I wanted to go from one end of Europe to the other, I must try to pick up French. I tried to learn French in order that I may be able to make myself understood. There is a rivalry between the French and the English. Having been taught English I have naturally to resort to that language.

I was wondering as to what I was to speak to you. I wanted to collect my thoughts but, let me confess to you, I had no time. Yet I had promised yesterday that I would try to say a few words. While I was coming with Badshah Khan I asked for a little piece of paper and pencil. I got a pen instead of a pencil. I tried to scribble a few words. You will be sorry to hear from me that that that piece of paper is not by my side though I remember what I wanted to say.

You, friends, have not seen the real India and you are not meeting in conference in the midst of real India. Delhi, Bombay, Madras, Calcutta, Lahore—all these are big cities and are, therefore, influenced by the West.

I then thought of a story. It was in French and was translated for me by an Anglo-French philosopher. He was an unselfish man. He befriended me without having known me because he al-

ways sided with the minorities. I was not then in my own country. I was not only in a hopeless minority but in a despised minority if the Europeans in South Africa will forgive me for saying so. I was a *coolie* lawyer. At that time we had no *coolie* doctors, we had no *coolie* lawyers. I was the first in the field. You know perhaps what is meant by the word *coolie*.

This friend—his mother was a French woman and his father an Englishman—said: "I want to translate for you a French story. There were three scientists who went out from France in search of truth. They went to different parts of Asia. One of them found his way to India. He began to search. He went to the so-called cities of those times—naturally this was before British occupation, before even the Moghul period. He saw the so-called high caste people, men and women, till he felt at a loss. Finally, he went to a humble cottage in a humble village. That cottage was a *bhangi* cottage and there he found the truth that he was in search of."

If you really want to see India at its best, you have to find it in the humble *bhangi* homes of such villages. There are 7,00,000 of such villages and 38 crores of people inhabit them.

If some of you see the villages, you will not be fascinated by the sight. You will have to scratch below the dung heap. I do not pretend to say that they were ever places of paradise. Today they are really dung heaps. They were not like that before. What I speak is not from history but from what I have seen myself. I have travelled from one end of India to the other and have seen the miserable specimens of humanity with lustreless eyes. They are India. In these humble cottages, in the midst of these dung heaps, are to be found the humble *bhangis* in whom you find the concentrated essence of wisdom.

Again, I have learnt from books—books written by English historians. We read books written in English by English historians but we do not write in our own mother tongue or in the national language Hindustani. We study our history through English books rather than through the originals. That is the cultural conquest which India has undergone.

Stating that wisdom had come to the West from the East, Gandhiji said: The first of these wise men was Zoroaster. He belonged to the East. He was followed by Buddha who belonged to the East—India. Who followed Buddha? Jesus, who came from the East. Before Jesus was Moses who belonged to Palestine though he was born in Egypt. After Jesus came Mohammed. I omit my reference to Krishna and Rama and other lights. I do not call them lesser lights but they are less known to the literary world. All the same I do not know a single person in the world to match these men of Asia. And then what happened? Christianity became disfigured when it went to the West. I am sorry to have to say that. I would not talk any further.

I have told you the story in order to make you understand that what you see in the big cities is not the real India. Certainly, the carnage that is



going on before our very eyes is a shameful thing. As I said yesterday, do not carry the memory of that carnage beyond the confines of India.

What I want you to understand is the message of Asia. It is not to be learnt through the Western spectacles or by imitating the atom bomb. If you want to give a message to the West, it must be the message of love and the message of truth. I do not want merely to appeal to your head. I want to capture your heart.

In this age of democracy, in this age of awakening of the poorest of the poor, you can redeliver this message with the greatest emphasis. You will complete the conquest of the West not through vengeance because you have been exploited, but with real understanding. I am sanguine if all of you put your hearts together—not merely heads—to understand the secret of the message these wise men of the East have left to us, and if we really become worthy of that great message, the conquest of the West will be completed. This conquest will be loved by the West itself.

The West is today pining for wisdom. It is despairing of a multiplication of the atom bombs, because atom bombs mean utter destruction not merely of the West but of the whole world, as if the prophesy of the Bible is going to be fulfilled and there is to be a perfect deluge. It is up to you to tell the world of its wickedness and sin—that is the heritage your teachers and my teachers have taught Asia.

### Moral Defects of Victory

Apart from moral considerations there is something repulsive in filching the belongings of the dead and dying. Leaving alone chivalry, there is a degradation in depriving the weak when they are down and out and are not in a position to protect their possessions.

A few weeks ago we drew attention to the moral aspect of dismantling the equipment of German industries by the "Victors"—the British and the Americans,—and selling them off, and also to the greed involved in snatching away their patent rights.

Now comes the corresponding news that the United States Government has decided to allow 30% of all removable Japanese equipment to the British.

Is there no limit to the extent to which avarice will lower human dignity and self-respect?

All this in the name of "reparations"! These are some of the moral defects of victory.

J. C. K.

### CLIVE TO KENYES

(A Survey of the History of our Public Debts and Credits)

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## THE DELHI INTERLUDE

1-4-'47

There was a slight disturbance at the prayer meeting in Delhi this evening when an excited Hindu youth took exception to the recitation from the *Quran* in the course of the prayer. Gandhiji stopped the prayer for some time, while the boy was removed from the prayer ground.

Though with the removal of the youth there was no occasion, Gandhiji said, to make any variation in the recital of the whole prayer including the Zoroastrian verses, the *bhajan* and the *Ramadhun*, he wanted to waive the recital and bring home to the youth that his supposed victory was really the loss of the entire audience, who wanted the whole prayer. His act was not only un-Hindu but it was a discourteous breach of the ordinary laws governing meetings. Thoughtless action, such as the youth had indulged in, really promoted ill will resulting in the inhumanities they had witnessed on a progressive scale in Noakhali, Bihar and in the Punjab. It was time, therefore, that the people made a fixed determination to shed all savagery.

Gandhiji went on to say how he had to hang his head in shame in Noakhali when he was told of the cruelties perpetrated on the Muslims in Bihar. And now, as if in answer to Bihar, comes the tragedy of the Punjab. Death, Gandhiji said, was a companion and friend. It was well with those who had died bravely. Whether any died as cowards was immaterial now. They too were gone. But it was the guilty living who were responsible and they were responsible to God. He alone knows the hearts of men.

Gandhiji exhorted the people to shed violence and the law of the jungle. He was in Bihar trying to restore confidence in the Muslims and love in the hearts of the Hindus. He felt that he was succeeding and, if he did, then, all would be well elsewhere too. It was a tragedy that in the India that had fought with the weapons of truth and *ahimsa* for its freedom, there should today be the law of the brute. They were belying all that the Congress had stood for.

Never in history, Gandhiji went on to say, had a ruling power left any dominion of its own free will. This was what the British were trying to do today. It was right to believe that they were honest whatever their past record here had been. But were Indians going to demean themselves by internal warfare? Such action might even lead to the consequence of their asking British troops to remain on Indian soil in order to maintain order. He hoped they would not resort to such madness.

Gandhiji then referred to the Asian Conference then being held. It was a big thing and their jewel, Jawaharlal, was very beloved of the delegates because of his love for them and his dream of a United Asia. Only, however, if India was true to her traditions could she be worthy of the role she



ought to play. It would be cruel to spoil Jawaharlal's dream of a United Asia by internal strife in this land.

Gandhiji concluded his address by saying that there could be no end to strife until and unless they made over their hearts to God. Today he felt that he himself had no following. If he had, then these tragedies would not have happened; but even if all deserted him, he knew God would not and He would direct him in his duty. Only when God reigned in men's hearts would they be able to shed their anger.

2-4-'47

Gandhiji did not hold his prayer meeting this evening also because two or three persons objected to the recitation from the *Quran*.

When Gandhiji was about to start the prayer, he asked the audience if there was anyone present who intended objecting to the recitation from the *Quran*, as a person had objected to it the day before. Two or three persons from among the gathering objected to it and asked him on what authority he could recite verses from the *Quran* in a Hindu temple.

Gandhiji said that the temple belonged to the *bhangi* community who did not object to the manner in which he conducted the prayer; and as a *bhangi* he had a right to pray in the temple as he wished. Those who objected to the recitation from the *Quran* were neither *bhangis* nor would they like to become *bhangis*.

Although most of the people assured him of their willingness to hear the prayer, Gandhiji refused to conduct the prayer and said that he would again concede victory to the few objectors. But this certainly was not a victory for the Hindu religion. Gandhiji added that the next day he would again ask the same question and await a reply.

When one man referred to the sufferings of the Hindus in the Punjab, Gandhiji said that hot words could not wipe the tears of the Punjab and added that whatever power he had was dedicated to the service of sufferers in the Punjab, Bihar and Noakhali.

3-4-'47

Gandhiji abandoned his prayer this evening also when a few members of the audience objected to the recitation from the *Quran*. He advised the audience to disperse peacefully after observing a few minutes' silence and said that prayer was for remembering God and for purifying the heart and could be offered even when observing silence.

Before starting the prayers Gandhiji stated that he had received a letter asking him either to discontinue recitations from the *Quran* or leave the Valmiki Temple (where he is staying). He asked the people present if there was any one among them who objected to the recitation of verses from the *Quran*. When a number of people raised their hands and said that they would not allow him to pray if verses from the *Quran* were recited, Gandhiji decided not to hold the prayers.

In the course of his speech, Gandhiji asked the audience if they had understood the beauty and truth of what had been said the previous day. He said that he was not one to refrain from doing what he held to be his duty, but his non-violence dictated that even if a boy objected to his holding the prayer meeting, he should refrain from doing so. But this should in no way be interpreted as cowardice. He did not hold the prayers in order to prevent argument and violence. Violence, he said, was the work of the devil and all his life he had fought against it.

Gandhiji added that he would ask those who were against his holding the prayer meeting not to come or if they did, they should come by themselves and kill him if they wanted to. Even if he was killed, Gandhiji said, he would not give up repeating the names of Rama and Rahim, which meant to him the same God. With these names on his lips he would die cheerfully.

If he refrained from repeating the names of Rama and Rahim how could he, Gandhiji asked, face the Hindus of Noakhali and the Muslims of Bihar?

He asked those who wanted the prayer to be held not to entertain anger or malice towards the obstructionists but to pity them. Anger and desire for revenge were no service to Hinduism, he said.

When the two sections of the audience began to quarrel among themselves as he was about to go away, Gandhiji addressed the crowd for about fifteen minutes standing. He said that anger would lead them nowhere. They should think how best they could heal the wounds of the Punjab, and not abuse anybody, as this was against their religion.

4-4-'47

Gandhiji commenced by asking whether there were any objectors today on the prayer ground. A member of the Hindu Mahasabha asked to be allowed to say a few words of apology for the occurrences of the last three days. He wished to dissociate himself and fellow members from this behaviour. The prayer ground was not the place for disagreement. If they had to fight any issue with Gandhiji, they should do so outside. He appealed to the audience to be quiet and let the prayer proceed without let or hindrance.

There was only one person who objected to the prayers with the verse from the *Quran Sharif* being held in a Hindu temple. Gandhiji said that that was an objection which only the Harijans of that place could raise. The objectionist then withdrew his objection. The Harijans of the place, Gandhiji proceeding said, were sad at the happenings of the last three days. They were his younger brothers. He was a *bhangi* and it was the duty of a true *bhangi* and therefore a true Hindu to cleanse not only the dirt of the body but also all the pollution of the mind and the spirit. The true Hindu saw Truth in every religion. The essence of the *Quran* verse was found in every religion.

Gandhiji told them how friends from Rawalpindi had today come and narrated all the atrocities that had been perpetrated there. They wanted his



service and his help and guidance. They could not understand the objection raised here to the recital of the *Quran* verse. Even Muslims had never stopped the holding of prayers even though some of them objected to the recital of the verse in question.

The *Vedas*, Gandhiji said, were from time immemorial. So were the *Upanishads*. But they were imperfectly known. Any impurities that had crept in any of the scriptures were due to the fact that they were written many years later. The Hindu religion was a great religion and had infinite toleration in it and powers of absorption. God was everywhere as the Harijan woman saint told her young questioner. He was the ruler of men's hearts. He only wanted single-minded worship in whatsoever form it be and whatsoever language. It was, therefore, wholly un-Hindu and irreligious to object to the great verse from the *Quran Sharif* being recited.

The full prayer was then held. After the prayer Gandhiji addressed the gathering again.

He said that it had hurt him much to think that on three days they had not been able to hold the prayer and hundreds had been disappointed because of the unenlightened objection of a few. But, if prayer had been in their hearts, they really had not missed the worship. He himself was grateful to the objectors because they had given him ample opportunity for heart searching. He had asked himself whether, because he had not been able to calm them, there was anything against them in his heart. If they had understood the inner meaning of the *bhajan* sung that day, they should have understood that it was right for them to take everything that came from God as a gift. Gandhiji felt glad that he had gone through the test. Even if three or four had said that they would kill him for saying Rama and Rahim in the same breath, he hoped he would die smiling with those very names on his lips.

Gandhiji went on to say how in Noakhali it was difficult to have the *Ramadhun* but there too he was able to continue his customary worship. All would be well if there was no anger or malice in their hearts. How could it be a sin to chant God's name in Arabic? Gandhiji implored them not to degrade Hinduism by not understanding their immortal scriptures. Everyone should be at liberty to pray as he liked.

Some people imagined that he was engaged in big tasks here and had forgotten the suffering areas. God alone knew how his heart wept and what agony he suffered at the madness the people had indulged in in Noakhali, Bihar and now in the Punjab. He assured them that he was working for those areas wherever he was, even in his talks with the Viceroy. There was no bigger task for him than to strive for Hindu-Muslim unity. He could not serve India if he forgot Noakhali, Bihar or the Punjab. He claimed to be a servant of God. He neither ate nor drank nor did anything else except at God's bidding. They would, perhaps, understand his work better in the fullness of time. Meantime he must continue his duty wherever God took him.

5-1-'47

Before commencing the prayer, Gandhiji again asked whether there was anyone amongst the gathering who would rather that he did not conduct the customary prayer. There were no objectors and Gandhiji was glad. He reminded them once again of the folly of looking upon one religion as better than another. The recent happenings were due, he was sure, to the atmosphere of hate that pervaded the land today. If they remained calm in the midst of the storm, then only would they grow in strength. He reminded them of how Maulana Mohammed Ali, in the good old days of the Khilafat movement when the Hindu and the Muslim fought side by side, had said that their mightiest weapon was the *charkha* and their most potent bullets the cones of yarn which they span. Gandhiji had pointed out that the Congress could only join the Khilafat movement if they would fight non-violently and the condition had been gladly accepted in the name of *Allah*. It was the result of that non-violent fight that India was today on the threshold of independence.

Gandhiji went on to remind the audience that the next day was the beginning of the National Week. He related how the thought of a 24 hours' fast had come to him one night in a dream, how he had consulted Rajaji whose guest he then was in Madras, how the idea had appealed to the latter, how notices had been issued at once and what a widespread and hearty response there had been to the call. He had never dreamt that the country had been so awakened, and by the country he meant not the few cities of India but the seven lakhs of villages where the vast mass of Indian humanity lived. Gandhiji appealed to the audience to respond to the call once again but only if they understood its implications. The fast was undertaken in those days for the sake of vindicating Swaraj through Hindu-Muslim unity, and the *charkha*, etc. Today alas! all that the Congress tricolour stood for, viz. Hindu-Muslim-Sikh unity and the *charkha* were nowhere to be found except in his humble hut. He, however, asked the assemblage, in any event, to contemplate on what internal strife meant, to forgive and forget what had happened and to bear no malice in their hearts for all the tragic and bestial happenings of Noakhali, Bihar and the Punjab. He still believed more strongly than ever that the spinning wheel was the truest symbol of non-violence. It was the one thing that never failed through its music to give solace to the mind and soothe the troubled heart. If, therefore, they truly desired to extinguish the volcano of hatred that was that day pouring out its poisonous lava, he hoped they would join him in fasting in the true spirit. The fast signified much more than processions and flag-hoisting ceremonies.

The whole of India, Gandhiji said, could be a Pakistan if they looked upon every fellow Indian as a brother. If Hindustan meant a land only for the Hindus and Pakistan only for the Muslims, Pakistan and Hindustan would then be lands flowing with



poison. The land of his dreams, he said, was a land watered by rivers of love.

Gandhiji then made a moving reference to Deenabandhu Andrews whose death anniversary fell on April 5th. Such a friend of India needed no special reference from him for his memory was ever green. He was an Indian at heart and nevertheless a true Englishman.

In conclusion, Gandhiji said that he had received a letter, which he would release to the press, from the *Rashtriya Seva Sangha*, that they had had nothing to do with the raising of objections to the prayer on the three previous days. He was glad to hear that and believed it. No organization could protect life or religion if it did not work absolutely in the open.

6-4-'47

Addressing the prayer gathering, Gandhiji drew their attention to the lovely Bengali *bhajan* to which they had been treated that evening as also to the *Ramadhun* which included the names of both Rama and Rahim, Krishna and Karim. As these were being sung, he said, the vistas of Noakhali came before his eyes. That *bhajan* was often sung there. Sometimes it was sung and the *Ramadhun* chanted as they walked from village to village.

The day was the first day of the National Week—a day of fasting and prayer. There was sacrificial spinning also from 3 p. m. to 4 p. m. in which the Congress President and his wife and Jawaharlalji and other leaders took part. The fast would soon be broken but how good it would be, said Gandhiji, if the names of Rama and Rahim and the message of the *bhajan* were engraved in their hearts for all time as a result of that day's rededication. He went on to say how some abused him, how some thought he had grown too big even to reply to their letters and how others accused him of enjoying himself in Delhi while the Punjab was in flames. How could these persons understand that he was working day and night for them wherever he was? He could not dry their tears. God alone could do that, but he would go at once to the Punjab when the call came. It grieved him to sense the existing hatred and spirit of revenge and warned them that unless they calmed and purified their hearts, they would light such a fire throughout the land as would consume them all. He reminded them of the story of the *Mahabharata* which was not a history of India but of man. It was the story of the fight between the worshippers of Rama, the embodiment of good and Ravana, the embodiment of evil. They fought—the Pandavas and the Kauravas—blood-brothers, and what was the result? While evil was certainly defeated only seven of the victors remained to tell the tale. This, said Gandhiji, was the state of the country today.

He made a touching reference to the brave old Nationalist Muslim Khwaja Abdul Majid, who had come to see him that day. Would that those good old days when heart-unity between the Hindus

and the Muslims existed returned! Today in Bihar Nationalist Muslims had been killed by the Hindus and Hindu friends of Islam had been done to death by Muslims.

Gandhiji exhorted the audience to pause and think where they were drifting. He begged of the Hindus not to harbour anger in their hearts against the Muslims even if the latter wanted to destroy them. None should fear death. Death was inevitable for every human being. But if they died smiling, they would enter into a new life—they would create a new Hindustan. The second chapter of the *Gita* described in its ending *shlokas* how the God-fearing man should live and move and have his being. He wanted them to read, mark, learn and inwardly digest the meaning of every one of those *shlokas*. They would then realize what their ideals were and how far short of them they had fallen today. On the eve of independence it was their duty to ask themselves whether they were fit to have it and sustain it.

## NOTES

### Harijan Bastis

A correspondent informs us that a friend, who attended a dinner in the Harijan quarters in honour of a worker among Harijans, was not allowed to enter his rented house in the caste locality by some neighbours—*Vaishyas* and *Brahmans*. The friend had to find asylum in the house of a Congress worker elsewhere.

It is suggested that the provincial governments should now allocate sites within the caste village for Harijans for residential purposes and should not continue the present system of segregating Harijans to a special locality.

We quite agree with the sentiments. In matters of this kind public opinion should influence Government action. The case cited should impel every one who has the cause of the Harijans at heart to develop the necessary outlook.

### Living Soil Associations

While India is building fertilizer factories Australia is forming Living Soil Associations to restore the fertility of soils that have been drained of humus and to educate the public to appreciate the value of humus in soil conservation.

Plants grown with compost manure are said to be more disease resistant and animals fed on them show considerable immunity to common ills, and human food drawn from such sources is conducive to health and confer immunity to sickness.

J. C. K.

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# HARIJAN

Editor: PYARELAL

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TWO ANNAS

## GANDHIJI'S BIHAR TOUR DIARY

14-4-'47

In the course of his post-prayer speech at Bankipur *maidan* this evening Gandhiji said that he had heard disquieting news from Noakhali. Satis Babu and also Haran Babu had both informed him about the rapidly deteriorating situation, giving facts and figures. If what he had heard proved to be true, he might have to fast, since by going to Bihar while his work in Noakhali was still unfinished he had earned the right of fasting against misdeeds in Noakhali. That did not, however, mean that fasting was a certainty. He, however, felt bound to hint at the possibility.

Gandhiji also referred to his talks with the Viceroy at Delhi and said that both in public and private conversations the Viceroy declared that he was going to be the last Viceroy of India, and that also only up to June 30, 1948.

Gandhiji felt that the Viceroy was honest in his profession. The British were already preparing for transfer of power. Gandhiji felt that he realized that the transfer of power must be peaceful if Britain was to escape the charge that, during her reign of more than a century she had brought up nothing but fight among ourselves. It was a sad sight that while freedom was almost within their grasp they were fighting among themselves. All the important members of the Congress, whether in the Interim Government or outside it, were trying their best to grasp freedom and to establish peace in the country, freeing it from at least the major portion of the evils of the old order.

15-4-'47

After the prayer Gandhiji said that while he was in Delhi he received letters from Bihar, some couched in thoughtless language, some in the language of praise and a few expressing doubt if he was ever returning to Bihar to finish his work. The last needed no reply. Praise was wholly unnecessary for one doing one's duty as he was doing his. He, however, singled out one letter which he thought was based on pure ignorance. It doubted the wisdom of the speaker leaving his work in Noakhali and coming to Bihar at the instance of Dr. Syed Mahmud and daring to accept his hospitality.

The critic forgot that Dr. Mahmud was Gandhiji's friend and that he had known Dr. Mahmud's father-in-law before he knew the late Brij Kishore Prasad of revered memory or Dr. Rajendra Prasad. In his opinion Dr. Mahmud had rendered a service to the Hindus and the Muslims of Bihar by bringing

him to Bihar. For, if Bihar remained sane in the midst of possible madness throughout India, Bihar would raise India in the estimation of the world and leave to the world a singular example of sanity in the midst of surrounding insanity. This he had a right to expect by right of service and more so because the Bihar Hindus, however illiterate they might be, were votaries of Rama, the incarnation of all the good in the world. Although evil seemed at times to rule the world, the eternal truth was that the world lived so long as goodness resided even in one person. Evil was naught. If Bihar remained good in the midst of temptation, it was well with it, and well with the whole of India.

The insinuation that there was a sinister motive behind drawing him away from Noakhali, namely that the Noakhali Muslims might be free from his (Gandhiji's) restraining influence, was so flimsy to bear examination. For, if he succeeded wholly in Bihar, it was as impossible for very shame that the Noakhali Muslims should go mad.

At the end Gandhiji announced that the heat was too great for him to stand the strain of motoring extensively and working the whole day. He found it necessary to have frequent intervals of rest if he was to go through a fair amount of work. And he had ample to do in Patna. Incidentally he mentioned that he would try each evening to cover important points of interest to the public.

16-4-'47

Gandhiji referred to a statement which he had signed at the suggestion of the Viceroy while he was in Delhi. The act had the consent of Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru and other members of the Working Committee. Qaid-e-Azam Jinnah had also signed it. The terms of the document were:

"We deeply deplore the recent acts of lawlessness and violence that have brought the utmost disgrace on the fair name of India and greatest misery to innocent people, irrespective of who were the aggressors and who were the victims.

"We denounce for all time the use of force to achieve political ends, and we call upon all the communities of India, to whatever persuasion they may belong, not only to refrain from all acts of violence and disorder, but also to avoid both in speech and writing, any word which might be construed as an incitement to such acts."

So far as his signature was concerned it had no value for he had never believed in violence. But it was significant that Qaid-e-Azam Jinnah had signed it. If the spirit of the appeal was adhered to by the signatories, and there was no reason why it



should not be, they could hope that all the trouble and bloodshed would cease. It might be that they would now enable him to leave Bihar and do other work.

They might well ask why his signature was taken and not of the members of the Working Committee or of the Congress President. He could not go into the matter. He confessed that he represented nobody but himself. Nevertheless, the signatures laid a heavy responsibility on both of them. He had not signed the appeal only on behalf of any one community. It meant assuming responsibility for all communities. He claimed that all religions were equal. A similar claim could be advanced on the Qaid-e-Azam's behalf since the appeal was issued not only to one community but to all the communities. And there was a time when Jinnah Sahab had a high position in the Congress.

The Viceroy should be congratulated on bringing about the unique document. No doubt it would have been better if such a document had been signed as between the Congress and the League without any outsider's intervention. He hoped, however, that there would now be cooperation between the two bodies.

17-4-'47

At the prayer meeting today Gandhiji drew attention to the fact that for the sake of the Muslim friends who wished to join the prayers—and the day had grown longer—the prayer time was advanced by fifteen minutes. He also warned those who were inclined to laugh at the selections from the *Quran* and other scriptures against the practice. They ought to cultivate the same regard for other religions that they had for their own. Not to do so was to belittle one's own faith and expose it to attacks from without.

After the prayer he referred to the visits he had from Muslim friends who complained to him that in and about Bihar Sharif and Monghyr things were not quite favourable to the return of the refugees. If the information was correct, he was very sorry. The heat was so oppressive that he had not the heart to undertake arduous travelling during the hot weather but he would have no other recourse if the Hindus in those places had not the spirit of repentance and did not resume their friendliness towards their Muslim neighbours, no matter how few they were. It was suggested to him that arms should be issued to the Muslims who were in fear of their Hindu neighbours. Those who made such suggestions did not know him. He would not issue any license to the Muslims or to the Hindus for the purpose of self-defence. It was a sign of barbarity. He would even take away the arms from those who had them already. Their arms were a living faith in God and a stout heart born of that faith.

He had also a visit from the *zamindars* who, among other things, had complained of growing lawlessness among the peasantry and labour. He deplored the fact. It was a blot on the fair name of Bihar. Such lawlessness was criminal and was bound to involve the very peasantry and labour in

ruin, let alone the *zamindars* who were after all a mere handful. He fervently hoped that the lesson of the past thirty years in the virtue of non-violence would not be lost upon the people of Bihar. He was quite prepared to say for the sake of argument that the *zamindars* were guilty of many crimes and of omissions and commissions. But that was no reason for the peasant and the labourer who were the salt of the earth to copy crime. If salt lost its savour wherewith could it be salted?

18-4-'47

Gandhiji said in his post-prayer speech that he was told that he had done an injustice to the peasants and the labourers in his remarks of the previous evening. He was further told that it was the *zamindars* who continued the old coercive policy. Wherever the truth lay, his remarks were based on the assumption that what he was told was true. The *kisans* had a rich experience of non-violent *satyagraha* when their amazing restraint brought about the end of a century-old wrong in the shape of the indigo grievance and planters' *raj* in Champaran. He hoped they would not forget the lesson of that rich experience.

To the landlords he said that if what was said against them was true, he would warn them that their days were numbered. They could no longer continue as lords and masters. They had a bright future if they became the trustees of the poor *kisans*. He had in mind not trustees in name but in reality. Such trustees would take nothing for themselves that their labour and care did not entitle them to. Then they would find that no law would be able to touch them. The *kisans* would be their friends.

He next referred to the complaint he had received about a punitive tax that was levied. He felt that the State had no other alternative if the people would not give up the criminals. Nor could the State carry out mass arrests where hundreds and thousands were involved in shameful crimes. Punitive tax was then the only remedy. The only way by which the people could render the punitive tax unnecessary was to repent and undo the wrong done by voluntary labour and contributions. They should also approach the injured Muslims and request them to go back to their homes. They should assure them that they would regard them as their dear ones.

19-4-'47

After the usual prayers Gandhiji in his remarks referred to two letters he had received: one from the Punjab from a lady known to him and the other a very well written letter from a Bihari who had chosen not to give his address and probably had given an assumed name. Both were friendly letters but written in anger. They had lost faith in *ahimsa* and practically advised retirement and save the speaker's good name which he had earned by his service. These friends did not know the virtue of *ahimsa*. His dream was not that some persons, the soldiers and the police, should save their honour, but every man and woman should



be the custodian of his or her own honour. This was possible only under the rule of *ahimsa* and no other. He was never tired of repeating that the highest form of bravery was to be expressed through *ahimsa*. The people of Bihar had before them the example of the *ahimsa* of the indigo-growing peasants of Champaran who were able to bring to an end a century old wrong.

Gandhiji then dealt with *khadi*. He said that during the next four or five days he would be having meetings of the All India Spinners' Association and the Hindustani Talimi Sangh. He was not, therefore, going to see local people in connection with the Bihar disturbances. He would have to talk to them of *khadi* which above all was responsible for an India-wide activity in the villages of India. He made bold to say that without the constructive activity of which *khadi* or the *charkha* was the centre, the awakening of the villages would not have been possible. He reminded the audience how under the late Jinnah's inspiration an All India Khadi Board was established during his incarceration and how it was turned into the All India Spinners' Association with an autonomous charter from the Congress and how it had distributed several crores of rupees among men and women of India's numerous villages. *Khadi* had easily become the symbol of non-violence. The truth of *khadi* had been so firmly fixed in their minds that the spinning wheel had found a place on the much-prized tri-colour flag. *Khadi* had been happily described by Pandit Nehru as the livery of India's freedom. Though as an article of clothing it belonged as well to the harlot as to the chaste woman, for the nation its association was undoubtedly with the pure and the non-violent. If therefore *khadi* had not found an abiding place in all the villages of India, as the President of the Association he had no hesitation in accepting the blame on behalf of himself and his fellow trustees. Their devotion to the cause was not as full as it should have been, their knowledge of the science of *khadi*, its technique, was not as deep as it should have been, nor were the *tapashcharya* and sacrifice adequate to the occasion. Therefore, whilst much was done much more was still to be done before *khadi* could take its supreme place in the foundation of Swaraj to be.

20-4-47

After the prayers Gandhiji reverted to the subject of *khadi* and announced that the Charkha Sangh had acceded to the proposal of Shri Laxmi Babu and his colleagues that they should be wholly independent of the material support of the Sangh while keeping its purely moral authority. Gandhiji said that if he was the Prime Minister of Bihar and had to select the members of his Government, the latter would stop all new mills and would expect those already established in Bihar to sell all their manufactures at controlled rates outside India and thus gain for Bihar the estimation of the world for generosity. For, there was shortage of cloth everywhere in the world. He would prevent with the consent of people the sale of mill-cloth in Bihar. Fortunately

or unfortunately for Bihar he was not its Prime Minister. Nevertheless, such was the ambition of the Charkha Sangh in acceding to Laxmi Babu's proposal. The expectation was that Laxmi Babu and his colleagues by reason of their independence of the Sangh could be better able to push forth their *khadi* programme and make it so popular that Bihar would become wholly independent of mill-cloth. He held that this was quite possible if the people of Bihar gave their whole-hearted cooperation. The villages of Bihar would hum with the soothing music of the *charkha* and the loom. They would bring vitality to the villages of Bihar. *Khadi* would cease to be an article of commerce. The cities like Patna would also be manufacturing their own *khadi*. The children of the schools and the students of the colleges would gladly and religiously set apart a certain portion of their time daily for this very necessary constructive work. The city women would equally be expected to do no less. With diligence and will, they would become self-supporting in the matter of *khadi*. Then and then only would *khadi* find its natural place in the economy of the nation. The drudgery of the mill would give place to the joy of creation in their homes and schools. Gandhiji drew attention to the fact that whereas the mills needed to import machinery and even skill, to an extent, from outside, all the parts required for the *charkha* and the loom and the required skill were to be found in their villages. He wished, therefore, that the new experiment would find favour with the people of Bihar. It was in that hope that Laxmi Babu and his co-workers had approached their labour of love.

## STORY HOUR

(Continued from Vol XI, No. 9, Page 103)

[The following is from Samuel Smiles' *Character* (John Murray). — V. G. D.]

### XII

"In those days the lands were tilled by the hands even of generals, the soil exulting beneath a plough-share crowned with laurels, and guided by a husbandman graced with triumphs."

Pliny's *Natural History*

### XIII

In the course of a conversation with Madame Campan, Napoleon remarked: "The old systems of instruction seem to be worth nothing; what is yet wanting in order that the people should be properly educated?" "MOTHERS", replied Madame Campan. The reply struck the Emperor, "Yes," said he, "here is a system of education in one word. Be it your care, then, to train up mothers who shall know how to educate their children."

AIME' MARTIN

### XIV

Once at St. Helena, when walking with Mrs. Balcombe, some servants came along carrying a load. The lady in an angry tone ordered them out of the way, on which Napoleon interposed, saying, "Respect the burden, madame".



# HARIJAN

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1947

## INCREASING PRODUCTION

The keynote of the Presidential speech of Seth B. L. Jalan at the Marwari Chamber of Commerce, Calcutta, is 'increasing production' and 'improving the standard of living of the masses in the country'. These two phrases are being bandied about at every convenient occasion. They were largely in evidence in Pandit Jawaharlal's speech also at the Manufacturers' Association meeting recently. But what these phrases mean is hardly ever defined. These words are, therefore, little more than slogans to capture the imagination of the unwary and to convince the unthinking public which is generally carried away by much talking.

In a country where people are starving and where there is not enough cloth to go round, these phrases should carry the meaning of providing at least the mere necessities of the people—food and clothing. Our effort should, therefore, be directed towards giving two meals a day where one cannot be obtained today. And our effort should be to enable the people to be clad at least against the weather if not to satisfy their aesthetic sense.

Seth Jalan appears to be more concerned with developing his industries than with the needs of the people, for he goes on to say, 'if India is to develop her industries on a permanent footing, the Government must follow a policy of export drive even though we might have to suffer some privation for some time,' and he states that his firm conviction is that the industrial development of India cannot be put on a sound footing unless the products of Indian industries are exported abroad. He recommends our Government to base their 'proposals on the principles of an expansionist policy of production advocated by Lord Keynes,—'the more you eat of the cake the larger it becomes.' He believes that the social objectives of the Finance Member can be fulfilled only by such a policy. We are glad that he has confessed openly Lord Keynes to be his *guru*. And the hope that 'the more you eat of the cake the larger it becomes' however absurd it may seem to the common sense of us ordinary mortals, it can easily be made feasible by these demigods who eat the cake no doubt, but the cake is not theirs but others'. Herein lies the secret of this apparent miracle. Of course if they merely ate other people's cake, their own cake ought to remain constant. But the method of doing this is generally to bite off from the other people's cake a larger piece than you can eat. That of course makes their cake grow larger.

### PRODUCTION OR DESTRUCTION?

In a previous article we had pointed out that the methods adopted by the recent types of large-scale industries have been anything but progressive. And also we had shown instances to indicate how they were using Science to destroy rather than

create. This being so, it would be well to examine the proposition: how to increase production? When we, with the help of rice mills, produce unwholesome polished rice, can we call it increasing production? Is it not destruction of the production of the paddy by the farmer? Similarly, when sugar mills produce white sugar from sugar-cane juice and thus provide a less nutritive product, and perhaps, devitalize the wholesome juice of the sugar-cane, again would we be using the term 'increasing production' correctly? Is this also not an instance of destruction of nature's gifts? There can be an increase in production over what is found in nature if man's efforts result in an increase not only quantitatively but also qualitatively. When a farmer sows a seed and reaps a hundredfold because of his effort, we are justified in saying that the farmer has increased production. But when we look around at most of the efforts of the mill owners and measure their output and compare it with nature's generous gifts we can only say that the machines have been utilized by man for destruction rather than production, much less for increased production.

### SHIFTING CROPS

In Bihar and in large sections of the U. P. thousands of acres have been brought under cultivation of sugar-cane. Formerly these lands were not waste lands. If they had been waste lands and the sugar-cane was an addition to the general production, we would be justified in calling it an increase of production. Before the advent of sugar-cane cultivation Biharis used their lands for rice cultivation and consumed hand pounded wholesome rice; but now the crops have been shifted with the result that they cultivate sugar-cane and are dependent on Burma for their rice. And Burmese rice comes polished—that means all the nutrition is removed as in pure starch. However much the sugar-cane crop may have been increasing the bank balances of the mill owners, can we, by any stretch of imagination, lay claim to having increased production when we drive the masses of people from the nutritive rice of their own cultivation to devitalized polished rice imported from outside? This shifting of crops from food to raw materials for mills is not only a disservice to the country but is injurious to the health of the people. It is not "increasing production" when we are shifting the crops from food to long staple cotton for the mills and tobacco and groundnut for export. At best it can be said to be pilfering and not production. This is the kind of increase that has been taking place in the country and which has led to considerable distress to the people in meeting their primary needs.

In the same way, in Malabar the former rice lands have been converted into cocoanut groves and these cocoanut groves are producing cocoanuts not for human consumption but for oil for soap mills. Is producing *Lux* soap in however large a quantity, an increase of production when this is done at the cost of the people's staple food? The people who were formerly cultivating rice are at present being given polished rice imported from



Brazil. Hence in the final analysis the mill owners' efforts have resulted in the provision of Brazilian polished rice to the people who were once eating wholesome unpolished rice of their own production and converted those rice lands into producing raw material for soap-making. Is this increased production? And is this striving to raise the standard of living of the masses? We can well see that the mill owners have eaten some cake and at the same time the stock of the cake has increased. But what is the state of the common people?

When crops have been shifted deliberately from the production of staple food to raw materials for luxury goods is it any wonder that the country is facing famine after famine? If we really strive for greater production, our endeavours should have by now brought us to a more satisfactory supply of our primary needs. But when we look around we find confirmation of the observation of Seth Jalan that "the country today is suffering from the acutest shortage of food. It is an irony of fate that India which is primarily an agricultural country is now dependent upon imports of food stuffs to feed her population." Should we wonder at this stage? Seth Jalan has unconsciously confessed the truth. The fact cannot be belied and the deduction that our efforts, such as they have been, have resulted in decreased production cannot be missed.

#### STANDARD OF LIVING

In a country suffering from unemployment and underemployment even the method of production should be such as to solve this great problem. Methods we have adopted so far of "increasing production" have invariably led to increased unemployment. What is known in Western countries as labour-saving devices can be better expressed as labour-displacing devices, or in other words, devices for creating unemployment. In resorting to these large-scale methods of production, the millowners have adversely affected the standard of living of the masses. Our famines are becoming perennial even at times when nature's contributions have been generous. Is this not an indication that with all this much talk of increasing the standard of living, we are really lowering the standard of existence?

Pandit Jawaharlal expresses the hope that the "industrial progress and the prosperity of the 400 million people are inter-related, that he does not want any industrial development if the 400 million people are going to be in a bad way, and that progress must bring progress to all the people and not to a few chosen ones." "We have to think of it in terms of the masses of this country." We invite the attention of Panditji to the facts of the case for increased production that have been stated above, and we would like him to consider whether we can increase production of the type he envisages by centralized methods of production in consumption goods. Let him take stock of the increased distress that has come to our land in the wake of our efforts put out in that direction in the past.

We are all one with Panditji when he wants to advance the cause of the masses and strives for the progress of the country. But we would submit

to him that this must be done scientifically, not merely to satisfy the greed for acquisition of wealth for a few. So far as we have seen, science has been harnessed not for production but for destruction. In the Interim Government the Finance Member the Hon'ble Mr. Liaquat Ali Khan has enunciated a sound proposition of social objectives and he has indicated to his colleagues how courage may be taken in both hands and how the cause of the masses of the people could be advanced. We trust this leadership will have its effect on the whole Government.

J. C. KUMARAPPA

#### JETTISONING OF THE BALLAST

The Madras Government dropped their pilot-Prakasam not so long ago. Now comes the news that the items on his programme are being abandoned one by one. We are sorry to note that the Minister for Agriculture is throwing overboard certain of the schemes to procure and distribute food stuffs under the plea that these schemes have not the full consent and willing cooperation of the people and it is also decided not to proceed with the Estates and Revenue Bill which declared that the ryot was the owner of the soil and not the *zamindar*. Again under some plea or the other the programme for the introduction of producer-cum-consumer cooperative societies for dealing in food grains and other essential village articles are being abandoned in favour of the middleman. All these steps appear to us as definitely retrogressive. It looks as though the vested interests are asserting themselves. Has the Madras Ministry no social objective but that of drifting before the vocally strong?

While the Madras Ministry is giving reasons why it should abandon multi-purpose cooperative societies, their colleague Dr. K. N. Katju of the U. P. Government is giving strong reasons why he should push on with the same scheme on a much wider scale in every village so as to concentrate attention on better farming, dairying, spinning of yarn, and marketing of the articles produced. It is a strange sight that the so-called Congress Governments should be pulling in different directions in the different provinces. Naturally we are justified in our conclusion that the branches are not receiving sap from the same trunk and whims and fancies and local influence seem to carry the day.

If we are to serve the masses, such service can only be in one direction and requires the cooperative efforts of all concerned. Hence, we hope that the newly formed Constructive Programme Committee of the A. I. C. C. will provide the needed coordination unit for all the different provincial ministries. We have difficult oceans to cross and storms to weather. The ship of State with the Congress at its helm cannot afford to lose its ballast at the very commencement if we do mean to weather the storm that seems to be lowering heavily over us from all directions. Let us, therefore, read the signs of the times and prepare ourselves as a team to work for the people of the land. In such a programme alone lies the strength and safety of the Congress.

J. C. KUMARAPPA



## ONE WORLD, ONE PROBLEM

Suffering unites the world in a queer way. It often tars the globe with one brush. Leprosy affords an illustration of this truth. All over the world there is the same neglect of the human needs of the leprosy patient and a superstitious dread of the disease. It is worth pondering why in a world of enlightenment and boasted progress, people should regard leprosy as they did thousands of years ago when the only surgeon known was the crude barber. Ignorance and prejudice perhaps account a great deal for the situation; but there is a deeper reason: man's failure in fellowship. The appeal of leprosy is essentially an appeal to the conscience of Man.

Below are given extracts from letters by correspondents living in countries where leprosy is a serious problem.

From Rizal, Philippines, writes Josephine Guerrero who, a patient herself, lives in the Novaliches Leprosarium "under the triple inspiration of great faith, great courage and great patriotism" trying to cheer up her less brave companions:

"The inside story of the life of the leper in the poor and sadly abandoned leper colony is too full of heartaches, misery and want. First, I want you to know that I am happy to suffer in God's love, for what joy can be greater? It would not be human, however, to tell you that I am never otherwise; nor would it be true. There are moments of unspeakable loneliness, of unexplained longings and yearnings in which one's heart is tried to the core. But I feel that our Lord desires this strange hidden life for me for reasons I shall never know until He calls me Home. So I have made no oblation and only ask that He may give grace and strength enough to follow His will. But my companions are not so easily led like children; I fear many are grown bitter or despairing, futile, helpless, depraved and hateful. The rest are simply apathetic or cynically indifferent. I desire so much to alleviate all this human misery, and wish to be able at least to instil once more the feeling of hope, and to make their lives once more wholesome and bright."

After describing the miserable want prevailing in the colony, this brave heroine writes:

"Medicine: even that is not adequate. We have no laboratories here; we have no sufficient medical help; in short, this is not a hospital, it is a prison and the patients are classed not better than the criminals. They say the government is poor, yet it has funds for everything else. Why? Is it because the world has conspired against the leper? Because once a leper, always a leper? But I am being furious for nothing perhaps. I suppose the lot of the leper is simply like this. Or is it? Or should it be? I want to do something about it. The administration thinks the leper is cursed, that he is hopeless. Is the leper utterly to be blamed if he has learned to take the law in his own hands, has become rebellious, covetous and even repulsive? Living here I have learned that perhaps the blame does not lie wholly on the leper himself. Most of us are completely abandoned even by our families; the rest of us have no family."

Beryl A. Clarke writes from Virgin Islands U. S. A.:

"Out here leprosy seems to be taken for granted. A few people are put in the colony and not much done. On that account I am afraid there is little to tell about the work done here."

Louis A. Moreno from Cuba writes:

"It is only in recent years that our problem has been seriously taken into consideration and the Government at present is attending to it. There are plans to build new dispensaries in other cities and large colonies in the central section of the Island. All this depends upon our Congress granting a special budget."

Joseph L. Hislop writes from Chacachare, Trinidad:

"What I abhor most bitterly is the attitude adopted by the public towards the poor afflicted. Take a case in point where a young man was hounded down by a limb of the law and a doctor, as though he had committed some great crime and sent to the Leprosarium. He rallied with the disease and took treatment. He finally got paroled in three years. I say, this young man with a clean discharge certificate, duly signed by the leprologist as fit, was no danger to the public. He went in search for work and got a job as an oiler on one of the Government-run trains. He did his work well and promotion came his way as fireman, until some one who knew that he was at one time a patient at the Leprosarium reported his case to the General Manager who in turn gave him a laid off ticket for an indefinite period. "Fired in smart"! He got another job and the same fate attended him. He again sought another, this time as a chauffeur to the manager of a theatre. He was doing well until some one again reported to the manager that he was at the leper settlement. When the boss heard that, he flew out of his car and asked the man to get out and paid him off on the spot, and in the haste of paying off this man two twenty dollar bills were mixed in the money. The man not wanting to be dishonest returned the overchange to the manager who refused it on the ground that he was a leper. The young man in his thirties could have stood the torture of the stigma no longer; he committed suicide by hanging himself in his room."

A. H. Pipe of Southern Rhodesia, Africa, writing of the resignation of Dr. B. Moiser O. B. E., writes:

"He left us in mid-April last, after having served here for seventeen years as the sole medical officer, and for most of that time without any European nursing staff and assistance; it was only in his last year that he had the help of a trained nursing sister and also of a welfare sister. This shortage of staff, and lack of response to his continued requests for assistance, together with more adequate accommodation and equipment, were the main reasons for his tendering his resignation." "Dr. Moiser practised the idea of voluntary treatment, with as much freedom, as possible, and was opposed to any form of force or coercion, believing that compulsion always defeated its own object by driving the disease underground. He holds that nowhere in the world can the compulsory system be shown to have stamped out or even



appreciably decreased the incidence of the disease, whereas where voluntary segregation and treatment are encouraged many more cases will and do come forward. In his practice here, the Doctor actually kept the law in the background, having agreed on this point with the Medical Director of that time when he was appointed. In actual fact, there is an Ordinance for "Leprosy Suppression" which is still on the Statute Books of S. Rhodesia, and which, of course, was in force all the time the Doctor was here. But like many another law in this and most other countries, it was administered "benevolently", and was only there if required in exceptional circumstances. Unfortunately, since the Doctor's departure, it has been decided, apparently, to apply the principles of compulsory segregation to Southern Rhodesia, and the position here is now that patients are compelled to come here and to remain here if they are residents or citizens of the Colony. In this respect, the practice now conforms to that of the neighbouring Union.

"It must, however, be admitted that general living conditions here are still considerably better than those at Westfort Institution, near Pretoria. The few Europeans here still have each a separate house or cottage with their own garden, and each is self-contained, whilst the six hundred odd African patients are not herded within barbed-wire, prison-like compounds, as is the case at Pretoria. Admittedly, the native compounds here are old and have served their time and purpose, and require to be replaced by more modern dwellings, but this is a question of a long-term development policy for the Health Department to tackle, when material and labour can be found. The present native quarters consist of six compounds, or large villages, comprising "kimberly" (unburnt) brick and thatched huts, nominally for two patients, but actually, in many cases, owing to present lack of accommodation, having to house as many as four, and in one or two extreme cases, five."

Letters from abroad also speak of new sulphone drugs which promise to give better results than *chaulmoogra* oil. They write enthusiastically of "Hope for the almost hopeless", "Hope reborn" etc. But even a specific cannot alleviate the human misery caused by leprosy if ignorance and fear were not abolished, and if neglect of the leprosy patient was not replaced by intelligent human care. At present it is estimated that only less than five per cent of the world's leprosy patients get any reasonable care and medical treatment. If 95% of the patients do not yet get even the *chaulmoogra* oil, new drugs which are costly and demand administration under controlled conditions will continue for long to be of academic rather than of practical interest, especially in a country like India where the dumb millions of villagers are left without any medical care. Why talk of drugs and treatment if you can't take them to the poor man? And as Perry Burgess, the President of the American Leprosy Foundation asks, "Why cure a man of his disease if he is never permitted during the rest of his life, to leave the prison of public abhorrence

because of ignorance?" Let the clinician find a therapeutic agent. Let the bacteriologist culture the organism of leprosy. Let the investigator and field worker study leprosy in its environment. Let the welfare officer relieve the overburdened psychology and repair the damaged bodies and souls of the patient and restore him to something like a working life. But let each worker, whatever his particular field, be an energetic champion of the truth—the truth about leprosy which alone can release millions of patients from the age-old tyranny of ignorance, fear and prejudice. For leprosy speaks to us with an ancestral voice demanding from the enlightened today the redress of ancient wrongs.

Kasturba Leprosy Work Centre,  
Kandachipuram  
13-4-'47

T. N. JAGADISAN

## A PROHIBITION ANTHOLOGY

[Continued from Vol. X, No. 43, Page 427]

(The author of 19 is the famous discoverer of vitamins, Sir Gowland Hopkins, O. M., ex-President of the Royal Society, Professor of Bio-chemistry, University of Cambridge. I take it from *Alcohol-drinking* by Dr. R. F. Rattray (Cambridge United Temperance Council). — V. G. D.]

19

"Alcohol is not a food. The argument that it has any food value at all is due to the fact that it is oxidized in the body. But citric and tartaric acids are also oxidized in the body, yet nobody would suggest that they are foods. The fact is that the oxidization of alcohol in the body is the result of the body's attempt to get rid of a poison. Alcohol is not a food capable of affording protection from the effects of cold.... One often meets with the implication that.... alcoholic beverages have a nutritional value apart from that supposed to belong to the alcohol they contain. Whisky and other spirits, of course, have none. The lighter wines contain mere traces of sugar, together with very small amounts of gum and glycerine, of negligible nutritive value. In order to obtain, at most, half an ounce of sugar, an intoxicating amount of most wines is required. Coming now to beer, I have, to say the truth, hardly patience to deal with the often suggested and sometimes vaunted nutritional value of that beverage. The claim, when not wholly insincere, is ridiculous. A pint of beer mostly sold today contains some carbohydrate material with a food value equal only to that of about one ounce of bread, but even this material is so much altered by fermentation that we do not know whether it has real value as food. In any case, the cost of an ounce of bread is a very small fraction of a penny, while that of a pint of beer is anything from five pence to eight pence. It is unfair, and even cruel that propaganda, subtle, suggestive and intensive, should endeavour to persuade the worker that his beer makes him more robust and increases the power of his muscles: thus tempting him to increased consumption and helping to salve his conscience when he knows that his expenditure is beyond his means." (*National Temperance Quarterly*)

SIR GOWLAND HOPKINS



## REDDIAR MINISTRY AND KHADI

A recent press report from Madras states that the Reddiar Ministry has set apart certain funds for the improvement of the *charkha*. To be frank, this announcement is not at all encouraging. Whatever may have been the other drawbacks of the Prakasam Ministry, it had certainly given a very bold lead to the country in regard to the Gandhian type of economic planning. There may also have been a few gaps in the details of Mr. Prakasam's textile policy. But he sincerely believed in the potentialities of *khadi* and in the type of socio-economic organization which *khadi* symbolizes. The whole capitalist-controlled press stormed his textile policy continuously, but he stood firm like a rock. I am not concerned with the political aspect of the Madras ministerial crisis. Let me hope that the Prakasam Ministry was not overthrown on account of the textile policy, although several friends from the South inform me that it was Mr. Prakasam's *khadi* scheme which led to the political dust storm. Be that as it may, we expect that Mr. Reddiar will not betray *khadi* under the pressure of vested interests. The days of setting apart funds and announcing rewards for the improvement of the *charkha* are gone. If the Reddiar Ministry really believes in *khadi* and decentralized economic development, it should pursue a bold policy of rural industrialization. If, on the other hand, the new Ministry has no faith in Gandhian Economy, it should not waste a single pie on the *charkha*. The policy of paying lip-service to *khadi* to please Gandhiji really amounts to public dishonesty.

It has also been extremely painful to find that the attitude of the Interim Government has been most unhelpful in this connection. A few months back Gandhiji had strongly advised the Provincial Ministries to refuse the quota of spindles allotted to them by the Central Government. But the Interim Government announced that the Madras Government had no right to cancel the quota allotted to the Province. Whatever may be the constitutional difficulties involved in this question, the type of bureaucratic replies given by the Interim Government on the Madras textile policy were indeed very surprising and even shocking. The Congress can no longer follow a policy of 'drift' in regard to National Planning. It must announce a definite policy about India's economic development. The Provincial Congress Ministries should be given a clear-cut programme by the Congress Working Committee; each Province should not be left free to follow the ideas and 'whims' of individual Ministers in charge of Industrial Development.

Let me repeat that Gandhiji is not against all large-scale industries; he desires that the heavy or key industries should be nationalized. The consumers' goods industries should be decentralized on the widest scale. In place of mass production of the Western variety, there should be production by the masses in millions of cottage factories amid

healthy surroundings. I need not go into the details here. The inquisitive reader can refer to my brochure on *The Gandhian Plan of Economic Development*. I would only fervently appeal to the national leaders once again to give a fair trial to the Gandhian Economy before finalizing schemes of economic development. I have no manner of doubt that nationalization of key industries and decentralization of most of the consumers' goods industries alone will be able to remedy the numerous economic ills that plague the modern world.

S. N. AGARWAL

## A NOBLE LEAD

In a big jungle of date palms covering an area of about 6 sq. miles in Morvi State, the All India Village Industries Association has been carrying on some demonstration work in preparing *gur* from palm juice. The production of sugar from palm juice releases fertile land for the cultivation of other primary needs, specially cereals. Our experiments have been successful to the extent of convincing the Maharaja Saheb of Morvi of this programme of producing wealth out of waste lands. Now comes the news that the Maharaja Saheb has launched out on a programme of growing date palm trees in his State and he has inaugurated the scheme by planting palm trees himself. We congratulate the Maharaja Saheb on his venture and we hope that many more will follow the noble lead given by him.

We understand that the Maharaja Saheb is very keen to make every village self-sufficient in respect of jaggery and sugar by utilizing date palm juice. Apart from the fact that these palms supply energy-producing nutrition from waste lands, the palm tree itself supplies various other by-products which meet the other needs of the villages. It supplies timber, fibrous matter, leaves for mat-making, coir-making materials and other various useful articles can be made out of materials obtained from this tree. Hence, we are glad that a beginning has been made at least in a corner of India whereby the people are being taught to help themselves by being self-sufficient in their primary needs.

We may here mention that in one other direction also the Maharaja has been giving the lead and that is in cattle-breeding. India has been running short of good milk-yielding varieties and even her draft cattle have been steadily deteriorating owing to neglect of selective cattle-breeding. Hence, to revive rural life it is necessary to start well-laid out cattle-breeding farms all over the country. Such a progress is beyond the capacity of the ordinary citizen both because of the amount of capital involved and the time element needed. Hence we trust that other men of wealth and influence will also take to this noble occupation and hobby which will bring in health and well-being to the people of our land.

J. C. KUMARAPPA

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## HARIJAN

12 Pages

Editor: PYARELAL

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TWO ANNAS

## RYOTS OR TENANTS

Many of the popular ministries have been attempting to regulate the relationship of the zamindar and the cultivator. Generally speaking, the zamindars are merely rentiers or absentee landlords. They have no immediate contact with the land, neither do they concern themselves with the actual cultivation of crops. The methods suggested to habilitate the cultivating farmer on his own land has often taken the form of either the government buying the land, compensating the zamindar and giving it to the cultivating ryot, or confiscation to the State of large estates and splitting them up into small private holdings.

It seems to us that it is not necessary in the first instance to confiscate the land nor would it seem essential to compensate the zamindar. The course that should be adopted would seem to be to place the cultivable lands in the villages to whomsoever they may belong under a system of balanced cultivation by which the requirements of the village for a balanced diet and other primary necessities will be produced in the required quantities. Under this scheme the land will be licensed for growing the products that are necessary to ensure the needs of a group of villages with a population of about 50,000. Such lands when licensed should be cultivated by the actual owner. If any of the lands so licensed remain uncultivated for a period of 2 or 3 years without adequate reason, such lands should revert to the State and the State can then redistribute those lands amongst the villagers who are willing to utilize the land to produce commodities according to plan for balanced cultivation.

This method would ensure that no land lies idle and at the same time it would also, in the course of a few years, bring back the holdings from absentee landlords to the cultivating peasants and ensure that commodities are forthcoming to meet the needs of the people and that land is not allowed to lie uncultivated merely because of absentee landlordism.

Legislation in regard to this might not meet with much opposition as attempts to confiscate lands might. The latter savours of violence, while the former is *ahimsa*. We commend this suggestion to those provinces which are seriously thinking of meeting the shortage in commodities by increased production.

J. C. KUMARAPPA

## BLOWING HOT AND COLD

The present ministry at Madras is dropping one by one the progressive items on the programme of the Prakasam Ministry. The following communique has been issued on their present textile policy:

"In April 1946, the Government of India allotted 352,000 (200,000 coarse and 152,000 fine) spindles to this province under the post-war Development Plan. These spindles were allotted on the recommendations of this Government to nine existing mills and 25 new mills to be started in this province. The Government of India also sanctioned the issue of capital and granted import licences in all these cases. The promoters of the several mills have proceeded with the construction of the necessary buildings, invited and collected share capital and placed orders for the machinery. These mills are at present in various stages of development.

"When subsequently the Government of Madras launched a scheme for encouraging hand-spinning and hand-weaving in the province, they considered that the expansion of the mill industry might impede the progress of the *Khadi* Scheme. They, therefore, revised their policy in regard to the textile mill industry and surrendered to the Government of India the spindles already allotted to this province. The managements of the mills who had secured allotments of spindles were informed accordingly.

"The Government of India, however, did not agree to the cancellation of the allotments already made on the ground that it would amount to a breach of faith on their part and involve them in litigation. This Government urged the Government of India to reconsider their decision; but the Government of India only reiterated the view that they had taken. In view of this attitude of the Government of India, this Government have anxiously studied the whole question and feel that both for moral and legal reasons they should not insist on the surrender of the spindles allotted to this province. They have accordingly decided to withdraw the surrender of spindles already offered by the Government of India.

"The Government wish to make it perfectly clear in this context that the acceptance of the quota of spindles allotted to this province does not mean any departure from their *Khadi* Scheme, the intensive part of which has already been introduced in 7 selected *firkas* and the extensive part of which is proposed to be introduced shortly in 27



*firkas*. The scheme which has been formulated in consultation with the All-India Spinners' Association will be pursued vigorously and it will give effect to the resolutions passed by that body at Delhi, on 9th October, 1946."

One would like to know what are the moral and legal reasons which have compelled them to take a step advantageous to the vested interests. An appeal to higher values is always commendable but the validity of such an appeal should be made clear.

In this particular instance presumably the moral reason is the sanctity of a promise made by a Government to a citizen. If the fulfilment of such a promise would militate against the welfare of the public, it should be the duty of the State to retract its hasty word and if needed compensate the loss the citizen concerned might have been put to. After all, the considerations in these cases are purely material and financial at that. No millowner is running a mill for his spiritual uplift or for the purity of his soul! Hence his loss can easily be made good. Such a course should also satisfy any legal requirements. Even if there be other legal obstacles, such, not arising out of the immutable laws of the Medes and the Persians, nor being written on tablets brought down from heaven, but being only man-made regulations, are to be changed to suit the varying needs of everyday life.

Besides, the Government of India Act of 1935, under which it is claimed, that the regulation of Textile Mills comes under the purview of the Central Government, will be a dead letter next year when the British quit India. The Textile Policy is a long term consideration. An Act that is to be effaced from the statute book in a few months ought not to be allowed to influence our future plans.

The reasons given in the communique, therefore, are not convincing. It blows hot and cold in the same breath in advocating the *khadi* programme while at the same time promoting new mills and enlarging the existing ones. These two schemes cannot flourish side by side. If the Ministry wishes to toe the mill-owners' line, they should do so openly and whole-heartedly and not resort to subterfuges.

J. C. KUMARAPPA

#### BOOKS

By J. C. Kumarappa

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NAVAJIVAN KARYALAYA  
Post Box 105, AHMEDABAD

#### NOTES

##### More "Progress"

We had pointed out in an earlier issue that destruction of nature's supply of food values in our country is an unpardonable crime. In America they destroy potatoes, coffee, etc. to keep up prices. We condemn that and yet we plump for sugar mills which do just the same. White sugar is pure energy like charcoal. This is obtained after removing all nutritive elements from the cane-juice to provide profits to the sugar millowners.

We understand the Central Government has agreed to the setting up of five new sugar mills in Bengal, each mill to have a daily crushing capacity of 600 tons.

When shall we learn to look at things with human interests instead of seeking financial gains?

##### Will it Bring Peace?

With 7000 tons of high explosives the fortifications of Heligoland were blown up. When the Great Fire of London destroyed its congested, dingy streets, London emerged as a healthier and finer city. Will this blowing up of old fortifications not be an opportunity for the unsuppressible Germans to build better and more up-to-date defences and use them for the future offensive?

This method of approach to ensure peace is short-sighted and treats the symptom rather than the disease. The cause lies deeper in the economic organization based on greed. If we are to assure the world freedom from periodic upheavals, we ought to set right our daily mode of life. Unless we attack the problem at this end it will never be solved.

##### Nai Talim Teacher Training

Training centres for Basic Education Teachers have been running in several places. The report of the Mysore State centre located at the Gurukula Ashram, under the Principalship of Sri Rajasekharan Gundappa has been received. Twentyone, including six women, underwent the ten months' course. There was a practising school of 24 children.

The successful teachers will be distributed in about ten Basic Schools to be established in the State.

Swami Vishwanandaji of the Gurukula Ashram had been a source of help and counsel to this centre.

In this transitional stage, many such camps are needed to equip the existing teachers of ordinary schools with the requirements of Basic Schools.

J. C. K.



## A JAIN MERCHANT'S SENSE OF SOCIAL RESPONSIBILITY

There was a fine city in Kachchha (Cutch) called Bhadreshvar.

अस्तीह भद्रेश्वरनामधेयं पुरं वरं कच्छकृतैकशोभनम् ॥

सर्वानन्दसूरि-जगद्भरित ॥ २-१ ॥

Her temple bells rung by pious pilgrims day and night were a thorn in the side of the devil (*Kali*).

नक्तं दिवं दैवतमन्दिरेषु घण्टारवादतिरमुष्य चासीत् ॥ २-३ ॥

Her young men were so robust and handsome that it seemed as if *Kama* (Cupid) had assumed thousands of forms in order to achieve a final victory over Shiva.

महेश्वरस्यैकजयाय कामश्चकार रूपाणि सहस्रशोऽपि ।

यत्राद्भुताकारविशेषभाजां दम्भेन रजस्तृणव्रजानाम् ॥ २-६ ॥

Her young women sang the sweetest of songs on moon-lit nights so that the moon had great difficulty in preventing his music-intoxicated deer from lingering over her sky-scraping mansions.

निशासु सौधोपरिसंस्थितानां मृगीदृशां यत्र च चादृशानाम् ।

आकर्णयन्तं स्वमृगं सुधांशुयाताय कृच्छ्रात्स्वरयावभूव ॥ २-८ ॥

In Bhadreshvar there lived a number of Shrimali Vaniks (*Banias*) who claimed their origin from the garland (*mala*) of the mother of the Universe (*Shri*). Their leader was a merchant named Jagadu (= *Jagat-deva*?) who amassed immense wealth by trading with foreign countries. He visited the sacred places of Jainism such as Shatrunjaya and Girnar at the head of a large body of fellow-pilgrims (*sangha*).

असङ्ख्यसङ्गलोकेन समं यात्रां विधाय सः ।

शत्रुञ्जयं रैवतकं प्राप चात्यपुरं वरम् ॥ ६-३१ ॥

The dust raised by the *Sanghapati's* horses, elephants and chariots reached the sky and the bank of the celestial Ganges was converted into mud, through which the horses of the sun could hardly drag his chariot.

तथा च शुनदीतीरे सङ्घं पङ्क्तां रजः ।

यथात्र मग्नमर्काश्वा रथमूहुः कथञ्चन ॥ ६-३८ ॥

He erected temples of course but he also erected a mosque, as he owed his wealth to Muslims as well as to others.

मसीति कारयामास धीमलीसंज्ञितामसौ ।

भद्रेश्वरपुरे म्लेच्छलक्ष्मीकारणतः खलु ॥ ६-६४ ॥

Jagadu had fresh water wells sunk in every town or village that he visited.

शतशः कारयामास ग्रामे ग्रामे पुरे पुरे ।

सुधास्वादुजला वापीर्जगद्भः क्षितिभूषणम् ॥ ६-६५ ॥

One day in Samvat 1312 Paramadevasuri, the Jain monk, said to Jagadu, "Beloved of the gods, possession of the wealth implies social responsibility and difficult times are ahead of us, when you will have a splendid opportunity of discharging that responsibility and of serving all living beings out of love for whom Mahavir Swami renounced everything that men hold dear. After 1312 the current year has expired, there will be a famine for a period of three years.

द्वीन्द्रामिचन्द्रवर्षेषु व्यतीतेष्वथ विक्रमात् ।

दुर्मिक्षं सर्वदेशेषु भावि वर्षत्रयावधि ॥ ६-६८ ॥

"You therefore please send your agents into every nook and corner of the land, and through them store every grain of corn that is available in the markets of the country.

प्रेष्याखिलेषु देशेषु विदग्धानात्मपूषणम् ।

सर्वेषामपि बान्यानां त्वं तैः कारय संग्रहम् ॥ ६-६९ ॥

"And when famine comes you place these stores at the people's feet and thus earn fame white as the waves of the sea of milk."

क्षारोदवीचिविमलं त्वमर्जय यशोभरम् ।

समग्रजगतीलोकसंजीवननिदानतः ॥ ६-७० ॥

Jagadu thus collected large stocks of grain, and when famine occurred, he distributed them among the needy and the distressed.

प्रचक्रमे कणान्दातुमयं सोलतनूभवः ।

दुर्मिक्षपीष्यमानायै जनतायै कृपानिधिः ॥ ६-७४ ॥

After two years of famine, even the Chalukya Raja Visaldeva of Gujarat felt the pinch, invited Jagadu to his court and asked him for food grains, as he had heard that Jagadu still had 700 godowns full of corn.

सप्तात्र कणकोष्ठैकः शतानि तव निश्चितम् ।

भुत्वा मया त्वमाहृतः साम्प्रतं कणकाङ्क्षिणा ॥ ६-८४ ॥

Jagadu said, "My lord, I do not own a single grain of corn anywhere.

यूचे नाथ न सन्त्यत्र मम क्वापि कणाः खलु ॥ ६-८५ ॥

"If you doubt my word, have a look at the copper-plates inscribed and preserved in bricks in the store-rooms".

मद्वाक्ये यदि सन्देहः कणकोष्ठेषु तेष्वापि ।

अिष्टकान्तःस्थ सप्ताम्रपत्रवर्णान् विलोकय ॥ ६-८६ ॥

Visaldeva inspected the plates which carried the following inscription:

जगद्भः कल्पयामास रक्षार्थं हि कणानमूर् ॥ ६-८८ ॥

"Jagadu dedicated these food grains to the service of the poor".

"So my lord," said Jagadu to Visaldeva, "if any person dies of starvation, I would be guilty of having murdered him."

तन्मे पापं प्रियन्ते चेज्जना दुर्मिक्षपीडिताः ॥ ६-८९ ॥

He then gave 8000 bags of grain to Visaldeva for distribution to the poor.

ददावष्टसहस्राणि स तस्मै कणमूटकान् ।

श्रीमालान्वयकोटीरक्षिणा वीरत्वमाश्रितः ॥ ६-९० ॥

He similarly assisted the Rajas of Sindh, Ujjain, Delhi, Benares and Skandhila (?). He organized 112 *danashalas* (food-distribution centres).

द्वादशाभ्यधिकं दानशालाशतमुदारधीः ।

जगद्भः सुकृताधारो जगज्जीवातुरातनोद् ॥ ६-९३ ॥

He also placed gold coins inside sweet balls (*ladus*) and sent them at night to respectable people who would rather starve to death than beg.

स्वर्णवीनारसंयुक्तान् लज्जापिण्डान् स कोटिशः ।

निशायामर्पयामास कुलीनाय जनाय च ॥ ६-९३ ॥

He thus distributed 9,99,000 bags of grain and spent 18 crores of rupees during the famine.

नवनवति सहस्रयुताश्व लक्षान् धान्यमूटकानां सः ।

अष्टादशरौकोटीरर्थिन्योऽदत्त दुःसमये ॥ ६-९३ ॥

V. G. D.



# HARIJAN

May 11

1947

## CONTROLS

Speaking at the Convocation of the Tata Institute of Social Sciences, the Hon'ble Shri C. Rajagopalachari stated: "Life is now so developed and so complicated that I am fairly convinced that almost all controls will continue to exist in this world." He added that "controls will not be a temporary but a permanent affair." To an ordinary mortal this seems a paradox.

Though the war has been inactive for nearly two years, yet war conditions still prevail in the country in regard to articles of prime necessities. No doubt the scarcity in commodities has called for regulations of some kind to ensure a certain measure of social justice. Rationing is still with us. Black marketing is running rampant. Profiteering seems to be flourishing and the Government is busy with controls. To an onlooker there seems to be something "wrong in the State of Denmark." What that is, many people are not able to tell.

The mechanism of price has as its main spring the law of supply and demand. Therefore, any control of commodities and their prices must take the form of regulating the supply and demand. Rationing attempts to regulate the demand but there is a complete absence of any attempt to regulate supply. The present method adopted by the Government to control the prices is like setting the clock going by constantly turning the minute hand. What we want is to set the mechanism in order and the clock ought to work on its own. This artificial regulation of prices has been largely responsible for black marketing. The prices have to be regulated automatically, not by a fiat of the Government. The Government has been playing King Canute trying to stop the rising tide of black markets and profiteering; but the method adopted has been a total failure. In fact, great many of the dealers in commodities desire to have the controls on a permanent basis because it provides them the opportunity for black marketing. Corruption in high places has also been interested in perpetuating controls. It is high time that these matters are set right by the popular ministries now functioning.

If we wish to avoid black marketing and control the supply and demand in the natural way, rationing will take care of the demand but the supply side has to be regulated in the normal way not by merely setting up the prices artificially but by controlling the supply. The Government can do this by stocking a fair amount of articles that are sought to be controlled and holding them in reserve to be sold at fixed, regulated prices, in case the stockists are in the market attempting to sell their articles at a higher price. Of course, Government will not enter into the market as a seller until the merchants themselves by their actions invite

the Government to take drastic steps. The Government stocks will be held in godowns merely as a stand-by, watching to see that the merchants do not advance the price unduly. The moment the market prices tend to go up, the Government godowns will be opened and the stock dumped on the market to bring down the prices. The Government holdings need not be more than 10 to 15 per cent of the stock required to be able to effectively affect the market.

This is not a novel measure. It has been tried out successfully in the working of the Bihar Central Relief Committee under private agencies without the aid of law or other government powers — basing our appeal purely on persuasion. Again, in finance, this is the method adopted by the central banks to regulate interest rates which are but market prices for money. For some unknown reason the Government has not followed this well-tried path but have taken to the King Canute method of fixing prices arbitrarily and by so doing driving the commodities underground. It is not too late even now for the governments to change over and gradually decontrol the commodities as the market assumes normal conditions. We trust our governments will take immediate steps to relieve the distress the people are suffering from because of the present methods of control.

J. C. KUMARAPPA

## GANDHIJI'S BIHAR TOUR DIARY

21-4-'47

This is the translation of Gandhiji's written speech, it being his silence even at the time of the prayer speech.

This evening, too, I must speak to you about *khadi*. The secret lies in hand-spun yarn. From days of yore, spinning had been woman's speciality. Poor soul, she was the slave and man the master who was to pay her the wage that was her due. During the middle ages she had to spin perforce for a mere pittance.

Except for Assam, weaving was considered man's occupation. Hence there is life left in hand-weaving. But there is no room for doubt that it is doomed to extinction if hand-spinning is not revived in all the glory that by right belongs to it. Thus if men and women will not take to hand-spinning as a sacred duty, that is, the same person will not do carding, slivering and spinning, there is little hope for *khadi*. I am not thinking of *khadi*-wear as a fashion. *Khadi* of my conception is that hand-spun which takes the place entirely in India of mill-cloth. It is beyond my power to give an adequate description of the power that this *khadi* would give to the whole of India.

Such *khadi* must remain a dream if the men of India in their millions will not spin if only by way of penance, for the sin they have committed against the women and the women will not do so as a sacred duty. That yarn which may have to be spun for wages will have to bear the same rate per hour that is paid to men for labour. There can be no inequality in wages between the sexes. Lordship



of men over women must cease. The days of this lordship are over. That we do not make this admission is a different thing. It cannot arrest the march of events. God has made of man and woman one complete whole. In the scheme of nature both are equal. It has been the object of *khadi* to verify this maxim of sex equality. The Spinners' Association has not yet succeeded, but the effort is in that direction. Time is coming when a millowner's wife will become a true devotee of *khadi*. Then *khadi* will be supreme to the exclusion of mill cloth in India. May you, women of Bihar, make the mighty effort to bring to an early fruition that happy day.

22-4-'47

After the prayer Gandhiji dealt with the work of the Hindustani Talimi Sangh which was having its sittings for two days. He reminded the audience that the Congress had issued a charter to the Sangh and therefore one would expect that in matters of education the Congress would fall back upon its experts and be guided by them. He could not go into the reasons for the anomaly. He merely pointed it out. Dr. Zakir Hussain was its President. He was a great educationist and was the soul of the Jamia Milia. He was assisted by Shri Aryanayakam and his devoted wife Asha Devi, both of them educationists. It had entered upon its eighth year of existence. It was called the new method of education for it was not a foreign importation or imposition but was consistent with the environment in India which was predominantly made up of villages. It believed in establishing an equilibrium between the body, the mind and the spirit of which man was made. It was unlike the Western type which was predominantly militarist in which the mind and the body were the primary care of education to the subordination of the spirit. This was best done when education was given through handicrafts. The other speciality was that it was designed to be wholly self-supporting. It did not, therefore, demand an expenditure of millions on education. He hoped next evening to expand the idea underlying self-supporting education.

Expressing himself strongly in favour of the use of Hindustani by Indians as against English, in the course of his speech Gandhiji stated that he had deliberately signed his name in the joint appeal (recently issued over the signatures of Qaid-e-Azam Jinnah and Gandhiji) in Hindi and Urdu.

Lord Louis Mountbatten, he added, did not mind this departure from the usual practice on his (Gandhiji's) part because the Viceroy knew that the Britishers would have to quit India shortly.

23-4-'47

According to his promise given the previous evening, Gandhiji dealt again with *Nai Talim*, which, he said, was life-giving, whereas education given by the foreign Government was necessarily life-destroying. The latter drained India's wealth, it impoverished its languages and made of us practically slaves. *Nai Talim* covered the whole life. Experience had shown that it had great possibilities and began with the embryo and ended with life itself. It gave new life to all men and women of India. Except for capital

expenditure it cost nothing. The teachers earned what they took. It stood for the art of living. Therefore, both the teacher and the pupil had to produce in the very act of teaching and learning. It enriched life from the commencement. It made the nation independent of search for employment. Whereas the annual income per head was only rupees sixty *Nai Talim* progressively increased the income.

The villagers would then not be satisfied with mere *sattu* and dirty salt for food and rags for clothing. They would have balanced food including milk, fruit and vegetables which they would produce themselves and wear spotless *khadi* which they would spin and weave themselves. Such was the promise of *Nai Talim*. Its fulfilment depended upon the will and exertion of every citizen of Free India. Without willing support from the citizens, the governments could do nothing and the governments which did not produce the simple facilities required for the whole task were not worth the salt they ate.

24-4-'47

Gandhiji referred to the meetings he had with Harijan *sevaks* and *sevikas* and *khadi* workers. With reference to the former he said that mere touch by the so-called *savarna* Hindus did not mean the removal of untouchability. Society had made very considerable progress since 1920 both among the touchables and the untouchables. There would be no rest until all distinctions between touchables and untouchables were abolished. It would not do for women to be horrified when they saw Harijan girls moving among them on terms of perfect equality. The popular ministers owed it to society that they undertook all ameliorative measures and brought in legislation without delay. Seeing that the meetings of the Charkha Sangh Trustees and the Talimi Sangh were held, he hoped that Bihar would lead the way by being first in restoration of her previous relations between the Hindus and the Muslims, giving *khadi* its rightful place and establishing *Nai Talim* in the manner he had suggested.

25-4-'47

Gandhiji having heard that some Hindus were whispering to one another that Muslims being beef-eaters were the natural enemies of Hinduism and were, therefore, fit to be destroyed. Gandhiji, therefore, devoted his remarks to the topic of cow-protection. He said that nearly forty years ago he wrote about it in *Hind Swaraj* in South Africa. He was from his childhood a devotee of the cow. He believed her to be the natural mother of prosperity. But he had expressed the opinion in *Hind Swaraj* that cow-protection societies were destroyers of the cow and not her protectors. To this view he adhered even today. True devotion to the cow required broad-mindedness and an accurate knowledge of the art and science concerning the protection of the cow. In no country on the earth were the cow and her progeny so ill-treated as in India which, strangely enough, was the only country where the cow was venerated. Their veneration, however, consisted of mere words and deadly quarrel with the Muslims over cow-killing. The very Hindus who quarrelled with the Muslims



because they slaughtered the cow for the beef she gave were not ashamed to accept the mastery of the English who were known to be beef-eaters in a sense in which the Muslims never were. He had no quarrel with the Englishmen because they ate beef and as such he had none with the Muslims either. He was concerned with showing the great inconsistency of the Hindus who for the sake of money gladly served their English masters and quarrelled with the Muslims. Then they forgot that there were Hindus who gladly partook of beef. He had known orthodox *vaishnavas* who ate beef-extract when it was prescribed by their doctors. He reminded the audience of the fact that during the Khilafat days thousands of cows were saved from the Muslim knife. The late Maulana Abdul Bari used to say that if the Hindus helped the Muslims to save the Khilafat, the Muslims were bound to save the cow for the sake of the Hindus. From every point of view, therefore, he held that it was insensate on the part of the Hindus to be angry with their Muslim brethren because they ate beef and slaughtered cows. He quoted numerous instances to show the utterly inconsistent behaviour of the Hindus in this matter. He therefore, asked the Hindus to put their own house in order before it tottered to its ruin.

26-4-'47

There was no prayer speech on this day as Gandhiji had to attend the meeting of the Jamiat-e-Islam.

27-4-'47

Addressing the gathering after prayer, Gandhiji referred to his visit the previous evening to the meeting of the Jamiat-e-Islam. He was told that its members were truly servants of God, austere and simple in their habits, with a message of self-purification and self-realization for the Musalmans. Religion was sustained never by the sword but always by men of God. But they should be so not merely in name but by their conduct. The audience had gladly allowed him to go to these friends. If, however, there were some who thought that he was uselessly pandering to the Muslims by giving them undue importance, he would say that it was pride that dictated such foolishness. Such pride ill-became the votaries of Rama about whom the evening's *bhajan* had been sung.

The Muslims formed only 14 per cent of the population. It became his duty, therefore, as a member of the majority community to go to them in all humility whenever they invited him.

The song that had been sung at the prayer taught that only Rama (God, *Allah* or by whatever name one might call Him) was the true object of worship. He was not won over by offerings, except the offering of noble conduct.

Universal love became incumbent on Rama's devotees. That was the only way in which Hinduism or for that matter any religion could survive. Hinduism or any religion that departed from this straight path was doomed to destruction.

28-4-'47

The following is the English version of the written speech of Gandhiji, read before the prayer gathering it being his day of silence.

I am sorry to let you know that I shall have to go to Delhi again, by the morning train on the 30th. There is a call from Pandit Nehru. *Rastrapati* Kripalaniji has also sent a telegram from Rajputana that I should be in Delhi by the first May, as the Congress Working Committee meets on that day. It pains me to leave you at this stage. I do not relish the idea of leaving Bihar unless the Musalmans have completely shed their fear and both the communities allow me to leave with a clear conscience. I felt the same when I left Noakhali. For both these places I have the same motto before me, *Do or Die*. My non-violence bids me dedicate myself to the service of the minorities. It would be like a new birth and give me additional strength if the Hindus and the Musalmans of both these places began to live at peace with each other and shed their animosity. God knows what will come out of this travail. Man can only try and perish in the attempt. God is all in all. We are only zeroes. The same mission takes me to Delhi. I hope to return within a short time and resume duty.

You may be astonished to learn that I continue to receive letters charging me that I have compromised the interests of the Hindus by acting as a friend of the Muslims. How can I convince people by mere words if the sixty years of my public life have failed to demonstrate that by trying to befriend the Muslims I have only proved myself a true Hindu and have rightly served the Hindus and Hinduism? The essence of true religious teaching is that one should serve and befriend all. I learnt this in my mother's lap. You may refuse to call me a Hindu. I know no defence except to quote a line from Iqbal's famous song: *Majhab nahin sikhata apasmen ber rakhna* (मजहब नहीं सिखाता आपसमें बैर रखना) meaning religion does not teach us to bear ill-will towards one another. It is easy enough to be friendly to one's friends. But to befriend the one who regards himself as your enemy, is the quintessence of true religion. The other is mere business.

29-4-'47

Referring to his brief visit to Delhi for which he would leave the next morning, Gandhiji requested the people not to crowd at the station. It would be a true mark of affection if they abstained from interrupting his rest or work by their shouts which he could ill bear at his age.

Before departing, continued the speaker, he would like to share with them the letter of Major General Shah Nawaz who was helping the Bihar Government in its rehabilitation work in Masaurhi.

"Rehabilitation work is making a steady and satisfactory progress. I feel that a very definite change is coming about in the outlook of the Hindu population of the area. As instances I will give three cases:



"1. In village Atarpura, we had a meeting and appointed a village *Panchayat*; two days afterwards the head of the *Panchayat* came to Patna, met all the refugees in various camps and assured them that they would welcome them back to their village and that they would guard them even with their lives.

"As a result of this nearly fifty Muslim families have returned to the village and are living there very happily. There is no police force stationed there, nor have they asked for any.

"When I sent rations there, the Hindus refused to accept them, saying that the Muslims were their guests and that they would make suitable arrangements for their feeding, harvesting of their crops etc.

"2. In the second case one Muslim of village Bir came to me and informed me that he wished to go back to his village. This was his first chance to go back after the riots. He was crying and was very much frightened to go alone. I gave him my car and sent two I. N. A. soldiers to accompany him. On the way he met a Hindu member of the Bir village *Panchayat* who stopped the car and talked to this Muslim and asked him why he was taking soldiers with him. The Muslim informed him that he was frightened. The Hindu friend then told him that it would be a matter of shame for the whole village if after Gandhiji's assurances it was still necessary to take an escort with him; he also assured the Muslim that he would get killed before any harm came to him (the Muslim).

"The Muslim gentleman, thereupon, returned to me saying that now he no longer required an escort as he was feeling quite safe.

"3. In Masaurhi most of I. N. A. soldiers are Hindus or Sikhs and are doing excellent work. Outstanding among them is one Lieutenant Kartar Singh who himself carries the beddings of the refugees from the station to their homes; and at night he patrols round their houses. Every morning he takes buckets full of milk to the mosque where he personally distributes it to all the children and sick persons.

"About three days ago when a Muslim refugee died Lieutenant Kartar Singh himself dug the grave for his body. All the Muslims are now very fond of him. They invite him to attend their meetings in the mosque."

General Shah Nawaz's report made Gandhiji feel that if the Hindus were true and really befriended the Musalmans the present all-enveloping fire would be extinguished. When it was burning all round they did not attempt to extinguish it at all places. They made a determined attack on the spot immediately before them, and the whole fire came under control. Bihar was not a small province and if the Hindus and the Muslims of Bihar became true to themselves and the latter shed all fear, the speaker had no doubt that what he heard was going on in Calcutta or elsewhere would dissolve.

## ANOTHER DELHI INTERLUDE

1-5-'47

There was complete silence during the prayer meeting today evening and Gandhiji congratulated the audience on the exemplary attitude displayed by them.

Speaking after the prayer, Gandhiji referred to the absence of noise at the railway stations when he went back from Delhi to Patna and felt that the effect of the quiet attitude of the crowds at the prayer meetings in Delhi was reflected throughout his journey back to Patna except when he approached Bihar. This time, however, the lesson was forgotten and he had to suffer loud acclamations of the crowd who evidently forgot that the speaker was ill able to bear great noises. He hoped, however, that Congress workers throughout would instil the lesson of discipline into the crowds.

Gandhiji then referred to the violence that was taking place in the Frontier Province, in the Punjab and in other places. The audience might well ask, he said, why in spite of the joint appeal by Qaid-e-Azam Jinnah and himself for peace in the country and the declaration in the appeal that use of force should be eschewed for all time for gaining political ends, the appeal seemed to have been entirely defeated in practice.

In his opinion, the honour, both of the Viceroy who was instrumental in bringing about the joint appeal and of Qaid-e-Azam Jinnah was involved in the failure of the appeal. He held that it was not open to Jinnah Saheb to plead that his followers did not listen to his (Jinnah Saheb's) appeal. That would be cutting the whole ground from under his feet because he was the undisputed President of the All India Muslim League which claimed to represent the vast bulk of the Muslim population of India. Where was the authority of the League, if the Muslims resorted to violence for gaining the political aim which was summed up in the word Pakistan? Was the British Government to yield to the force of arms rather than the force of reason?

The speaker had expressed his doubts as to the wisdom of issuing the joint appeal unless it was certain that it meant for both the signatories all that the words thereof conveyed.

2-5-'47

The prayer meeting began today as usual. When the verses from the *Quran* were being recited a member of the audience objected to the recitation. He was arrested by the policeman but Gandhiji immediately stopped the prayer, and requested the policeman who had arrested him to set him free.

He would be ashamed to pray he said, where a man had been arrested for doing what he had done. He would leave the place, he said only if he were requested to do so by the *mehtars*. He would not wait even to consult the trustees as they were after all the trustees of the *mehtars*.

Shri L. G. Thatte, General Secretary of the Anti-Pakistan Front was arrested today outside the Valmiki Temple just before Gandhiji came out for the evening prayers.

Earlier in the day Shri Thatte had sent a letter to Gandhiji informing him of his intention to object to the recitation of the verses from the *Quran* at the prayer.



Another person was arrested a little later when he took exception to the recitation of *Quranic* verses during the prayers and shouted *Hindu Dharmaki Jai*. Gandhiji then discontinued the prayers.

Gandhiji requested the police to set the man free as it put him (Gandhiji) to shame if anybody was arrested for objecting to what he did.

Gandhiji deplored such narrow-mindedness on the part of the people. Mere shouting of slogans would not carry Hinduism anywhere, he said. He was at a loss to understand why some Hindus objected to his reading the *Quran* verses in his prayer. If at places the Muslims had not behaved as they should, then it did not mean that the Hindus should retaliate by opposing the reading of the *Quran*.

The verse from the *Quran* that was being recited, Gandhiji said, was a mighty prayer in praise of God. How did it harm the Hindu religion if the prayer was recited in the Arabic language? He who said so knew neither his religion nor his duty. That prayer could also be recited in a temple.

He had been told by a friend that a prayer with the same meaning was also found in the *Yajurveda*. Those who had studied the Hindu scriptures knew that among the 108 *Upanishads* there was one called the *Allopanishad*. Did not the man who wrote it know his religion? It was said that Guru Nanak himself went to Arabia in search of truth during his religious wanderings.

No religion in the world, Gandhiji continued, could live without self-suffering. A faith gained in strength only when people were willing to lay down their lives for it. The tree of life had to be watered with the blood of martyrs, who laid down their lives without killing their opponents or intending any harm to them. That was the root of Hinduism and of all other religions.

The scene that they witnessed, Gandhiji went on to say, was a symptom of the disease that had got hold of India. Intolerance, impatience and retaliation were in the air. They were thinking even of universal conscription. God forbid that India should ever become a military nation, which would be a menace to the peace of the world and yet if things went on as they were doing what hope was there for India and, therefore, for the world? Was Pakistan to be seized by terrorism such as they seemed to be witnessing in the Frontier Province, in the Punjab, in Sindh and elsewhere?

People had suggested that every thing would be alright and non-Muslims in the Muslim majority provinces would be put on absolute equality with the Muslims if not specially favoured as against them. He suggested that it was an impossible dream. If the Muslims were taught otherwise while Pakistan was not established they could not be expected to behave better after Pakistan had become a settled fact. It was up to the Qaid-e-Azam and his lieutenants to inspire trust in the minds of the minorities in the provinces or parts, which were

designed for Pakistan. Then there would no longer be fear of Pakistan-cum-partition.

3-5-47

Addressing today's prayer meeting Gandhiji said that it was wholly wrong to distrust or attribute dishonest motives to the Viceroy unless he was proved to be unworthy of their confidence and appealed to all journalists to play the game at this delicate stage.

Gandhiji again reminded the audience of the woeful state of India today. All eyes were turned on her — in particular those of Asia and Africa. He had sensed that at the Asian Conference. Japan had failed to give the right lead by following the path of imperialism and where was she today? he asked. India had won a moral victory over Britain because she had fought non-violently and that was why the Asian countries hoped for proper guidance from her. It was the duty of every Indian not to belie these hopes.

If Asia and Africa had the right lead given to them by India, it would, Gandhiji said, change the face of the world. Just as water became muddy on the surface when the flood here in the shape of liberty came, but flowed clear and peaceful after the flood, so he hoped would the present communal strife cease and all the scum fade away.

He then complained of the attempted disclosures today in a leading newspaper of Delhi purporting to disclose the decisions of the Viceroy and the decisions of the Congress Working Committee. He said that to act in such a manner was to lower the standards of journalism. Having been himself a journalist of many years' standing, he could speak with authority on what the traditions of good journalism should be. Whatever was in the Viceroy's heart was his business to disclose. Whatever decisions were taken by the Congress Working Committee were for its President or Secretary to give to the press. It was hitting below the belt for newspapers to take such tit-bits as they picked up from here, there and everywhere and dish them up for the purpose of creating sensation. That misled the public and harmed the cause. It was wrong to follow the bad example of some foreign newspapers. Indian journalists should not imitate bad manners for the sake of increasing sale or getting notoriety for scoops.

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## ENGLISH INTO HINDUSTANI

## INSTALMENT—XII

## ENGLISH

## HINDUSTANI

- Cartage *n.* दुलाजीका किराया या खर्च । हलाने का खर्च या खर्च ।  
 Cart load *n.* छकवाभर, गाड़ीभर, बहुत-सा ।  
 Cart before horse, put *v.* बोबेकी दुममें लगाम लगाना; बोबेके आगे गाड़ी लगाना; खुलटी गंगा बहाना ।  
 कौड़े के दम में लगाम लगाना; कौड़े के आगे गाड़ी लगाना;  
 Cart, bullock- *n.* बैलगाड़ी, गगा । कडा ।  
 Cart, dog- *n.* टमटम ।  
 Cart, mail- *n.* डाक लाने और ले जानेकी गाड़ी ।  
 Cart, spring- *n.* कमानदार गाड़ी । कान्नी दार गाड़ी ।  
 Cartwright *n.* छकवा बनानेवाला ।  
 Carte blanche कोरा चेक, खुली छुट्टी, सियाह-सफेदका अधिकार या अख्तियार ।  
 Cartell (Kartell) *n.* भाव-सभा, चीबोंकी कीमतें तय करनेके लिये कारखानादारोंकी अंजुमन ।  
 Cartilage *n.* कुरकुरी या मुरमुरी हड्डी ।  
 Cartography *n.* नक्शा बनाना ।  
 Cartomancy *n.* ताश ज्योतिष ।  
 Cartoon *n.* हँसीकी तस्वीर (अक्सर सियासी), कार्टून ।  
 हँसी की तस्वीर (अक्सर सियासी) । कार्टून ।  
 Cartridge *n.* कारतूस ।  
 Cartridge, blank *n.* खाली कारतूस ।  
 Carve *v.* काटना, तराशना, खोदना, गढ़ना, सूरत बनाना ।  
 काना, तराशना, कौटना, गढ़ना, सूरत बनाना ।  
 Carve one's way *v.* अपने-लिये रास्ता बनाना, अपनी ताकतसे बढ़ना ।  
 Cascade *n.* झरना; पानीकी चादर ।  
 Case *n.* खोल, पेटी, खाना, डिब्बा; पिलाफ; हालत, दशा; सूरत; बात, मामला, नालिशा, दावा, मुकदमा; विमर्श ।  
 कौल, पिली, घाना, दावा, मुकदमा; विमर्श ।  
 معامل, नालिश, दावा, मुकदमा, विमर्श ।  
 Case, in any हर हालतमें, हर सूरतमें, जो भी हो, कुछ भी हो ।  
 हर हालत में, हर सूरत में, जो भी हो, कुछ भी हो ।  
 Case, in अगर, ऐसी हालतमें, अथ सूरतमें ।  
 अगर, ऐसी हालत में, अथ सूरत में ।  
 Case of, in ऐसा होने पर ।  
 Case of, in the बारेमें, मामले में ।  
 Case, in evil बुरे हाल में ।  
 Case, in good अच्छी हालतमें ।  
 Case, is the सच है ।  
 Case, is not the गलत है ।  
 Case-harden *v.* बाहरकी तरफसे सख्त करना ।  
 बाहरकी तरफसे सख्त करना ।  
 Casement *n.* झरोखा, झींझोली खिड़की ।  
 झरोखा, झींझोली खिड़की ।  
 Cash *n.* रोकड़, रुपया, नकद ।  
 रोकड़, रुपया, नकद ।  
 Cash *v.* रुपया खुजाना, रुपया खुजाना ।  
 रुपया खुजाना, रुपया खुजाना ।

Cash account *n.* रोकड़खाता, रोकड़का हिसाब ।Cash and carry or Cash payment 'नकद दो, माल लो' ।  
नकद दो, माल लो ।Cash book *n.* रोकड़ बही ।Cash price *n.* नकद कीमत या दाम ।Cash sale *n.* नकद या रोकड़ बिक्री ।Cashew (nut) *n.* काजू ।Cashier *n.* खजानची ।Cashier *v.* नाम काटना, हटा देना, अलग कर देना ।Casino *n.* आम नाच और जुआ घर ।Cask *n.* पीपा (लकड़ीका) ।Casket *n.* सन्दूकची ।Casserole *n.* मिट्टीकी हॉबी ।Cassia *n.* तेजपात ।Cassock *n.* पादरियोंका लम्बा चोला ।Cast *n.* फेंक, डाल, ढँव; जाल डालना; नटोंकी या नाटकियोंकी

डुकड़ी; शकल, सूरत; सौचा; झुकाव; ढंग, ढब, बनावट; भेंगापन ।

फेंक, डाल, ढँव; जाल डालना; नटोंकी या नाटकियोंकी

डुकड़ी; शकल, सूरत; सौचा; झुकाव; ढंग, ढब, बनावट; भेंगापन ।

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Cast light on *v.* रोशनी डालना। روشنی ڈالنا  
 Cast loose *v.* अलग करना। الگ کرنا  
 Cast net or hook or fly etc. *v.* जाल डालना या फेंकना, फाँटा डालना, बंसी डालना।  
 جال ڈالना یا پھینکا, کھला ڈالना, بंسی ڈالنا  
 Cast off *v.* झुतारना, छोड़ना, अलग करना।  
 اتارنا, झुतारना, الگ کرنا  
 Cast pearls before swine *v.* गधोंको अंगूरी बाण, अन्धके आगे रोना।  
 گدھوں کو انگूरी बाغ, اندھے کے आगे रोना  
 Cast out *v.* निकाल देना, निकाल बाहर करना।  
 نکال دینا, نکال बाहर کرنا  
 Cast to the winds or to the dogs *v.* अलग करना, फेंक देना, रद्द कर देना।  
 الگ کرنا, फेंक देना, रद्द कर देना  
 Cast the die *v.* पौषा फेंकना, दाँव लगाना।  
 दाँव फेंकना, दाँव लगाना  
 Cast iron *n.* ठोला लोहा। ڈھला लोहा  
 Cast of features *n.* चेहरेका नक्शा। چہرے کا نقشہ  
 Castanet *n.* खटताल। कड़ताल  
 Caste *n.* जात, जाति-पात, वर्ग, जाति। जाति, वर्ग  
 Caste, to lose *v.* जात बाहर होना, जात खोना, नजरोंसे गिरना।  
 जात बाहर होना, जात खोना, नजरोंसे गिरना  
 Caste, put out of *v.* जातसे बाहर करना, हुक्का-पानी बन्द करना।  
 जातसे बाहर करना, हुक्का-पानी बन्द करना  
 Castigate *v.* दण्ड या सजा देना, झाड़ना, काँड़े मारना।  
 दण्ड या सजा देना, झाड़ना, काँड़े मारना  
 Castle *n.* किला, गढ़, कोट; रत्न। किला, गढ़, कोट  
 Castles in the air, to build *v.* मनके लड्डू फाड़ना, खयाली पुलव पकाना।  
 मनके लड्डू फाड़ना, खयाली पुलव पकाना  
 Castor *n.* नमक या मिर्चदाना; फिरकी, मेख या कुरसीका पहिया।  
 नमक या मिर्चदाना; फिरकी, मेख या कुरसीका पहिया  
 Castor oil *n.* रेंडीका तेल। रेंडी का तेल  
 Castrate *v.* खस्सी या बधिया करना, खोजा बनाना।  
 खस्सी या बधिया करना, खोजा बनाना  
 Casual *adj.* आकस्मिक, अचानक; बे-परवाह।  
 आकस्मिक, अचानक; बे-परवाह  
 Casualty *n.* घटना, हादसा, वारदात। घटना, हादसा, वारदात  
 Casualties *n.* मरे हुए और घायल। मरे हुए और घायल  
 Cat *n.* बिल्ली; कड़ुआ मिजासकी औरत। बिल्ली; कड़ुआ मिजासकी औरत  
 Cat and dog life, to live a *v.* बिल्ली-कुत्तेकी तरह रहना।  
 बिल्ली-कुत्तेकी तरह रहना  
 Cat call *n.* सीटी, शोर, हुल्लाह। सीटी, शोर, हुल्लाह  
 Cat may look at a king, a *v.* एक गदा (कन्नौर) भी बादशाहको झिड़क सकता है।  
 एक गदा (कन्नौर) भी बादशाहको झिड़क सकता है  
 Cathead *n.* लंगर-सहतीर। लंगर-सहतीर  
 Cat o'-nine-tails *n.* कैत, गौठकोषा। कैत, गौठकोषा  
 Cat's eye *n.* एक क्रीमती पत्थर। एक क्रीमती पत्थर  
 Cat's paw *n.* हलकी हवा; धोका-खाधू। हलकी हवा; धोका-खाधू  
 Cat, to bell the *v.* मुसीबत या विपत्तिका सामना करना।  
 मुसीबत या विपत्तिका सामना करना  
 Cat, care killed the *v.* चिन्ता या फिर हवाकी भी चिन्ता या फिर हवाकी भी  
 चिन्ता या फिर हवाकी भी  
 Cats, fight like kilkenny *v.* लड़ते-लड़ते जान दे देना या मिट जाना।  
 लड़ते-लड़ते जान दे देना या मिट जाना

Cat out of the bag, to let the *v.* मण्डा फोड़ना, मेद खोलना।  
 मण्डा फोड़ना, मेद खोलना  
 Cat, not room to swing a *v.* तंग जगह। तंग जगह  
 Cats and dogs, to rain *v.* झमाझम पानी बरसना, जोरसे बरसना।  
 झमाझम पानी बरसना, जोरसे बरसना  
 Cat, tom *n.* बिल्ला। बिल्ला  
 Cat in pan, to turn दो रंग होना, दो मेसिया।  
 दो रंग होना, दो मेसिया  
 Cat jumps, see which way the *v.* देखो झूट किस करवट  
 Cat to jump, wait for the *v.* देखो झूट किस करवट  
 बैठता है।  
 Cat *v.* झुलटी या कै करना। झुलटी या कै करना  
 Cataclasm *n.* जोरसे फट पड़ना। जोरसे फट पड़ना  
 Cataclysm *n.* पानीकी बाढ़, संलाव; तूफान; कान्ति, भिन्निलाव; पानी की बाढ़, संलाव; तूफान; कान्ति, भिन्निलाव;  
 सुथल-पुथल।  
 Catacomb *n.* कब्रिस्तान; जमीनके नीचे। कब्रिस्तान; जमीनके नीचे  
 Catalepsy *n.* बेहोशी, मूर्च्छा। बेहोशी, मूर्च्छा  
 Catalogue *n.* नामावली, सूची, फेहरिस्त। नामावली, सूची, फेहरिस्त  
 Catapult *n.* गोफन, गोपिया, गुदेल। गोफन, गोपिया, गुदेल  
 Cataract *n.* झरना (बड़ा); पानीकी चादर; मोतिया।  
 झरना (बड़ा); पानीकी चादर; मोतिया  
 Catarrh *n.* जुकाम, सर्दी, नाक बहना। जुकाम, सर्दी, नाक बहना  
 Catastrophe *n.* आफत, विपत्ति; बरबादी। आफत, विपत्ति; बरबादी  
 Catch *n.* पकड़; शिकार; सोनेकी चिड़िया; धोका; बिल्ली; चिटकनी; पकड़; शिकार; सोनेकी चिड़िया; धोका; बिल्ली; चिटकनी;  
 लपक।  
 Catch, no *n.* बुरा या निकम्मा सोदा। बुरा या निकम्मा सोदा  
 Catch *v.* पकड़ना, पकड़ लेना; फाँसना; सुनना; समझ लेना; मारना; लगाना, लगा जाना।  
 पकड़ना, पकड़ लेना; फाँसना; सुनना; समझ लेना; मारना; लगाना, लगा जाना  
 Catch a cold or a fever *v.* सर्दी लग जाना; बुखार हो जाना।  
 सर्दी लग जाना; बुखार हो जाना  
 Catch at *v.* हाथ मारना, झपटना, लपकना।  
 हाथ मारना, झपटना, लपकना  
 Catch a Tarter *v.* अपनेसे जबरदस्ते जा मिड़ना।  
 अपनेसे जबरदस्ते जा मिड़ना  
 Catch fire *v.* आग लगना या पकड़ना। आग लगना या पकड़ना  
 Catch it *v.* सजा पाना, बुरा-मला सुनना, शिवकी खाना।  
 सजा पाना, बुरा-मला सुनना, शिवकी खाना  
 Catch on *v.* चल पड़ना या निकलना, फैलना।  
 चल पड़ना या निकलना, फैलना  
 Catch one's breath *v.* साँस रोक लेना। साँस रोक लेना  
 Catch out *v.* भूल करते पकड़ लेना। भूल करते पकड़ लेना  
 Catchpenny *n.* निकम्मी या दिखानेकी चीज — खासकर निकम्मी पुस्तक जो सिर्फ रुपया कमानेके लिये बनायी जाती है।  
 निकम्मी या दिखानेकी चीज — खासकर निकम्मी पुस्तक जो सिर्फ रुपया कमानेके लिये बनायी जाती है  
 Catch up *v.* पकड़ लेना, जा केना, बराबर हो जाना।  
 पकड़ लेना, जा केना, बराबर हो जाना  
 Catch time by the forelock *v.* समय या वक़्तको हाथसे जने न देना।  
 समय या वक़्तको हाथसे जने न देना  
 Catchword *n.* चलता फ़िकरा, चलती बात; बिचारा; खास बोल।  
 चलता फ़िकरा, चलती बात; बिचारा; खास बोल  
 Catechise *v.* सवाल-जवाबसे सीखना, पूछ-परछ करना, बिम्बहान या परीक्षा लेना।  
 सवाल-जवाबसे सीखना, पूछ-परछ करना, बिम्बहान या परीक्षा लेना



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- Catechu *n.* کتھا | کتھا
- Categorical *adj.* صاف، سیدھا؛ بالکل | صاف، سیدھا؛ بالکل
- Category *n.* صنف، درجہ | صنف، درجہ
- Cater *v.* جانے-پہننے کے لئے ضرورتیں پوری کرنا
- Caterpillar *n.* تیتلی یا پتلیوں کا پہلا रूप؛ کرم | تیتلی یا پتلیوں کا پہلا रूप؛ کرم
- Caterwaul *v.* بیللی کی طرح چیلانا، میو-میو کرنا | بیللی کی طرح چیلانا، میو-میو کرنا
- Catgut *n.* تانت | تانت
- Cathay *n.* چین (دیش) کا پرانا نام | چین (دیش) کا پرانا نام
- Cathedral *n.* بڑا گرجا | بڑا گرجا
- Catherine wheel *n.* سورج مندر کی چرخہ؛ ایتھنیا کی چرخہ | سورج مندر کی چرخہ؛ ایتھنیا کی چرخہ
- Catherine wheels, turn *v.* کلاوا جی جانا | کلاوا جی جانا
- Catheter *n.* سون-نیکاس-نالی، پेशاب نیکالنے کی نالی | سون-نیکاس-نالی، پेशاب نیکالنے کی نالی
- Catholic *adj.* عام، ہر ایک کے کام یا متعلقہ؛ دنیا | عام، ہر ایک کے کام یا متعلقہ؛ دنیا
- Catholic Church *n.* پورے زمانے کے سب عیسائی | پورے زمانے کے سب عیسائی
- Catholic, Roman *n.* عیسائیوں کا ایک مشہور فرقہ | عیسائیوں کا ایک مشہور فرقہ
- Cattle *n.* بھینس، بکریاں، مویشی، گائے | بھینس، بکریاں، مویشی، گائے
- Cattle leader *n.* بھینس یا بکریوں کی ناک کی رسی، نکیل، تھم | بھینس یا بکریوں کی ناک کی رسی، نکیل، تھم
- Cattle lifter *n.* گائے یا بکریوں کو اٹھانے والا | گائے یا بکریوں کو اٹھانے والا
- Cattle show *n.* بھینس یا بکریوں کی نمائندگی | بھینس یا بکریوں کی نمائندگی
- Caucus *n.* امریکی سیاست کی ایک مجلس | امریکی سیاست کی ایک مجلس
- Caudal *adj.* دم کا، دم سے | دم کا، دم سے
- Cauldron *n.* دھن، کھانسی | دھن، کھانسی
- Cauliflower *n.* پھول-گوبی | پھول-گوبی
- Caulk *v.* جہازوں کی دراڑیں بند کرنا | جہازوں کی دراڑیں بند کرنا
- Cause *n.* کارण، وجہ، سبب؛ کشتی، بانی؛ مکتبہ، دھڑ، پارٹی، مکتبہ؛ بات، تفرقہ، پक्ष؛ دوا، نالیخ | کارण، وجہ، سبب؛ کشتی، بانی؛ مکتبہ، دھڑ، پارٹی، مکتبہ؛ بات، تفرقہ، پक्ष؛ دوا، نالیخ
- Cause and effect *n.* کار و کارण، سبب و مسبب | کار و کارण، سبب و مسبب
- Cause, espouse a *v.* مدد یا حمایت دینا، سہاوت کرنا | مدد یا حمایت دینا، سہاوت کرنا
- Cause, make common *v.* میل جانا، ساتھ ہو جانا، شریک ہونا | میل جانا، ساتھ ہو جانا، شریک ہونا
- Cause, owing to this *v.* اس کارن، وجہ یا سبب سے | اس کارن، وجہ یا سبب سے
- Cause, to show *v.* وجہ یا کارن بتانا | وجہ یا کارن بتانا
- Cause *v.* وجہ یا کارن ہونا؛ پیدا یا شروع کرنا، کرنا؛ بنانا؛ بڑھانا؛ مہمان | وجہ یا کارن ہونا؛ پیدا یا شروع کرنا، کرنا؛ بنانا؛ بڑھانا؛ مہمان
- Cause celebre *n.* مشہور شخصیت | مشہور شخصیت
- Causeway *n.* سڑکی سبک؛ گلی بڑھانے والا | سڑکی سبک؛ گلی بڑھانے والا
- Caustic *adj.* جلانے والا؛ تیز، تیز، کٹور | جلانے والا؛ تیز، تیز، کٹور
- Cauterize *v.* گرم لہو یا تیز سے داغنا | گرم لہو یا تیز سے داغنا
- Caution *v.* چوکنا کرنا، چھوڑنا، ہوشیار رہنا | چوکنا کرنا، چھوڑنا، ہوشیار رہنا
- Cautious *adj.* چوکنا، چھوڑنا، ہوشیار | چوکنا، چھوڑنا، ہوشیار
- Cavalcade *n.* سواروں کا دستہ | سواروں کا دستہ
- Cavalier *n.* گھڑ سوار، بہادر، شہسوار | گھڑ سوار، بہادر، شہسوار
- Cavalry *n.* رینگا، گھڑ سوار | رینگا، گھڑ سوار
- Cave *n.* گھا، گھا، گھا | گھا، گھا، گھا
- Cave *v.* چھوڑنا | چھوڑنا
- Cave in *v.* دھ جانا؛ گرنا؛ ٹوٹنا | دھ جانا؛ گرنا؛ ٹوٹنا
- Cave int. *v.* چھوڑنا | چھوڑنا
- Caveat *n.* مسدود شدہ رستہ کے حکم | مسدود شدہ رستہ کے حکم
- Cavern *n.* بڑی گھا | بڑی گھا
- Caviare to the General *n.* اچھی چیز، جس کو جملہ پسند نہیں کر سکتے | اچھی چیز، جس کو جملہ پسند نہیں کر سکتے
- Cavil *v.* بے جا شک، بے جا شک | بے جا شک، بے جا شک
- Cavity *n.* گھا، گھا، گھا | گھا، گھا، گھا
- Caw *n.* کھانسی، کھانسی | کھانسی، کھانسی
- Cayenne pepper *n.* پیسی لہو کا لال | پیسی لہو کا لال
- Cease *v.* چھوڑنا، بند ہونا، بند کرنا، بند کرنا | چھوڑنا، بند ہونا، بند کرنا، بند کرنا
- Ceaseless *adj.* لگاتار، برابر | لگاتار، برابر
- Cede *v.* دے دینا، دے دینا، دے دینا | دے دینا، دے دینا، دے دینا
- Ceiling *n.* چھتری، چھتری | چھتری، چھتری
- Ceiling price *n.* سب سے زیادہ قیمت | سب سے زیادہ قیمت
- Celebrate *v.* منانا، منانا؛ شادی یا شادی کرنا | منانا، منانا؛ شادی یا شادی کرنا
- Celebrated or Celebrity *adj.* مشہور، مشہور | مشہور، مشہور
- Celebration *n.* شادی، شادی | شادی، شادی
- Celerity *n.* تیزی، تیزی | تیزی، تیزی
- Celery *n.* سیلری، (ایک قسم کی سبزی) | سیلری، (ایک قسم کی سبزی)
- Celestial *adj.* آسمانی، آسمانی | آسمانی، آسمانی
- Celibacy *n.* بچہ پن، بچہ پن | بچہ پن، بچہ پن



- Cell *n.* کوٹری، خانہ | خانه
- Cellar *n.* تھکانا، گودام | گودام
- Cellular *adj.* خانہ دار | خانه دار
- Cement *n.* سیمنٹ (پتھر یا آئٹ جو بننے کا مصالحہ) | سیمنٹ (پتھر یا آئٹ جو بننے کا مصالحہ)
- Cement *v.* جوڑنا، میلانا، باندھنا؛ پککا کرنا، مضبوط کرنا | جوڑنا، ملانا، باندھنا، پکا کرنا، مضبوط کرنا
- Cemetery *n.* قبرستان | قبرستان
- Cenotaph *n.* یادگار، छतरी، समाधि | یادگار، छतरी، سماधि
- Censor *n.* دھوپ دان، अगरदान | अगरदान
- Censor *n.* सेंसर | सेंसर
- Censor *v.* सेंसर करना, काट-छांट करना; निकाल देना (पत्र वपौरमें) | सेंसर करना, काट-छांट करना; निकाल देना (पत्र वपौरमें)
- Censorious *adj.* चुस्स पकड़नेवाला, हद से ज्यादा चुस्सता | चुस्स पकड़नेवाला, हद से ज्यादा चुस्सता
- Censure *n.* दोष या खिलवाव लगाना, झिड़कना | दोष या खिलवाव लगाना, झिड़कना
- Censure, vote of *n.* कसूरवार या अपराधी ठहराना | कसूरवार या अपराधी ठहराना
- Census *n.* जन-गणना, मर्दमशुमारी, मनुष्य-गिनती | जन-गणना, मर्दमशुमारी, मनुष्य-गिनती
- Cent *n.* सैकड़ा, सौ; पैसा (कम कीमत का सिक्का) | सैकड़ा, सौ; पैसा (कम कीमत का सिक्का)
- Cent, per फ्रीसवी, प्रतिशत, सैकड़ा | फ्रीसवी, प्रतिशत, सैकड़ा
- Centaur *n.* नरघोड़ा (एक खयाली जानवर, जिसका सिर आदमी का और धड़ घोड़े का होता है) | नरघोड़ा (एक खयाली जानवर, जिसका सिर आदमी का और धड़ घोड़े का होता है)
- Centenarian *n.* सौ बरस का आदमी | सौ बरस का आदमी
- Centenary *n.* सौ बरस | सौ बरस
- Centennial *adj.* सौ साला; सौ बरस में एकबार होनेवाला | सौ साला; सौ बरस में एकबार होनेवाला
- Centipede *n.* कनखजुरा, सौ पांववाला कीड़ा | कनखजुरा, सौ पांववाला कीड़ा
- Central *adj.* बड़ा, बुनियादी; बीच का, केन्द्रीय, मरकबी | बड़ा, बुनियादी; बीच का, केन्द्रीय, मरकबी
- Centralize *v.* एक जगह करना, एक-तुकते पर लाना, केन्द्र या मरकब पर लाना | एक जगह करना, एक-तुकते पर लाना, केन्द्र या मरकब पर लाना
- Centre *n.* बीच, बीचोंबीच; केन्द्र, मरकब | बीच, बीचोंबीच; केन्द्र, मरकब
- Centre *v.* एक जगह करना, जमाना, जमाना, घूमना | एक जगह करना, जमाना, जमाना, घूमना
- Centrifugal *adj.* जो मरकब या केन्द्र से भागे | जो मरकब या केन्द्र से भागे
- Centripetal *adj.* जो मरकब या केन्द्र की तरफ आये | जो मरकब या केन्द्र की तरफ आये
- Century *n.* सदी, सौ बरस; क्रिकेट में 'सौ रन' | सदी, सौ बरस; क्रिकेट में 'सौ रन'
- Cephalic *adj.* सिर का, सिर सम्बन्धी या सिर के मुतअल्लिक | सिर का, सिर सम्बन्धी या सिर के मुतअल्लिक
- Ceramics *n.* कुम्हारी सम्बन्धी, कुम्हारकी कला | कुम्हारी सम्बन्धी, कुम्हारकी कला
- Cereal *n.* अनाज | अनाज
- Cerebral *adj.* मष्ठी, दिमागी | मष्ठी, दिमागी
- Ceremonial *adj., n.* रस्मी, रीत का; रस्म, रीत, दस्तूर | रस्मी, रीत का; रस्म, रीत, दस्तूर
- Ceremonious *adj.* रस्म-परस्त | रस्म-परस्त
- Ceremony *n.* रीत, रस्म; दिखावा, तकल्लुक | रीत, रस्म; दिखावा, तकल्लुक
- Certain *adj.* पक्का, अचूक, ठीक, अटल, पत्थर की लकीर, जरूरी; यक़ीनी; कोअी, किसी ओक, कुछ | पक्का, अचूक, ठीक, अटल, पत्थर की लकीर, जरूरी; यक़ीनी; कोअी, किसी ओक, कुछ
- Certainly *adv.* जरूर, बेशक, निस्सन्देह | जरूर, बेशक, निस्सन्देह
- Certainty *n.* पक्की बात, यक़ीनी बात | पक्की बात, यक़ीनी बात
- Certificate *n.* सनद, प्रमाणपत्र; नेकनामी की चिट्ठी | सनद, प्रमाणपत्र; नेकनामी की चिट्ठी
- Certify *v.* प्रमाणपत्र या सनद देना; चिट्ठी देना; गवाही देना, यमान पत्र या सनद देना; चिट्ठी देना; गवाही देना, तसदीक करना | प्रमाणपत्र या सनद देना; चिट्ठी देना; गवाही देना, यमान पत्र या सनद देना; चिट्ठी देना; गवाही देना, तसदीक करना
- Cerulean *adj.* आसमानी या आकाशी नीला (रंग) | आसमानी या आकाशी नीला (रंग)
- Cervical *adj.* गरदन का | गरदन का
- Cess *n.* चुंगी, महसूल, कर | चुंगी, महसूल, कर
- Cessation *n.* रुकना, बन्द होना, खतम होना, थमना, ठहरना | रुकना, बन्द होना, खतम होना, थमना, ठहरना
- Cession *n.* सौंपना, हवाले करना; त्यागना | सौंपना, हवाले करना; त्यागना
- Cesspool *n.* कुआँ या चौबच्चा, जिसमें पाजाने का पानी जाता या गिरता हो | कुआँ या चौबच्चा, जिसमें पाजाने का पानी जाता या गिरता हो
- Chafe *v.* तिलमिलाना; लाल-पीला होना; खिझाना; मलकर गरमी पहुँचाना, रगड़ लगाना, घिसना | तिलमिलाना; लाल-पीला होना; खिझाना; मलकर गरमी पहुँचाना, रगड़ लगाना, घिसना
- Chaff *v.* चिढ़ाना, ठट्ठा करना, नोक-झोंक करना | चिढ़ाना, ठट्ठा करना, नोक-झोंक करना
- Chaff *n.* भूसी, छिलका, छँटन; बास-फूस, कूड़ा | भूसी, छिलका, छँटन; बास-फूस, कूड़ा
- Chagrin *n.* मायूसी, निराशा | मायूसी, निराशा
- Chain *n.* जंजीर, साँकल, हथकड़ी, लड़ी, कतार | जंजीर, साँकल, हथकड़ी, लड़ी, कतार
- Chain *v.* बाँधना, जंजीर से बाँधना, जकड़ना | बाँधना, जंजीर से बाँधना, जकड़ना
- Chair *n.* कुर्सी, चौकी, गद्दी; आचार्य का पद | कुर्सी, चौकी, गद्दी; आचार्य का पद
- Chair, arm *n.* बाजूवाली कुर्सी | बाजूवाली कुर्सी
- Chair, bath *n.* बीमार की कुर्सी | बीमार की कुर्सी
- Chair, deck *n.* जहाजी कुर्सी | जहाजी कुर्सी
- Chair, easy *n.* आराम कुर्सी | आराम कुर्सी
- Chair, to take the *v.* सभापति या सदर की कुर्सी पर बैठना | सभापति या सदर की कुर्सी पर बैठना
- Chairman *n.* सभापति, सदर | सभापति, सदर
- Chalet *n.* पहाड़ी कुटिया (स्विट्जरलैण्ड में) | पहाड़ी कुटिया (स्विट्जरलैण्ड में)
- Chalice *n.* प्याला, कटोरा | प्याला, कटोरा
- Chalk *n.* खडिया मिट्टी | खडिया मिट्टी
- Chalk out *v.* नक़्शा बनाना, रास्ता निकालना | नक़्शा बनाना, रास्ता निकालना





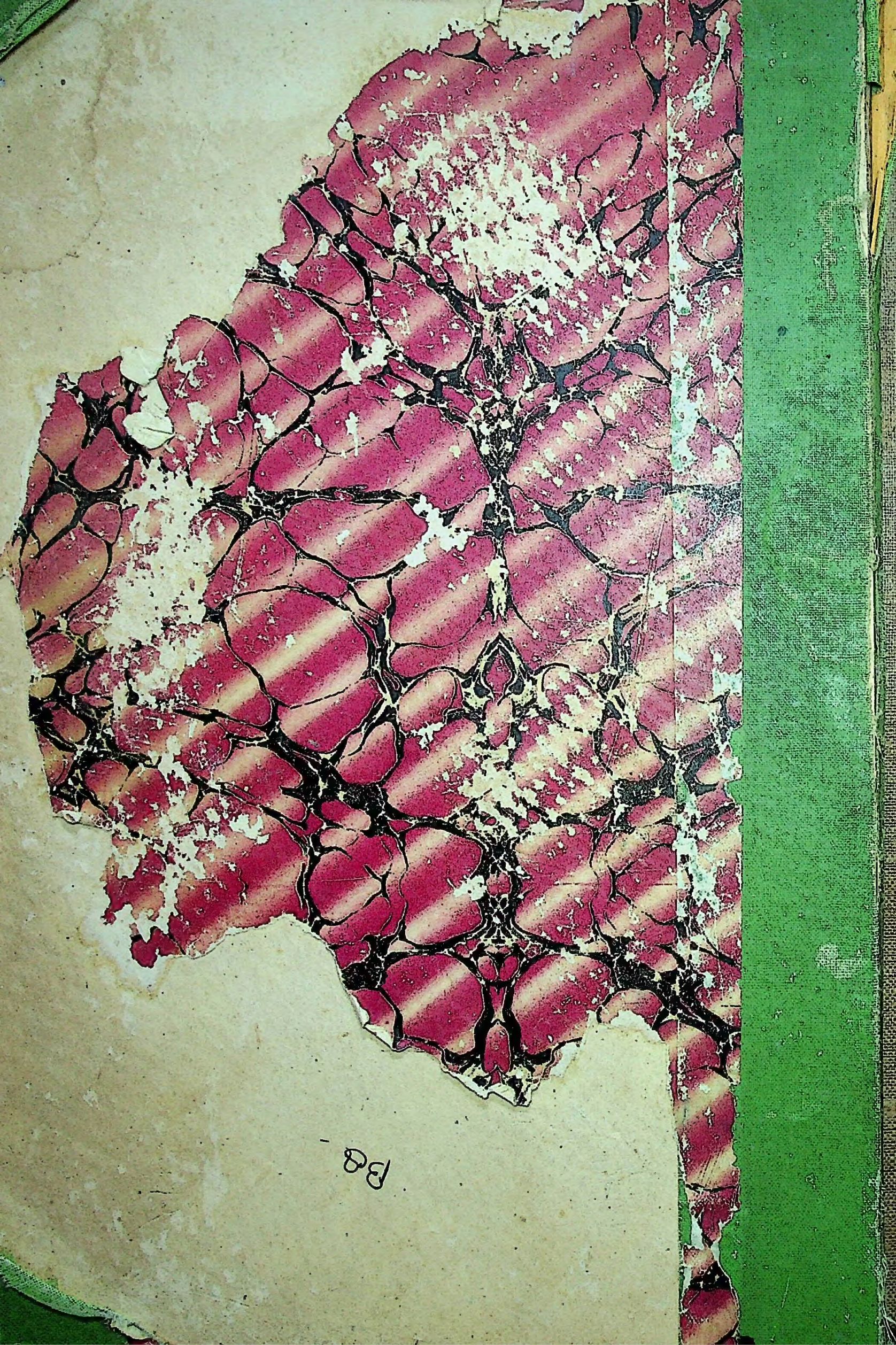












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